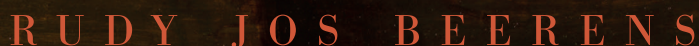


RUDY JOS BEERENS

PAINTERS AND COMMUNITIES IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY BRUSSELS

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF ART

Leuven University Press

PAINTERS AND COMMUNITIES IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY BRUSSELS

Rudy Jos Beerens

PAINTERS AND COMMUNITIES IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY BRUSSELS

A Social History of Art

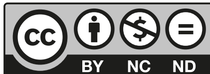
Leuven University Press

Published with the support of the KU Leuven Fund for Fair Open Access, Project Cornelia (https://projectcornelia.be/) and the RKD — Netherlands Institute for Art History (https://www.rkd.nl/)

Published in 2024 by Leuven University Press / Presses Universitaires de Louvain / Universitaire Pers Leuven. Minderbroedersstraat 4, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium).

© 2024, Rudy Jos Beerens

This book is published under a Creative Commons Attribution Non-Commercial Non-Derivative 4.0 Licence. For more information, please visit https://creativecommons.org/share-your-work/cclicenses/



Attribution should include the following information:
Rudy Jos Beerens, *Painters and Communities in Seventeenth-Century Brussels: A Social History of Art*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2024. (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0)

ISBN 978 94 6270 428 2 (Paperback)
eISBN 978 94 6166 598 0 (ePDF)
eISBN 978 94 6166 599 7 (ePub)
https://doi.org/10.11116/9789461665980
D/2024/1869/35
NUR: 654
Layout: Crius Group
Cover design: Daniel Benneworth-Gray
Cover illustration: Joos van Craesbeeck, *Tavern Scene*, c. 1645. Oil on canvas, 60 × 78 cm. Antwerp, Royal Museum of Fine Arts Antwerp, 822 (photo: Collection KMSKA – Flemish Community).

There really is no such thing as Art. There are only artists.
– Gombrich 1950

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES 9
LIST OF TABLES 15
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 17

INTRODUCTION 19

PART I
THE THREE PLACES OF LIVING

CHAPTER 1. THE FIRST PLACE: THE FAMILY AND KINSHIP PATTERNS OF BRUSSELS' PAINTERS 33
1.1 The Early Modern Family of Painters in Art History 33
1.2 Brussels in the Seventeenth Century 36
1.3 Marriage Patterns and Independent Households 39
1.4 Occupational Continuity 42
1.5 Spiritual Kinship: Godparents and Marriage Witnesses 46
1.6 Conclusion 51

CHAPTER 2. THE SECOND PLACE: BRUSSELS' PAINTERS AND THE LOCAL GUILD OF PAINTERS, GOLDBEATERS, AND STAINED-GLASS MAKERS 53
2.1 A Social Approach to the History of Guilds in the Southern Netherlands 53
2.2 The Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers During the Seventeenth Century 56
2.3 The Guild's Conditions of Membership and Increasing Openness to Outsiders 59
2.4 Social Mobility Within the Guild 66
2.5 Occupational Ties and Information Flows 72
2.6 Conclusion 81

CHAPTER 3. THE THIRD PLACE: THE SOCIAL LIFE OF BRUSSELS' PAINTERS BEYOND HOME AND WORK 83
3.1 The 'Third Place' in the Early Modern Southern Netherlands 83
3.2 Public Houses 86
3.3 Chambers of Rhetoric 88

3.4 Confraternities 91
3.5 Parishes and Neighbourhoods 98
3.6 Conclusion 103

PART II
THE THREE PLACES OF PAINTING

CHAPTER 4. PAINTING FOR THE COURT: A FAMILY OF PAINTERS AT THE START OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY 109
4.1 Brussels' Painters and the Archdukes' Patronage 109
4.2 The Noveliers Family of Painters 111
4.3 The Noveliers Family's Privileged Position at the Court 114
4.4 The Noveliers Family's Activities Outside the Court 122
4.5 Conclusion 125

CHAPTER 5. PAINTING FOR THE MARKET: THE SONIAN FOREST DEPICTED AROUND THE MID-SEVENTEENTH CENTURY 127
5.1 The Sonian Forest Painters in Art-Historical Literature 127
5.2 The Growing Demand for Native Landscapes 129
5.3 The Sonian Forest Painters' Network 134
5.4 Collaborations 139
5.5 Conclusion 147

CHAPTER 6. PAINTING FOR THE TAPESTRY INDUSTRY: THE CO-PRODUCTION OF TAPESTRY CARTOONS AT THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY 149
6.1 The Increasing Interest in Brussels' Tapestry Designers and Cartoon Painters 149
6.2 Adapting to a Changing Taste 151
6.3 Designing and Painting Tapestry Cartoons 157
6.4 The Importance of Spatial Proximity 164
6.5 Conclusion 168

GENERAL CONCLUSION 169

APPENDICES 173
NOTES 227
SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY 269

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1. Workshop of Urbanus and Daniël IV Leyniers after attributed to Ignatius de Hondt, *Huntsmen Resting (Teniers)*, 1729–1745. Wool and silk, 356 × 315 cm. London, Franses (photo: Franses). 20

Fig. 2. The first page of the seventeenth-century membership registers of the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers. BRA, GA 818. 26

Fig. 3. Richard van Orley after Augustyn Coppens, *View of the Grand Place (Perspectives des ruines de la ville de Bruxelles)*, 1695. Etching on paper, 250 × 385 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-77.238 (photo: Rijksmuseum). 38

Fig. 4. The interval between painters' first marriage and master registration, 1599–1726. Each dot represents an individual painter plotted on the date of his marriage on the *x*-axis and the number of years to or from his master registration on the *y*-axis and in a box plot. 41

Fig. 5. Daniel and Jan Baptist van Heil, *Infante Isabella in the Gardens of the Coudenberg Palace*, *c.*1630. Oil on canvas, 137 × 305.5 cm. Brussels, City Museum, K-1886-2 (photo: Brussels City Museum). 45

Fig. 6. Michaelina Wautier, *Triumph of Bacchus*, *c.*1655. Oil on canvas, 270 × 354 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, GG 3548 (photo: RKD — Netherlands Institute for Art History). 47

Fig. 7. Antoon and Catharina Sallaert, *Our Lady Tells Saint Elisabeth to Build* a *Church*, *c.*1650. Oil on canvas, 135 × 220 cm. Alsemberg, Church of Our Lady (photo: kerknet.be). 47

Fig. 8. Workshop of Gerard Peemans after David III Teniers, *May and June* (*Twelve Months*), *c.*1675. Wool and silk, dimensions unknown. Collection of the Bank of Spain (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History). 49

Fig. 9. The number of new masters and master painters in the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers per year, 1599–1706. 58

Fig. 10. The number of new apprentices and apprentice painters in the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers per year, 1599–1706. 58

Fig. 11. The birthplaces of foreign apprentices that were registered in the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers, 1599–1664. 61

Fig. 12. The birthplaces of foreign masters that were registered in the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers, 1599–1679. 63

Fig. 13. Elisabeth Seldron, *Landscape with Feasting Soldiers and Women*, *c.*1740. Oil on canvas, 84 × 111 cm. Location unknown (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History). 65

Fig. 14. The time interval between artists' apprentice and master registrations, 1599–1706. Each point represents an individual master plotted on the date of his master registration and in box plots. 68

Fig. 15. Louis Cousin, *Portrait of an Unknown 36 Year Old General with his Servant*, 1652. Oil on canvas, 226 × 167 cm. Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History). 69

Fig. 16. The time interval between artists' master registration and first term as dean, 1599–1736. Each point represents an individual master plotted on the date of their master registration and in box plots. 71

Fig. 17. Gaspar de Crayer, *The Descent from the Cross*, *c.*1640. Oil on canvas 308 × 223 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, SK-A-75 (photo: Rijksmuseum). 73

Fig. 18. Pieter Snayers, *The Siege of Armentiéres*, 1649–1651. Oil on canvas, 104 × 136 cm. Location unknown (photo: Christie's). 78

Fig. 19. A visualisation of the guild's governing board over time, 1599–1706. Each node represents an individual dean. Each edge represents a relationship between two deans who served on the board at the same time. The placement of the nodes is randomly generated with the ForceAtlas2 algorithm, but, in general, the deans shown on the left were more active at the beginning of the century and those on the right more towards the end. 79

Fig. 20. Joos van Craesbeeck, *Tavern Scene*, *c.*1645. Oil on canvas, 60 × 78 cm. Antwerp, Royal Museum of Fine Arts Antwerp, 822 (photo: Collection KMSKA – Flemish Community). 87

Fig. 21. Timeline with the years in which a master painter served on the board per chamber, 1599–1712. 91

Fig. 22. Wenzel Coebergher, *Lamentation*, 1605. Oil on panel, 306.5 × 239.5 cm. Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium, 124 (photo: Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium). 93

Fig. 23. Jan van Orley, *Saint Eloi giving Alms*, *c.*1702. Oil on canvas, 350 × 186 cm. Brussels, Museum of the Public Centre for Social Welfare, T.130 (photo: KIK-IRPA). 97

Fig. 24. The spatial distribution of master painters per parish, 1601–1709. The parishes are numbered as follows: (1) Saint Michael and Saint Gudula, (2) Saint-Jacques on the Coudenberg, (3) Our Lady of the Chapel, (4) Saint Gorik, (5) Saint Catherine, (6) Saint Nicholas and (7) Our Lady of Finistère. 99

Fig. 25. The spatial distribution of master painters per neighbourhood, 1702. 101

Fig. 26. Theodoor van Heil, *Fire at the Brussels inn 'De Wolf'*, 1690. Oil on canvas 74 × 116. Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium, 223 (photo: Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium). 102

Fig. 27. Denys van Alsloot and Antoon Sallaert, *The Procession of the Guilds*, 1616. Oil on canvas, 130 × 380 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, P1347 (photo: Photographic Archive Museo Nacional del Prado). 111

Fig. 28. David Noveliers (in collaboration with Denys van Alsloot and Antoon Sallaert), *The Parade of Giants and the Horse Bayard*, 1616. Oil on canvas, 118 × 327 cm. Spain, private collection (photo: Erfgoed Brussel). 113

Fig. 29. Antoon Sallaert, *Young Girl with a Bow and Arrow*, *c.*1615. Black chalk on paper, 205 × 121 mm. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, MB 5098 (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History). 116

Fig. 30. Antoon van Dyck, *Portrait of Quinten Symons*, *c.*1634. Oil on canvas, 95 × 83.7 cm. Den Haag, Mauritshuis, 242 (photo: Mauritshuis). 118

Fig. 31. Attributed to Antoon Sallaert and his workshop, *The Procession of the Maidens at the Sablon.* Oil on canvas, 180 × 339 cm. Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium, 173 (photo: Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium). 119

Figs. 32 and 33. Salomon Noveliers, *Portraits of Emperor Rudolph II* and *Queen Mary I of England*, *c.*1636. Oil on canvas, 200 × 121 cm and 208 × 122 cm. London, Apsley House, WM.1509-1948 and WM.5-1980 (photo: English Heritage). 121

Fig. 34. Dirk Bouts (restored by David Noveliers), *Justice of Emperor Otto III*, *c.*1471. Oil on panel, 324.5 × 364 cm. Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium, 1447–1448 (photo: Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium). 124

Fig. 35. Denijs van Alsloot, *Landscape with Diane Discovering the Pregnancy of Callisto*, 1614. Oil on canvas, 148 × 219.5 cm. Location unknown (photo: Christie's). 130

Fig. 36. Philips de Vadder, *Landscape with Convoy Leaving a Village*, *c.*1615. Technique and dimensions unknown. Location unknown (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History). 131

Fig. 37. Pieter van der Borcht, *Landscape with Convoy*, *c.*1625. Oil on canvas, 69 × 116 cm. Location unknown (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History). 132

Fig. 38. Louis de Vadder, *Landscape with Market Vendors.* Oil on canvas, 175 × 230 cm. Ghent, Museum of Fine Arts, 1965-B (photo: MSK Ghent). 133

Fig. 39. Jacques d'Arthois, *Autumn Landscape*, 1670. Oil on canvas, 400 × 335 cm. Bruges, Groot Seminarie (photo: KIK-IRPA). 133

Fig. 40. Jacques d'Arthois, *Landscape with Travellers.* Oil on canvas, 245 × 242 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, P1359 (photo: Photographic Archive Museo Nacional del Prado). 136

Fig. 41. Philips van Dapels, *Landscape with Travellers.* Oil on canvas, 65 × 73.5 cm. Location unknown (photo: Hampel Auctions). 137

Fig. 42. Cornelis Huysmans, *Landscape with Farmers.* Oil on canvas, 117 × 164 cm. Location unknown (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History). 137

Fig. 43. Network of Sonian Forest painters per place. The red ties represent the relationships associated with the specific place listed below the graph. 139

Fig. 44. Francois Coppens, *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt*, *c.*1664. Oil on canvas, 180 × 237 cm. Brussels, Church of Our Lady of the Chapel (photo: KIK-IRPA). 141

Fig. 45. Willem van Schoor, *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt*, 1664. Oil on canvas, 180 × 237 cm. Brussels, Church of Our Lady of the Chapel (photo: KIK-IRPA). 141

Fig. 46. Ignatius van der Stock, *Landscape with the Holy Family*, 1662. Oil on canvas, 142 × 257 cm. Brussels, Cathedral of Saint Michael and Saint Gudula (photo: KIK-IRPA). 142

Fig. 47. Daniel van Heil, *Landscape with the Holy Family and a View on Antwerp, c.*1664. Oil on canvas, 143 × 174 cm. Brussels, Cathedral of Saint Michael and Saint Gudula (photo: KIK-IRPA). 142

Fig. 48. Jacques d'Arthois and David Teniers, *Landscape with a Supposed View on Val-Duchesse.* Oil on canvas, 150 × 188 cm. Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium, 6672 (photo: Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium). 144

Fig. 49. Lucas Achtschellinck and attributed to Pieter Bout, *Landscape with Farmers,* 1686. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Location unknown (photo: RKD — Netherlands Institute for Art History). 145

Fig. 50. Attributed to Ignatius van der Stock and Pieter Bout, *Landscape with Farmers.* Oil on canvas, 109 × 132. Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium, 4535 (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History). 145

Fig. 51. Workshop of Jan II Raes after Antoon Sallaert, *Theseus Rediscovering his Father's Sword and Sandals* (*The Story of Theseus*), *c.*1630. Wool and silk, 396 × 446 cm. Barcelona, Palacio de Pedralbes, A 357-12033 (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History). 152

Fig. 52. Workshop of Joris Leemans after Lanceloot Lefebure, *Triumphant Entry of Constantine into Rome* (*The Story of Constantine*), *c.*1650. Wool and silk, 348 × 540 cm. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, 18677 (photo: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire and Dewit Royal Manufacturers). 152

Fig. 53. Workshop of Hendrick Reydams after Giovanni Francesco Penni and Giulio Romano, *The Conference between Scipio and Hannibal* (*The Story of Scipio*), *c.*1660. Wool and silk, 471 × 842 cm. Lausanne, Fondation Toms Pauli, 27 (photo: Cédric Bregnard). 153

Fig. 54. Workshop of Jan Leyniers after Charles le Brun, *The Offering of the Boar's Head* (*The Story of Meleager and Atalanta*), *c.*1675. Wool and silk, 355 × 344.8 cm. Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago, 1941.93 (photo: The Art Institute of Chicago). 154

Fig. 55. Workshop of Jacob van der Borcht after Louis van Schoor and Lucas Achtschellinck, *Mercury Confiding the Infant Bacchus to the Nymphs of Nysa* (*Mythological scenes*), *c.*1695. Wool and silk, 346 × 464 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, KK T LXXIX (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History). 155

Fig. 56. Workshops of Judocus de Vos after Lambert de Hondt and attributed to Lucas Achtschellinck, *Foraging Soldiers* (*Art of War*), *c.*1720. Wool and silk, 400 × 510 cm. Schleißhiem, Neues Schloss (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History). 156

Fig. 57. Attributed to the workshops of Jan-Frans or Jacob van der Borcht after Jan van Orley and Augustin Coppens, *Diana Resting* (*Triumphs of the Gods*), *c.*1625. Wool and silk, 335 × 610 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, BK-1955-101 (photo: Rijksmuseum). 156

Fig. 58. Leyniers workshop after Victor Janssens and Augustin Coppens, *The Offer of Aristides* (*Plutarch's Famous Men*), *c.*1740. Wool and silk, 379–408 cm. Bruchsal, Schloss Bruchsal, G 167 (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History). 158

Fig. 59. Workshop of Judocus de Vos after Lambert de Hondt, Lucas Achtschellinck, and Jan van Orley, *Naval Battle* (*Art of War*), after 1698. Wool and silk, 344 × 400 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, NG-415 (photo: Rijksmuseum). 162

Fig. 60. Workshop of Judocus de Vos after Jan van Orley, Augustin Coppens, and an anonymous French painter, *Fish Quay* (*Teniers*), after 1702. Wool and silk, 312 × 470 cm. Location unknown (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History). 163

Fig. 61. Unknown workshop after Louis van Schoor, *America* (*Continents and Related Allegories*), 1690. Wool and silk, 260 × 450 cm. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History). 165

Fig. 62. Unknown workshop after Louis van Schoor, *America* (*Continents and Related Allegories*), *c.*1700. Wool and silk, 341 × 497 cm. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1950.6.1 (photo: National Gallery of Art). 165

Fig. 63. The spatial distribution of painters (in blue) and tapestry producers (in red) per neighbourhood, 1702. 167

Fig A. Antoon Sallaert's master registration in the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers. BRA, GA 818. 173

Fig. B. A visualisation of the relationships between the actors in Antoon Sallaert's master registration. 182

Fig. C. Antoon Sallaert's age at the time of his master registration on a seventeenth-century timeline. 186

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. The age of master painters upon their first known marriage 40

Table 2. The number of master painters with one or more sons who succeeded them as masters in the guild registers, 1599–1720 43

Table 3. The number of masters with other family members who succeeded them as masters in the guild register, 1599–1706 45

Table 4. The number of godparents per baptism record, 1601–1709 48

Table 5. The number of witnesses per marriage record, 1599–1726 50

Table 6. The number of new apprentices and masters registered in the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers, 1599–1706 57

Table 7. The number of master's sons who became masters in the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers, 1599–1706 67

Table 8. The number of apprentices who became masters in the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers, 1599-1706 67

Table 9. The age of painters (n = 182) at the time of their master registration, 1599–1706 70

Table 10. The number of masters who served as dean in the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers, 1599–1736 71

Table 11. The number of terms masters (n = 110) served as dean per master, 1599–1736 72

Table 12. The number of apprentices per master, 1599–1740 75

Table 13. The number of master painters per chamber of rhetoric, 1599–1712 90

Table 14. The number of painters, goldbeaters, and stained-glass makers who took on the position of *provisoor*, 1594–1712 96

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book on the social activities of hundreds of Brussels' painters is a revised version of the doctoral thesis I defended at KU Leuven in 2021. I wrote that thesis as a member of the art-historical research project *Cornelia*, and – much like many of the painters featured within it – received invaluable help and support from colleagues, family members, and friends in doing so. All of them, in numerous ways, contributed to what this book has become, and, for that, I am deeply grateful.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor and Project Cornelia's PI, Koenraad Brosens. His visionary insights and inexhaustible enthusiasm greatly inspired me in writing this book and continue to challenge me to explore and push the boundaries of art history. I am also indebted to Katlijne Van der Stighelen and Frederik Truyen. Having their extensive knowledge at hand felt like a blessing and was decisive in shaping how I bridged the gap between their opposing research perspectives. Also, my thanks go to Nils Büttner, Charles van den Heuvel, and Sandra van Ginhoven for the enlightening discussions we shared and their valuable and thought-provoking feedback.

I would also like to express my gratitude to all the colleagues with whom I have had the privilege of working over the years, as well as the staff of the archives and libraries I have visited, and the people at Leuven University Press. Special thanks go to my fellow members of Project Cornelia – Klara Alen, Bruno Cardoso, Inez De Prekel, Lies De Strooper, and Houda Lamqaddam – for enriching my research from their own specialisms and for brightening my time in Leuven with their humour and endless trivia. I also want to acknowledge the support and enthusiasm of my colleagues at the RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History, and express my gratitude to Sabine Craft-Giepmans and Rieke van Leeuwen for their trust and guidance. Furthermore, I am deeply thankful to Alex Brey, Shack E. Hackney, Anne Helmreich, Harald Klinke, John R. Ladd, Alison Langmead, Nuria Rodríguez Ortega, and Scott B. Weingart for their instrumental assistance in navigating the complexities of digital art history. Their expertise and mentorship have been indispensable to me.

Finally, I want to express my heartfelt thanks to my family and friends. My parents, above all, deserve my deepest gratitude. Their unwavering support, care, and trust have been my guiding lights, propelling me forward and urging me to persist.

INTRODUCTION

Shortly after his marriage to Magdalena Morissens (1646–1719) on 11 April 1673, the Mechelen-born artist Lambert de Hondt (1642–1708) decided to leave his hometown and move to Brussels.[1] He wanted to develop his career as a painter and tapestry designer and must have felt that the capital and court city of the Spanish Netherlands offered him the best opportunities to do so. It was the principal residence of the Habsburg governors, a major market for art and luxury, and one of Europe's leading centres for the production of tapestries.[2] Brussels was also home to several of De Hondt's most esteemed colleagues and soon after he arrived in the city, he was able to forge ties with some of them. He was quickly employed in the workshop of the court painter David II Teniers (1610–1690) and had four of his battle scenes sold by the latter's son David III (1638–1685).[3] De Hondt's new fellow-townsmen also became godfathers to his children. Already in 1674, David III acted as godfather at the baptism of his firstborn, and two years later David II took on the role at that of his second.[4]

De Hondt's close relationship with the Teniers family seems to have enabled him to easily integrate into Brussels' artistic community and secure a sustainable future for him and his family. It offered him the possibility to improve his skills under David II's supervision, use David III's contacts to market his art, and save up to eventually set up a workshop of his own. In 1678, he did just that and registered as a master painter in the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers.[5] In the following years, De Hondt grew into one of the most sought-after genre painters in the city, designed the extremely popular and influential *Art of War* tapestry series, and successfully trained two of his sons Ignatius (1680–1710) and Philips (1683–1741) to follow in his footsteps.[6] Whether he remained in contact with the Teniers family during this period is still unknown, but their influence certainly continued to be felt throughout his life. For instance, in 1699 – when both David II and III had long passed away – De Hondt painted tapestry cartoons after some of the former court painter's old designs, and his son Ignatius designed at least one set of tapestries with scenes from peasant life that were known – and still are – as *Teniers* (fig. 1).[7]

The De Hondt and Teniers families' members were not the only seventeenth-century Brussels' painters to maintain social and professional relationships with one another. In recent years, art historians have identified similar ties for other

Fig. 1. Workshop of Urbanus and Daniël IV Leyniers after attributed to Ignatius de Hondt, *Huntsmen Resting (Teniers)*, 1729–1745. Wool and silk, 356 × 315 cm. London, Franses (photo: Franses).

artists as well. They increasingly studied the lives and works of Brussels' most outstanding painters and often added in-depth descriptions of who was in contact with whom and how this might have affected their art.[8] However, their detailed accounts seldom provide a comparative perspective that could help place their cases in their proper context. As with the De Hondt example above, they tend to focus on the personal networks of individual artists and often lack a frame of reference to find recurring patterns or understand the significance of certain bonds for one's artistic and entrepreneurial strategies. For instance, how unusual was it for a painter like De Hondt to appoint a colleague as the godparent of their children? Or was it common practice for artists to train and employ one or more of their children?

This study aims to address these and similar questions balancing on the edge of art history and socio-economic history. It will analyse the collective biography of *all* master painters in seventeenth-century Brussels and examine how common

characteristics of their social lives influenced their artistic activities, and vice-versa. In doing so, the following pages not only strive to provide the missing framework necessary for contextualising past and future studies of Brussels' painting but also aim to offer new interpretations of the myriad ways in which early modern artists exploited the benefits of social strategies and communities to produce their art, earn a living, and navigate urban life of their time.

Social History of Art

By focusing on the interplay between social structures and the artistic production of a defined group of artists, this study joins a line of research that seeks to enrich art history with sociological concepts and ideas. This pursuit has deep roots. Art historians and sociologists alike have tried to reconcile the two disciplines since at least the beginning of the last century.[9] Early efforts to write this so-called *social history of art* mainly drew upon Marxist theories.[10] Scholars such as Frederick Antal (1887–1954), Arnold Hauser (1892–1978), and Meyer Schapiro (1904–1996) sought out to link developments in the arts to major changes in society and aimed for an 'art history without names'.[11] They viewed art as an expression – or even a reflection – of social processes and often emphasised the importance of social class on an artist or its patron's stylistic preferences.[12] For example, in his aptly titled 1951 book *The Social History of Art*, Hauser pointed to the 'victory of court culture over urban-middle class culture' in the Spanish Netherlands to explain why the artistic production in this region differed from that of its more bourgeois counterpart in the north.[13]

Needless to say, these broad-based and generalising attempts to relate art to society quickly provoked criticism. Ernst Gombrich's (1909–2001) scathing review of Hauser's study, in particular, became notorious. Gombrich stated that *The Social History of Art* was fundamentally flawed by prejudice and deterministic tendencies and that its author had 'caught himself in the intellectual mousetrap of "dialectical materialism"'.[14] According to Gombrich, Hauser had neglected the 'minutiae of social existence' while it were precisely these everyday banalities that determined the circumstances under which art was commissioned and created.[15] Gombrich went so far as to propose an alternative way to write a social history of art that he believed to be more valuable to the field – one that was purely based on empirical evidence and studied the social backgrounds against which individualist artists operated.[16] Francis Haskell's (1928–2000) 1963 *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* can be regarded as an early example of Gombrich's programme. Haskell examined Italian patrons in

the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries at the micro-level and clarified that he had avoided 'any attempt to "explain" art' or make sweeping generalisations.[17]

This empiricist approach was further refined by Michael Baxandall (1933–2008), Gombrich's former pupil and colleague at the Warburg Institute. In his 1972 landmark study *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, Baxandall described art as 'the deposit of a social relationship' between artists and their intended public.[18] He argued that to make a living, artists had to tailor their stylistic and material choices to the distinctive visual skills, habits, and expectations they and their contemporaries developed during the day-to-day activities of their time. Baxandall cited dancing, attending sermons, and gauging barrels, among others, as quattrocento examples of such social practices and convincingly linked them to the work of Italian renaissance painters using a varied array of primary sources. Broadly speaking, he demonstrated that artworks are 'fossils of economic life' that show the reactions to – rather than the reflections of – the social conditions under which they were produced.[19] At about the same time, Timothy J. Clark offered a similar social perspective, albeit with more emphasis on political-ideological movements, on nineteenth-century French art.[20] In two empirically rooted studies from 1973, he explored 'the general nature of the structures that [artists encountered] willy-nilly' and examined how these meetings gave form to their artistic activities.[21]

Baxandall's and Clark's influence on later studies in the social history of art can hardly be overestimated. They demystified the process of artistic creation and acted – among others – as catalysts for a 'new art history' in which the socio-economic context of artists and their work became a vital part of the debate.[22] While the diverse disciplinary angles and approaches of these post-1970 efforts to relate art to society go far beyond the scope of this discussion, two examples that are of particular interest to the ideas in this thesis should be mentioned. First, in 1982, the sociologist Howard S. Becker famously advocated that not *the* artist but what he called 'art worlds' should be central to the analysis of art. Becker reasoned that producing art was a collective rather than an individual activity and that to better understand it, one should study 'established network[s] of cooperative links' instead of isolated individuals.[23] Second, scholars such as Svetlana Alpers, Richard A. Goldthwaite (1933–2024), and John Michael Montias (1928–2005) deepened the realisation that 'money is very important in the history of art'.[24] They enriched the field with an economic way of thinking that saw artists and patrons as economic actors and artworks as their commodities.[25] For instance, in his study of seventeenth-century Dutch art, Montias explained the growing urge of painters to specialise in specific genres as a conscious strategy to counter the increasing competition between them with product differentiation.[26]

This economic approach also permeated research on art in the early modern Southern Netherlands. Already in 1976, the art historian Lorne Campbell surveyed the Netherlandish art market in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by revisiting archival legal documents that had been previously published by his colleagues. Campbell noted that these complex and prolix sources had largely remained underexploited, while often containing – directly or indirectly – valuable information about the production and distribution of artworks. For example, by reading contracts and testaments more closely, he discovered that subcontracting commissions was common practice for early modern artists and that they began to work on spec more and more from the fifteenth century onwards.[27] Campbell's pioneering work was soon followed by a handful of studies on the commercialisation of art in sixteenth-century Bruges, but it was not until the 1990s that art historians and historians alike fully embraced the potential of a materialist view of the region's art.[28] Antwerp's early modern market for painting, in particular, received much attention. Scholars scrutinised various aspects of the market's supply and demand chains and increasingly fell back on aggregates of archival data to do so.[29] Most notably, the economist Neil de Marchi and art historian Hans J. van Miegroet used econometric techniques to – among other things – explore the links between the income of seventeenth-century Antwerp painters and their innovative workshop practices.[30]

Over the last decades, there has also sparked a growing interest in the social and economic history of early modern Brussels' art. Initially, this focus was mainly on the city's material culture and the production of what is now often referred to as *decorative* arts. For example, using largely newly excavated archival sources, Veerle de Laet provided new insights into patterns of art and luxury consumption in Brussels' private households, Edmond Roobaert investigated the city's goldsmith industry, and Koenraad Brosens analysed the entrepreneurial and networking strategies of its tapestry producers.[31] More recently, other – more *fine* arts-oriented – art historians have begun to embrace early modern Brussels as 'a major hub of artistic activity' too.[32] Starting from the most appealing works of art, they described in detail the lives and works of some of the city's most eminent painters, often paying close attention to contextual issues.[33] For instance, Leen Kelchtermans and Sabine van Sprang's respective studies on Pieter Snayers (1592–1667) and Denys van Alsloot (*c.*1568–*c.*1626) heavily focused on court patronage,[34] Lara Yeager-Crasselt's research on Michael Sweerts (1618–1664) zoomed in on his newly established drawing academy,[35] and Katlijne van der Stighelen's catalogue on Michaelina Wautier (1604–1689) included various contributions on the social position of women artists in the early modern period.[36]

Digital Art History

In addition to these micro-level studies that have provided a wealth of information on the social context of their carefully selected subjects, the past decade has also seen tremendous growth in research initiatives that sought to transcend the case study by approaching the social history of art at the macro-level. Driven by the ever-expanding (digital) availability of historical data and computational analytic tools, these often-collaborative projects substantially increased the complexity and scale of the information they examined and adopted new quantitative methods to do so. This enabled the art historians involved to ask questions of mediation between the artistic and the social that were previously difficult or even impossible to answer.[37] This was not an isolated development. These data-driven digital attempts to relate art to society were part of a relatively young and innovative field of research often referred to today as *digital art history*.[38] While still slightly amorphous, this computer-aided field has gained considerable traction over the past few years.[39] This was particularly evident in the recent launch of the two dedicated journals *Artl@s Bulletin* and the *International Journal for Digital Art History* in 2012 and 2014 respectively,[40] the publication of numerous special issues in other journals such as those in *Visual Resources* in 2013 and 2019,[41] and the compilation of various edited volumes including *The Routledge Companion to Digital Humanities and Art History* in 2020.[42]

That this new emerging mode of enquiry quickly found its way into the social history of art is hardly surprising. As the historian of architecture Paul Jaskot had already pointed out in his 2019 article with the telling title 'Digital Art History as the Social History of Art': 'The scale of evidence and the methods central to much of social art history are the evidence and methods that complement or call out for digital art history.'[43] To illustrate, the computational and visual analysis of networks – one of the methods embraced by digital art history – proved to be the appropriate choice for several art historians looking to shed new light on artistic communities and collaboration.[44] As early as 2012, Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich successfully applied this method to parse large amounts of data on the surprisingly international activities of nineteenth-century London art dealers.[45] Other art historians such as Klara Alen, Matthew Lincoln, Yael Rice, Maximilian Schich, and Sandra van Ginhoven soon followed.[46] For example, Lincoln recently employed network analysis to study large-scale developments in the early modern Netherlandish printmaking industry and Van Ginhoven to gain a better understanding of the social strategies underlying the transatlantic trade of Antwerp art in the seventeenth century.[47]

While these early adopters have demonstrated that digital approaches present ample opportunities to enrich the social history of art, their inevitable reliance on the abstraction of artists' personal circumstances has also met with reluctance. Most

notably, Claire Bishop warned that the use of quantitative methods in art history could entail the 'subordination of human activity to metric evaluation'.[48] Bishop argued that this kind of digital research perpetuated 'uncritical assumptions about the intrinsic value of statistics' and therefore often resulted in 'an avoidance of argumentation and interpretation'.[49] In line with this, Stephanie Porras stressed the need to 'keep our eyes open' for the complexity and limitations of art-historical datasets amenable to computational use and the biases the analysis and visualisation of them may unwittingly reinforce.[50]

With these caveats in mind, Project Cornelia – a data-driven art history project led by Koenraad Brosens – has developed a 'slow' approach to digital art history in which data provenance and transparency are central.[51] Inspired by materialist questions about the production of tapestries and fuelled by the time-consuming process of empirical archival research, the project custom-built the *Cornelia* relational database to efficiently yet cautiously store and arrange information from a vast amount and wide array of primary sources.[52] This allowed scholars to critically analyse and interpret art-historical data and to reconstruct the dynamics of creative communities in a manner that is as inclusive and unbiased as possible. The potential of this approach has already been shown in Klara Alen's exploration of network structures in the early modern Antwerp tapestry world.[53]

This study will further explore the possibilities offered by Project Cornelia's approach by examining the social dynamics and communities that shaped the production and trade of seventeenth-century Brussels' painting. In this pursuit, it aims to blend city-wide analyses at a macro-level with individual case studies at a micro-level, thereby endeavouring to bridge the gap between these opposing perspectives in the social history of art and underscore the value of an approach that brings together the quantitative and qualitative.

Methods and Sources

To arrive at a so-called *meso-level*, the research underpinning this study was conducted in two methodologically distinct stages. The first stage focused on demarcating the study population of seventeenth-century Brussels' master painters and collecting, processing, and analysing large quantities of archival data about their lives and careers using the *Cornelia* database (Appendix 1). This was no easy task. As the archivist and head of the State Archives in Brussels Harald Deceulaer recently noted, several of Brussels' most important early modern archives have been burned as a result of the devastating French bombardment of the city in 1695 and many

Fig. 2. The first page of the seventeenth-century membership registers of the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers. BRA, GA 818.

others have not yet been catalogued.[54] Moreover, the vast majority of archives that have both been preserved and located initially seemed to be of little art-historical relevance.[55] When considered in the aggregate, however, a handful of sources – in themselves often underexploited, trivial, or easily overlooked – turned out to contain valuable serial information on Brussels' painters' collective biography.

The seventeenth-century membership registers of the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers, in particular, proved to be vital.[56] This 300-page manuscript, which is kept in the State Archives in Brussels, lists the apprentices, masters, and deans who were enrolled or took office in the guild from 1599 to 1706.[57] The officials who kept the register opened every working year with a brief formulaic passage giving the names of the three annually appointed deans and a note stating that the new apprentices and masters would follow.[58] As a rule, these new members were then listed in chronological order (fig. 2).[59] The entries of newcomers – 1354 in total – always state whether they became an apprentice or a master, but otherwise vary enormously in their degree of completeness. The most comprehensive ones provide the new arrival's full name, chosen occupation, place of birth, and the names of his father and (former) teacher, while the barest give nothing beyond a family name. Despite this methodological challenge, an initial analysis of the register made it possible to identify the population of 353 Brussels' master painters that will be at the heart of this study (Appendix 2).[60]

Almost as important as the guild's membership register were the countless volumes of parish records. These generally chronologically ordered registers list all baptisms, marriages, and burials within a particular parish. As each parish kept their own records, the details disclosed by these sources vary from volume to volume. Most, however, follow a more or less standardised format. For example, the baptism records of the seven parishes in Brussels almost always consist of the child's name followed by the names of both parents, godparents, and occasionally substitutes for one or both of the godparents; the marriage records contain the couple's names, usually followed by the names of two or exceptionally more witnesses; and the burial records include the name of the deceased, sporadically followed with information about their age, occupation, and place of residence at the time of death.[61] Because it is currently virtually impossible to consult all parish registers in the Southern Netherlands – let alone Europe – only the local baptisms and marriages of Brussels' master painters from the defined population have been systematically searched for.[62] Only in a few specific cases has there also been searched for burials or records from parishes outside of the city (Appendix 3).[63]

To extensively explore the wealth of biographical data contained in the guild register and collected parish records, they were entered in full into the *Cornelia* database. This was done cautiously and meticulously so that all of the (often

inconsistently spelt) names and information in these sources could be matched to unique actors without inadvertently assigning multiple references of a single individual to more than one person or conflating people with the same name.[64] Other similar sources used to examine the social activities of Brussels' master painters – such as the membership registers of the three Brussels' chambers of rhetoric, that of the Brotherhood of Saint Ildefonso, and the account books of the Confraternity of Saint Eloi – were carefully processed in the *Cornelia* database as well. However, due to their rather limited role in the further course of this study, these sources will only be presented in more detail in the chapters that describe the specific information they hold.[65]

After fully storing the serial data from these archival sources in the *Cornelia* database, they were queried and analysed using the open-source relational database management system MySQL.[66] This domain-specific computer language facilitated the search and retrieval of information from one or more of the processed documents on a scale that was previously unmanageable or at the very least incredibly time-consuming. It also allowed exporting curated subsets of data for computational analysis and visualisation in other digital tools such as Gephi and R. The quantitative functionalities of these two tools were repeatedly used throughout the following chapters.[67] Together with *Cornelia*'s unique data model, they made it possible to handle, examine, and present thousands of archival records in an uncluttered manner, identifying larger patterns and trends in the social biographies and strategies of seventeenth-century Brussels' master painters that would otherwise have remained hidden.

In the second stage of research, instead of vast quantities of serial data, a wide array of qualitative sources were collected and analysed. The content, form, and origin of these sources varied greatly, but in almost all cases they were used to adequately explain and interpret the macro-level observations made during the first stage. Most notably, the ordinance of the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers was scrutinised to reinforce the weight of the evidence derived from the same organisation's membership register (Appendix 4).[68] Other qualitative sources – such as notarial deeds and works of art – were studied to contextualise and nuance larger movements and to complement quantitative insights with the individualist perspectives of exemplary or deviant master painters. Notarial deeds were selected using Viscount Fernand de Jonghe d'Ardoye's (1911–1989) impressive handwritten index and the art historian Joan Nica's recently released collection of transcriptions.[69] Works of art were mainly studied using the ever-growing online image collections of, among others, the Belgium Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage, the RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History, and various museums.

Structure

This study's methodological dichotomy is reflected in its two-part structure. The first part is quantitative and analyses the collected biographical data on the defined population of seventeenth-century Brussels' painters to gain more insight into the social structures that shaped their lives. It consists of three chapters, each of which focuses on one of the three places of living that the sociologist Ray Oldenburg famously distinguished in his 1989 book *The Great Good Place*.[70] Chapter 1 examines the *first place* or the home. Using primarily parish records, this chapter explores the main characteristics of the painters' family lives and successively describes their marriage practices, intergenerational strategies, and bonds of spiritual kinship. Chapter 2 deals with the *second place*, or the workplace, and zooms in on the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers. Starting from the guild's register and ordinance, this chapter analyses the organisation's evolution throughout the century and the career opportunities it continued to provide to painters from within and outside of the city. Chapter 3 explores the social environments in which painters spent time beyond their home and work: the *third place*. As these then widespread gathering places often left little to no paper trails, this chapter focuses solely on the involvement of painters in some of the most significant and well-documented examples, such as public houses, chambers of rhetoric, confraternities, parishes, and neighbourhoods.

The second part of this study is qualitative and links the results of part one to the artistic production of a select number of painters with remarkable profiles. It is divided into three chronologically arranged chapters, each of which deals with a unique case study related to Brussels' most prominent places of painting. Chapter 4 is set at the beginning of the seventeenth century and describes the activities of the now largely forgotten Noveliers family at the Brussels' court. At least three painters from this family held privileged positions at the court, and by analysing parts of their networks, this chapter examines how they had obtained and utilised these courtly connections. Chapter 5 focuses on a group of like-minded landscape painters who flooded the market with depictions of the Sonian Forest around the mid-seventeenth century. The relationship between these landscapists' interconnectedness and artistic homogeneity is central, but it also takes a closer look at the group's many collaborations to reassess some hitherto accepted attributions. Finally, Chapter 6 zooms in on those painters involved in Brussels' vibrant tapestry industry at the end of the seventeenth century. It studies how they together designed, painted, and restored tapestry cartoons and examines the influence of spatial distance on these co-productions.

PART I

THE THREE PLACES OF LIVING

CHAPTER 1
THE FIRST PLACE: THE FAMILY AND KINSHIP PATTERNS OF BRUSSELS' PAINTERS

> *The first place is the home – the most important place of all. It is the first regular and predictable environment of the growing child and the one that will have greater effect upon his or her development. It will harbor individuals long before the workplace is interested in them and well after the world of work cast them aside.*
>
> – Oldenburg 1989, p. 16

1.1 The Early Modern Family of Painters in Art History

Since the 1960s, there has been much interest in European family life of the past.[1] Building upon an aggregate of demographic studies, scholars aimed to capture the unique characteristics of the Western family and its role in the development of modern society. Central to this undertaking was the work of the mathematician John Hajnal (1924–2008) and the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure led by, most notably, the historian Peter Laslett (1915–2001). In a string of publications, they identified three main features that distinguished pre-industrial European families from those in almost every other part of the world. First, in Europe, families generally lived in nuclear households that were set up upon marriage and consisted only of a conjugal pair and their unmarried offspring.[2] Second, both men and women married and had children relatively late. Most were well into their twenties at the time of their first marriage and age differences between spouses were small.[3] Third, there was a significant portion of the populace – about 10 per cent to 20 per cent – that remained single throughout their lives and thus never married at all.[4]

Unsurprisingly, Hajnal and Laslett's sweeping statements were quickly nuanced by later historians who stressed the heterogeneity of early modern European families.[5] For the northwestern corner of the continent, however, their early insights have become part of modern historiography. Scholars paid particular attention to the implications these patterns and structures had on the bonds between relatives who did not live together. In what is now known as the 'nuclear-hardship hypothesis', they convincingly argued that the predominance of neolocal nuclear households in this region – which, to be clear, includes the Southern Netherlands – caused kinship networks to be loosely knit.[6] Family members valued various forms of solidarity and mutual obligations to maintain one another's well-being, but the extent to which they provided their help depended on numerous calculations of individual interest. That is, people not only had to weigh the needs of their own household against those of their relatives, their willingness to help was also bound by a myriad of other factors such as their spatial location, physical condition, and financial comfort.[7] As a result, members of nuclear households could not always rely on their extended families during critical life events and had to actively seek out strategies to limit their vulnerability.[8]

Research on the nuclear families of early modern painters in the Southern Netherlands suggests that ensuring the intergenerational continuation of artistic skills and workshops was one of these strategies. Over the last few decades, the art-historical interest in this type of succession planning has increased sharply. Especially the renowned and highly successful Brueghel dynasty has received a lot of attention. Art historians described how this dynasty's main representatives established a true family brand over several generations by setting up a stylistically and thematically defined idiom and meeting the ongoing demand for derivative paintings.[9] Similar observations were also made for other well-known families such as those of the Franckens and Van Steenwycks.[10] Exceptions, in which painters from the same family followed their own artistic paths, were studied as well. For instance, in the stimulating volume *Family Ties: Art Production and Kinship Patterns in the Early Modern Low Countries*, Hans Vlieghe elucidated how opportunistic motives inspired three generations of painters from the Teniers family to adapt their work to the changing tastes and fashions of their times.[11]

How widespread occupational continuity really was among early modern artists, however, remains unclear. A recent estimate for Antwerp by Neil de Marchi and Hans van Miegroet – based on Pieter Groenendijk's 2008 *Beknopt biografisch lexicon* of Netherlandish artists – indicated that the number of painters in that city who had immediate family ties to other painters ranged from about 30 per cent in 1651 to 55 per cent in 1670.[12] Relatively high shares that corresponded to comparable – albeit less clearly substantiated – statements about seventeenth-century painters in the

Northern Netherlands, but that are increasingly questioned by historians who studied the relationship between kinship and work in more detail.[13] For example, in his research on apprenticeship systems in early modern Antwerp, Bert de Munck concluded that 'true family businesses were not the rule'.[14] Whether or not a son followed in his father's footsteps depended on numerous socio-economic factors – including the success of the latter's workshop – and the art-historical tendency to focus on celebrated families like the Brueghels may have produced a biased view in this regard.[15]

In recent years, historians have also paid much attention to the use of spiritual kinship as a strategy to secure trust and assistance outside the early modern household.[16] This type of kinship refers to the secondary bonds that come about during the sacraments of baptism and matrimony. Especially the former – where the term refers to the relationship between the baptised and their parents on the one hand and the godparents on the other – was often the subject of study. Most notable were the contributions of Guido Alfani and Vincent Gourdon. They found that in their choice of godparents, people often neglected the role's main function to help raise the child to be a good Christian in favour of 'social, economic, and relational reasons extraneous to religion'.[17] In other words, parents tended to use the baptism of their infant to forge entrepreneurial alliances or to solidify existing ties.[18] Mary Vaccaro confirmed that the honour of being chosen as a godparent was often entrusted to neighbours or business associates and specified that godparenthood strategies among artists provided 'valuable opportunities for artistic collaboration'.[19]

Research into the use of spiritual kinship by seventeenth-century artists in the Southern Netherlands focused mainly on the region's highly collaborative and capital-intensive tapestry industry. Already since 2004, Koenraad Brosens has pointed out various Brussels' tapestry producers who became godparents to one another's children and/or acted as witnesses at one another's weddings. Using several case studies, Brosens demonstrated how *tapissiers* utilised these ritualised duties to quickly forge or strengthen relationships with their colleagues and how this occasionally resulted in artistic cross-fertilisation or joint business ventures.[20] Following these insights, other art historians such as Klara Alen and Martine Vanwelden identified networks of spiritual kinship among tapestry producers in Antwerp and Oudenaarde as well.[21] From time to time, their studies included painters who were active as tapestry designers and took on one of these roles, but whether these artists themselves also made strategic choices in appointing godparents or witnesses at weddings remains largely unknown.

All in all, while recent research suggests that both natural and spiritual kinship were important to early modern artists, the use of family strategies by painters in the Southern Netherlands was never the subject of a systematic study. Scholars focused mainly on the kinship ties of a select number of – often well-known – artists and

rarely addressed the significance of these relationships outside their defined cases. As Neil de Marchi and Hans J. van Miegroet aptly summarised: 'Family ties clearly mattered to seventeenth-century [...] artists, but there is a need for a great deal of close empirical mapping plus analysis of multiple possible causes before we can expect to reach anything approaching generalizations about their impact.'[22] By examining the marriage practices, intergenerational strategies, and bonds of spiritual kinship of seventeenth-century Brussels' master painters through the analysis of a wide array of parish records, this chapter aims to contribute to such a broader understanding. Before that, however, the next section will take a closer look at the eventful history of the city in which these artists and their families built their lives.

1.2 Brussels in the Seventeenth Century

On 5 September 1599, the newly married Archdukes Albert (1559–1621) and Isabella (1566–1633) made their Joyous Entry into Brussels.[23] The duo had been granted sovereign rule over the reconquered southern parts of the Netherlands by the Spanish king Philip II (1527–1598) – Isabella's father – and brought with them the promise of stability and revitalisation in the wake of the religious turmoil, destructive wars, and crippling migration that had marked the end of the sixteenth century.[24] From their residence atop the Coudenberg hill in Brussels, they soon took measures to breathe new life into the battered region and launched a major campaign to reconcile their subjects to Habsburg rule and the Catholic faith.[25] Initially, these ambitions were hampered by the ongoing and money-guzzling conflict with the rebellious provinces in the north. But after Spain had ceased hostilities and agreed upon the Twelve Years' Truce with the Dutch Republic in 1609, the duo was able to consolidate their efforts and transform their lands into a flourishing stronghold of the Counter-Reformation.[26]

The effects of the Archdukes' measures during this prolonged period of peace were also felt in Brussels. First, to accentuate the legitimacy of their reign, the duo increased the presence of the court in the city enormously. They restored to their former glory the Coudenberg Palace and the – occasionally publicly accessible – parks and gardens surrounding it and introduced a new court ceremonial that expanded their household from about 230 workers to more than 500 courtiers and servants.[27] Second, the Archdukes reinvigorated the local economy. They built new infrastructure, granted patents and privileges to support Brussels' tapestry, lace, and carriages, among others, industries, and, from 1618 onwards, provided the city's inhabitants with the opportunity to pawn their valuables for an interest-free loan at the region's first *Berg van Barmhartigheid* (mount of piety).[28] Third, the Archdukes

encouraged the practice of the faith at all levels of society. They forbade anyone to visit or conduct business in taverns during mass and multiplied the number of processions in the city.[29] In addition, the duo also provided patronage for the construction, rebuilding, and replacement of numerous chapels, churches, and monasteries that had suffered from iconoclast riots and supported the creation of new artworks to (re)decorate these places of worship.[30]

The relatively peaceful and prosperous reign of the Archdukes came to an end in 1621. In April of that year, Spain and the Dutch Republic decided not to renew the Truce – to the frustration of the Southern Netherlands – and only a few months later Archduke Albert died a childless death after a short illness.[31] As a result, the region returned to Spanish hands, Isabella was demoted to Governor, and the war to reunite the Netherlands was resumed.[32] Initially, Spanish forces led by Ambrogio Spinola (1569–1630) achieved some victories but, as Spain continued to reduce its military support, the tides soon turned.[33] Dutch troops invaded the Southern Netherlands via the northern frontier and formed an offensive alliance with France to increase the pressure from the south.[34] Moreover, in the early 1630s, a political crisis arose when a section of the regions' nobility tried in vain to end the Spanish regime by making peace with the northern provinces themselves.[35] While Isabella's successor Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand (*c.*1609–1641) – who was Governor-General from 1634 to 1641 – managed to limit the military losses to some extent, peace did not follow until 1648 when Spain formally recognised the Dutch Republic and the Treaty of Münster was signed.[36]

Unfortunately, the second half of the century offered little relief to the war-weary population of the Southern Netherlands.[37] As the power of the Spanish crown and their quickly succeeding representatives on the Coudenberg waned, the expansionist urges of Louis XIV (1638–1715) weighed heavily on the region and its inhabitants. In an attempt to expand France's northern and north-eastern borders to the Rhine, *le Roi Soleil*'s (the Sun King's) forces repeatedly invaded parts of the Netherlands in an ongoing series of wars.[38] Furthermore, the profits of the economic revival of the previous decades began to fade. The region's international trade was impeded by the rising mercantilism of the surrounding countries and the frequency of famines increased sharply after 1648.[39] For Brussels, however, the worst was yet to come. On 13, 14, and 15 August 1695, French troops bombarded the city with more than 3000 explosive shells and cannonballs. Together with the resulting fire, this event destroyed a third of the buildings within the city's walls, leaving thousands of civilians homeless – including the painter Augustyn Coppens (1668–1740), who recorded the event in a series of drawings and published them in collaboration with his etching colleague Richard van Orley (1663–1732) (fig. 3).[40]

Yet, even after the reign of the Archdukes had ended, Brussels continued to offer opportunities to its inhabitants – including its painters. As the residence of the

Fig. 3. Richard van Orley after Augustyn Coppens, *View of the Grand Place (Perspectives des ruines de la ville de Bruxelles)*, 1695. Etching on paper, 250 × 385 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-77.238 (photo: Rijksmuseum).

court and administrative centre of the duchy of Brabant, the city retained its multiple international roles and experienced sustainable demographic growth throughout the century. Brussels' population grew from about 50,000 in 1615 to approximately 82,000 in 1693 and was, until the beginning of the nineteenth century, larger than that of any other city in the Netherlands apart from Amsterdam.[41] This positive trend was reflected in the consumption of paintings and other luxuries. Besides the patronage of the court – which in this later period flourished especially under the rule of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm (1614–1662) who was Governor from 1647 to 1656 – the civic authorities, religious institutions, and socio-economic elites were all buying art.[42] In addition, the number of commoners that owned artworks was conspicuously high too. In her comprehensive study on Brussels' material culture, Veerle de Laet stated that between 1600 and 1635 households in the city had an average of 12.6 paintings on their walls. A relatively large amount that, according to De Laet, only increased as the century progressed.[43]

Brussels' industrial dynamic also proved to be resilient.[44] The political unrest had reduced the import and export of raw materials and goods, but due to the constant modernisation of the fourteenth-century city walls and fortifications, the making of

new products and luxuries could continue largely unhindered.[45] This was perhaps most clearly illustrated by a 1655 letter from six linen weavers from nearby Nivelles who 'à cause des guerres continuelles [requested the local authority's permission to settle in Brussels] pour avec plus de repos y travailler'.[46] Brussels' comparatively safe working environment also offered advantages for painters. Most notably, some of them benefited from the city's status as one of the leading centres for the production of high-quality tapestries. They closely collaborated with tapestry producers to design and/or paint the essential cartoons needed during the weaving process and retouched older ones that had been damaged over time.[47] Even when the popularity of local designs began to wane around the middle of the century, the city's tapestry producers still depended on their painting fellow townsmen to copy, repair, or even rework the more sought after French and sixteenth-century sets.[48]

In short, the seventeenth century was a turbulent time for Brussels and its inhabitants. After a brief glimpse of peace and general revitalisation during the Archdukes' reign in the early decades, the city was plagued by war, political unrest, and protectionist measures for almost the entire remainder of the century. These constant hardships and hazards must undoubtedly have affected the people of Brussels, but despite all of this turmoil, their lives continued. The city's residents never stopped working, socialising, marrying, baptising their children, or even consuming art and luxuries. This ensured that Brussels' artistic and industrial dynamics could largely be maintained throughout the century and that the painters in the city could continue to enjoy economic and social opportunities. As the following sections will demonstrate, it also allowed these artists to develop family and kinship strategies that helped them arm themselves against the numerous risks and uncertainties of their time.

1.3 Marriage Patterns and Independent Households

One of the ways seventeenth-century people could limit their risks was by sharing them through marriage.[49] As discussed above, the age at which the average person in the early modern Southern Netherlands first married was relatively high: well into their twenties.[50] Marriage formed the core of independent nuclear families and newlyweds had to be sure that they were financially able to establish and sustain a household of their own.[51] This meant that the timing of marriage was vital and often telling about the economic situation of both the bride and groom.[52] An analysis of parish records suggests that seventeenth-century Brussels' master painters were also inclined to wait for the right moment to join in matrimony. At least 139 of them married at least once from 1599 to 1726.[53] The baptism dates – used as birth dates

throughout the following chapters – of just over half of them are known. These 87 painters married for the first time at the median age of 28 years old (table 1).

Table 1. The age of master painters upon their first known marriage

AGE	PAINTERS (N = 87)	
15–19	2	(2.30%)
20–24	23	(26.44%)
25–29	31	(35.63%)
30–34	20	(22.99%)
35+	11	(12.64%)

While this in itself says little about these painters' economic situations at the time of their first marriage, it is striking that for many of them getting married seems to have been positively correlated with starting a workshop of their own (fig. 4).[54] No less than 25 painters married within two years before they were registered as masters and another 36 did so within two years thereafter.[55] The median duration between both events was only two months.[56] On the one hand, this seems to confirm that for many painters the socio-economic benefits associated with becoming a master were an important factor in setting up an independent household. On the other, the relationship between both events can also be explained by the dynamics of painters' nuclear families. Recent studies have shown that married artists relied heavily on the help of their spouses in running their businesses.[57] The latter, for instance, were often actively involved in keeping their partners' shops open, selling their finished goods at fairs, and most importantly keeping the financial books.[58]

In some cases, marriage also determined access to social and financial capital.[59] They consolidated trust between the families involved and fostered mutual support among their members.[60] Examples of painters who married the sisters or daughters of their colleagues – and thus strengthened their position within the creative community – are plentiful. For example, in 1637, Nicolaes d'Artois (1617–after 1653) married Anna van Coninxloo, who presumably was part of the renowned family of painters.[61] Two decades later, Ignatius van der Stock (1636–1668) married Barbara Achtschellinck (1627–1711), who was the sister of Van der Stock's colleague Lucas Achtschellinck (1626–1699).[62] Adriaen Francois Boudewyns (1644–1719), on his turn, married Barbara van der Meulen (1642–1674) in 1670. At the time of their wedding, Boudewyns was working in Paris in the service of his bride's brother – the Brussels-born painter Adam Francois van der Meulen (1632–1690).[63] The couple had two children before Van der Meulen died in 1674 and Boudewyns returned to Brussels.[64]

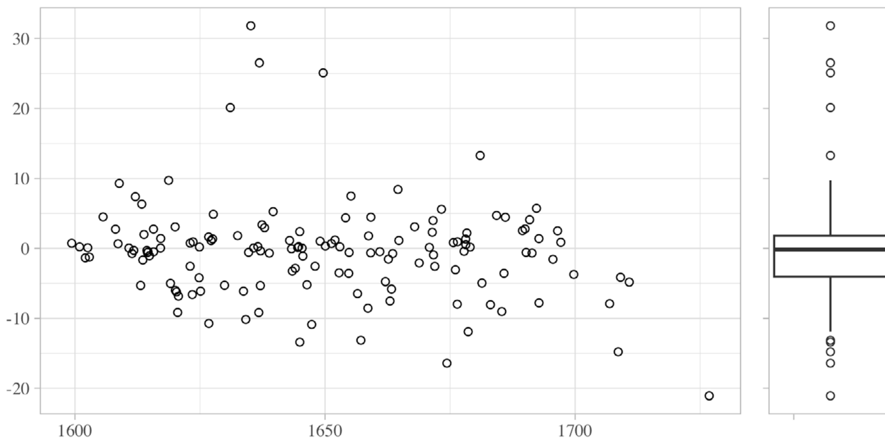


Fig. 4. The interval between painters' first marriage and master registration, 1599–1726. Each dot represents an individual painter plotted on the date of his marriage on the *x*-axis and the number of years to or from his master registration on the *y*-axis and in a box plot.

However, painters in Brussels did not limit their choice of a 'suitable' partner to the relatives of other painters alone. Some of them married the sisters or daughters of tapestry producers instead. Leo (1605–1685) and his brother Daniel van Heil (1604–after 1664), for instance, married Johanna and Maria 't Serraerts in 1633 and 1636 respectively.[65] Both women were part of the 't Serraerts family who had produced tapestries in Brussels since at least the late sixteenth century.[66] Similar partner choices also occurred among the children of painters. For example, the daughters of both Antoon Sallaert (1594–1650) and Daniel van Heil married tapestry producers. Catharina Sallaert (1633–1678) wedded Cornelis Leyniers (1633–1702) in 1660 and Anna van Heil (1649–1710) married Jacques Cordys 21 years later.[67] Tellingly, both brides' fathers were actively involved in their new sons-in-law's industries as tapestry designers and/or cartoon painters.[68]

While marriages like these could help shape someone's professional career, it should be nuanced that they were not necessarily the result of a conscious and long-term planning process.[69] People in the Southern Netherlands had considerable liberty in meeting potential partners and the likelihood that painters or their children would court someone who frequented the same places and events as them was rather large.[70] Of course – as the following case regarding a broken engagement will demonstrate – it was not uncommon for parents or other relatives to interfere or mediate in the process of choosing a suitable spouse, but overall the affection that developed between young couples was at least as important as their economic considerations.[71] In this regard, it is significant to note that two-thirds of the painters' spouses did not seem to have had any ties with complementary arts or industries. A ratio that

corresponds to the number of strategic marriages that Klara Alen identified in her study of tapestry producers' partner choices in seventeenth-century Antwerp.[72]

That social and economic interests were not always decisive in marital choices was also apparent from a notary's deed from 1682 that dealt with the broken engagement between Daniel Leyniers (1618–1688) and Catharina Reps (1656–after 1682).[73] Leyniers was a leading painter in Brussels who belonged to an established dynasty of tapestry producers and directors of dye works.[74] Already in 1644, at the start of his career, Leyniers could count on a group of prominent *tapissiers* to support his application for tax relief that he successfully submitted to the Brussels' city administration as a tapestry designer.[75] A year later, he became a master painter in the local Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers where he was appointed dean in 1653 and 1659.[76] Catharina Reps, on her turn, was the sister of Francois Reps (1660–after 1694): a painter and gilder who had only been a master in the aforementioned guild for three months at the time of this affair.[77] The young artist must have realised that a marriage between his sister and the renowned Leyniers could bring his career many socio-economic benefits. Yet, it was he who objected to the marriage for 'various reasons'.[78] At the time of his sister's engagement, Leyniers was already 64 years old and he had lost two of his wives with whom he had several children.[79] Reps stated that Leyniers was simply too old to marry the 38 years younger Catharina and that he would soon be at risk of *flerecyn* (rheumatism) and other old-age ailments. Reps specified that this would leave his sister in a vulnerable position and must have decided that these risks did not outweigh the potential benefits for him and his career.[80]

1.4 Occupational Continuity

Keeping the family workshop up and running for successive generations was another way in which early modern people could mitigate their risks.[81] Studies suggest that family businesses were a vital factor in the development of artistic traditions and stated that transferring artistic and commercial skills from father to son was customary for many seventeenth-century painters in the Netherlands.[82] Among Brussels' painters and their children, however, occupational continuity did not seem to be the norm. An analysis of parish and guild registers shows that only 35 of the city's master painters – one in ten of the total number of painters who were registered as masters from 1599 to 1706 – had one or more sons who succeeded them in the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers (table 2). Twenty-nine of them had one son who became a master, five had two sons

who joined the guild, and the remaining one – Leo van Heil – had three sons who followed in his footsteps. It is worth noting that more than a third of the masters in this select group of fathers whose sons succeeded them were second-generation painters themselves. Third-generation painters with one or more sons in the guild, however, did not appear in the dataset. These artists presumably fell through the cracks due to the chronological delineation of the study population.

That the number of sons who succeeded their painting fathers in Brussels was so low is striking. As the next chapter will show, the local guild was very advantageous to painters who wanted to train their sons themselves. They did not have to register their offspring as apprentices and avoided the high costs of letting them train in another master's workshop. In addition, the sons of masters enjoyed a reduced fee for when they formally joined the guild after their apprenticeship.[83] While such guild-related benefits no doubt weighed in a painter's choice to include his son in the family business, recent studies have shown that occupational continuity depended on other factors as well. The artistic talent of the child was certainly one of them, but perhaps more important was the availability of work.[84] A master's son had to assist in their family's workshop only when needed and did not strive to succeed his father if the latter's career was not economically worthwhile.[85] In other words, the number of painter dynasties in a city was subject to the local market for painting. Especially in smaller towns, where the demand for art was limited, sons of masters often had to practice a different craft or had to emigrate to avoid destructive competition with their relatives.[86]

Table 2. The number of master painters with one or more sons who succeeded them as masters in the guild registers, 1599–1720

	FIRST-GENERATION		SECOND-GENERATION		TOTAL	
Masters (n = 353) with active sons	23	(6.52%)	12	(3.40%)	35	(9.92%)
Of whom						
One son became master	19	(5.38%)	10	(2.83%)	29	(8.22%)
Two sons became masters	3	(0.85%)	2	(0.57%)	5	(1.42%)
Three sons became masters	1	(0.28%)	0	(0.00%)	1	(0.28%)

Brussels, as already described, was by no means a small town in the seventeenth century. The city's ever-increasing population exceeded that of places like Antwerp and Ghent, and this size was reflected in the local consumption of art.[87] Nevertheless, a lack of work might have prevented some of the city's less fortunate painters from enrolling their sons as masters anyway. A closer look at the painters who did carry over their craft from generation to generation seems to indicate that this strategy was

more dominant among painters whose skills were recognised as desirable in their own time. Among the painters who employed one or more sons in their workshops, well-known families such as the d'Artois, Coppens, Van Schoor, and Van Orley were well represented. Other families, such as the Noveliers and Van Geel, also appeared repeatedly on the list. These names are less recognised today, but they must have enjoyed a certain prestige in the seventeenth century as well. For instance, at least three members of the Noveliers family painted in the service of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella, and Carel Alexander van Geel (1620–after 1667) – who appears to have been the first master painter in the Van Geel family – baptised some of his children in the official church of the Brussels' court: the Saint-Jacques on the Coudenberg.[88]

That families of painters took the demand for their work into account when employing their children was also apparent from the case of the aforementioned Leo van Heil and his three sons.[89] Van Heil originated from 's-Hertogenbosch and moved to Brussels around the turn of the century, where he became a master in 1600.[90] Two years later he married Maria de Waeyer with whom he had at least nine children.[91] His two oldest sons, Daniel and Leo, were both registered as masters on 5 August 1627.[92] His third son, Jan Baptist (1609–after 1686), followed more than 16 years later on 22 October 1643.[93] All three of Van Heil's sons learned in his workshop but each of them specialised in a different genre. Daniel dedicated himself to painting landscapes with burning buildings, ruins, and winter scenes;[94] Leo specialised in flowers and insects but was best known for his architectural designs and perspectives;[95] and Jan Baptist painted portraits and religious scenes.[96] This form of product differentiation yielded several advantages to Van Heil's sons. Not only did it allow the brothers to avoid competition among themselves, but it also created the opportunity for them to complement each other's works. For example, in about 1630, Daniel and Jan Baptist collaborated on a portrait of Infanta Isabella and her retinue in the gardens of the Coudenberg Palace that is currently kept in the Brussels City Museum. Daniel painted the far-reaching landscape and dominating palace while his younger brother – who was not yet a master at the time – was responsible for the portraits and staffage (fig. 5).

In addition to painters who were succeeded by one or more of their sons, the guild register also contains a small group of artists who trained other family members to follow in their footsteps (table 3). First, five painters taught one of their brothers. In all cases, the teaching brother was older than the sibling he apprenticed. The age gap was often significant and varied from 12 to 20 years. Only the landscape painter Jacques d'Artois (1613–1686) and his brother Nicolaes were closer in age; they were baptised less than four years apart.[97] Second, there was at least one painter who trained his cousin. In 1629, Antoon Sallaert enrolled Jan Baptist Sallaert as a pupil.[98] The boy only became a master 15 years later.[99] Finally, at least one master

Fig. 5. Daniel and Jan Baptist van Heil, *Infante Isabella in the Gardens of the Coudenberg Palace*, *c.*1630. Oil on canvas, 137 × 305.5 cm. Brussels, City Museum, K-1886-2 (photo: Brussels City Museum).

was succeeded by his stepson. This painter – Pieter Bout (*c.*1640–1689) – had no other apprentices and presumably only trained Francois de Bargas, the son of his wife Johanna Garneveldt and her late husband.[100]

Table 3. The number of masters with other family members who succeeded them as masters in the guild register, 1599–1706

	BROTHER(S)	NEPHEW(S)	STEPSON(S)
Masters (n = 353) with active family member(s)	5 (1.42%)	1 (0.28%)	1 (0.28%)

Two exceptional cases are known in which a painter shared his workshop with a female family member. The first case – well-studied thanks to the efforts of the art historian Katlijne Van der Stighelen – is that of Charles Wautier (1609–1703) and his older sister Michaelina (1604–1689).[101] Charles moved from Mons to Brussels in the early 1630s and was followed by Michaelina after the death of their mother in 1638.[102] They lived together for the rest of their lives and presumably also shared a workshop from which they quickly achieved success with their stylistically similar history paintings, portraits, and genre works.[103] For instance, the art-loving

Archduke Leopold Wilhelm had himself portrayed by Charles and owned no less than four of Michaelina's paintings, including a monumental depiction of the *Triumph of Bacchus* (fig. 6).[104]

The second case concerned the above-mentioned Antoon Sallaert and his daughter Catharina. Catharina had presumably learned to paint in her father's workshop and assisted him in applying decorative and textual elements. For example, after Antoon had painted a series with the *History of the Church of Our Lady in Alsemberg* for the eponymous church, his daughter added banderols with descriptions of the scenes in Dutch and French (fig. 7).[105] Neither Michaelina nor Catharina was ever registered in the guild.[106]

1.5 Spiritual Kinship: Godparents and Marriage Witnesses

A third way for early modern people to limit their risks was by forging bonds of spiritual kinship. These relationships were established during the sacraments of baptism and matrimony and formally tied the rituals' recipients to the godparents or marriage witnesses involved. Of course, such ties did not outweigh the previously described relationship that stemmed from kinship or marriage, but bonds of spiritual kinship too ensured social and economic assistance during critical life events.[107] The key to this was the public character of the rites that shaped them. They preferably took place in the presence of the community and were often followed by a feast that consolidated the newly established ties to all those present.[108] This public display assured mutual assistance and strengthened the trust between the parties involved. After all, failing to meet the agreed-upon responsibilities could lead to social sanctions and consequently financial losses.[109] In other words, spiritual kinship could greatly ease economic transactions making both baptisms and marriages major opportunities for seventeenth-century Brussels' master painters to publicly enter into or solidify entrepreneurial alliances.

1.5.1 Godparents

One of the most important sacraments in the seventeenth-century Southern Netherlands was baptism. People believed that it cleansed the taint of original sin and that it was a requirement for salvation. This belief – combined with a high infant mortality rate – ensured that almost every newborn in Brussels was baptised as soon as possible after its birth.[110] In about 1600, it generally took no more than five days

Fig. 6. Michaelina Wautier, *Triumph of Bacchus*, *c.*1655. Oil on canvas, 270 × 354 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, GG 3548 (photo: RKD — Netherlands Institute for Art History).

Fig. 7. Antoon and Catharina Sallaert, *Our Lady Tells Saint Elisabeth to Build a Church*, *c.*1650. Oil on canvas, 135 × 220 cm. Alsemberg, Church of Our Lady (photo: kerknet.be).

before children were baptised and this interval shrunk to two days at most over the course of the century.[111] All these baptisms provided opportunities to engage in bonds of spiritual kinship. The Council of Trent (1545–1563) had stipulated that at least one godfather or godmother, or one of both as was usual, had to witness the rite.[112] They played a ritual role during the baptism and were expected to act as tutors in their godchildren's Christian education thereafter.[113] However, as discussed above, these roles were often neglected and parents selected the godparents of their children mainly to strengthen their social and economic position.

To gain more insight into the godparenthood patterns of Brussels' master painters, the baptism records of 190 of their children born from 1601 to 1709 were analysed (table 4). Godparents were registered at all these baptisms. In nearly all cases it concerned both a godfather and a godmother. Only twice, with the sons of Francois Mossens (1622–after 1657) and David III Teniers (1638–1685), the registers solely mentioned a godmother.[114]

Table 4. The number of godparents per baptism record, 1601–1709

NUMBER OF GODPARENTS PER BAPTISM	BAPTISMS (N = 190)		GODPARENTS (N = 378)	
0	0	(0.00%)	0	(0.00%)
1	2	(1.05%)	2	(0.53%)
2	188	(98.95%)	376	(99.47%)

Just over a third of the godparents mentioned in the registrations bore the same family name as either the father or mother of the child. The distribution was practically equal: 61 had the same family name as the father and 70 had the same name as the mother. At 23 baptisms, both the godfather and godmother were related to their new godchild's parents. In 14 cases both parents' families were represented by a godparent and in 9 others one of the families was represented by both. In almost all cases where the parents chose a godparent with the same family name, it was one of their fathers, brothers, or sisters. In addition, at least 12 parents picked one of their mothers to become the godparent to their child. No doubt more mothers took on this role, but since these women often did not share the same last name as the rest of their nuclear families, they were harder to identify.

In at least nine cases, painters used their child's baptism to form a bond of spiritual kinship with a colleague who was not family.[115] The impact of such relationships is difficult to ascertain but it is striking that the artists involved often painted in a similar fashion. For instance, in 1643, Lanceloot Lefebure became the godfather of Antoon Sallaert's daughter Maria.[116] Both painters designed tapestry cartoons and were sought-after for the ornamental monumentality of their work.

Fig. 8. Workshop of Gerard Peemans after David III Teniers, *May and June* (*Twelve Months*), *c.*1675. Wool and silk, dimensions unknown. Collection of the Bank of Spain (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History).

Their designs, however, remain largely unexplored and are difficult – if not impossible – to distinguish in their woven and possibly altered forms.[117] Similarly, in 1646, the landscape painter Huybrecht de Vadder (1592–after 1645) became godfather to his colleague Nicolaes d'Artois' daughter Anna.[118] Both had learned to paint in their brothers' workshops – Philips de Vadder (1590–after 1613) and Jacques d'Artois respectively – and although none of their works is known today, the landscapes of their teachers are characterised by a great homogeneity.[119]

In addition, at least five painters became godfathers to the children of Brussels' tapestry producers. David III Teniers, in particular, seems to have positioned himself firmly in the tapestry world in this way. He became godfather to the daughter of Gerard Peemans (1642–1725) in 1675 and the daughter of Jacob van der Borcht (c.1655–1693) five years later.[120] Willem van Schoor (1617–after 1676) and his son Louis (1650–1702) also entered into bonds of spiritual kinship with a tapestry

producer. In 1660 and 1671, they successively became godfathers to the children of Erasmus de Pannemaecker (1627–after 1687).[121] Finally, Louis Cousin (*c.*1606–1667) and Jan Verschuren (1636–after 1665) became godfathers to the children of Daniel Eggermans (1631–1669) in 1663 and 1665.[122] Archival documents and surviving tapestries show that these relationships often arose from past or ongoing artistic collaborations.[123] For instance, around the time Teniers became godfather to Peemans' daughter Elisabeth Maria, the latter's tapestry workshop was finishing a *Twelve Months* series after the painter's design (fig. 8).[124]

1.5.2 Marriage Witnesses

In addition to baptism, the sacrament of matrimony also offered the opportunity to form ties of spiritual kinship. The Council of Trent had determined that marriages were only valid if they took place in the presence of a priest and at least two witnesses.[125] Unlike the choice of godparents, the selection of marriage witnesses was not restricted by gender. The bridal couple could choose freely and did not necessarily have to select both a man and a woman.[126] To study the selection process of Brussels' master painters and their wives, a total of 163 marriage records – registered from 1599 to 1726 – were analysed (table 5). Surprisingly, about a third of them did not mention any marriage witnesses at all.[127] The remaining 108 recorded the presence of two, three, or – exceptionally – four marriage witnesses. Only 12 of the 226 recorded witnesses were women.

Table 5. The number of witnesses per marriage record, 1599–1726

NUMBER OF WITNESSES PER MARRIAGE	MARRIAGES (N = 163)		WITNESSES (N = 226)	
0	55	(33.74%)	0	(0.00%)
1	0	(0.00%)	0	(0.00%)
2	99	(60.74%)	198	(87.61%)
3	8	(4.91%)	24	(10.62%)
4	1	(0.61%)	4	(1.77%)

As with the godparents, a significant share of the marriage witnesses was family. Eighty-eight of them bore the same family name as one of the newlyweds. In 47 cases, the witness had the same name as the groom. The remaining 41 shared their name with the bride. Sixteen marriages were recorded in which all witnesses were family: in twelve cases the families of both the groom and the bride were represented, in four others both witnesses belonged to only one of their families. The vast

majority of the witnesses who had the same last names as one of the newlyweds were part of the brides' or grooms' nuclear families. Fathers and brothers were most common. Exceptionally, mothers and sisters also took on the role. At least five of the twelve female witnesses could be identified as the mother of the groom. Two others took on the role at the marriages of their daughter or sister.

Occasionally, marital couples also took their business interests into account when choosing marriage witnesses. At least eight painters picked one of their colleagues who was not related to them to act as a witness at their marriage.[128] Here too, the impact of such relationships is difficult to determine. In two cases, however, it became clear that painters engaged their former masters to become witnesses at their marriages. For instance, in 1659, Jan van Daele and his fiancé Judoca Meeus chose Richard van Orley to take on the role.[129] Van Daele had become a master only eight months prior to his wedding and had worked in Van Orley's workshop for almost thirteen years before that.[130] Lanceloot Volders and Catharina Toussaint, in their turn, appointed Pieter van Gindertaelen as a witness at their marriage in 1663.[131] At that time, Volders had long since ceased to be apprenticed to Van Gindertaelen, but he had studied in the latter's workshop for almost seven years before he was registered as a master in 1657.[132] Whether these persistent ties also led to ongoing collaborations remains unknown. Finally, at least two painters were witnesses to the marriage of a tapestry producer. This again concerned Willem and Louis van Schoor, who in 1670 both took on the role at the second marriage of the tapestry producers Erasmus de Pannemaecker.[133]

1.6 Conclusion

Brussels' master painters – consciously or not – used various forms of natural and spiritual kinship to protect themselves from the whirlwinds of history that swept their city in the seventeenth century. However, the influence of family ties on most of the painters' artistic activities must be nuanced. This chapter shows that, contrary to what is often suggested in art-historical literature, only one in ten painters engaged their children or other relatives to assist in their workshops and succeed them as masters. This form of succession planning was therefore relatively rare in Brussels and mainly found in successful families who enjoyed enough work to support several households. In addition, it turned out that only 5 to 10 percent of painters strategically picked a colleague or tapestry producer as godparent to their children or as witnesses at their wedding in order to publicly forge bonds of trust and mutual assistance. More commonly, they chose someone from their own or spouses' families

to take on these roles, as happened in 30 to 40 percent of the cases. Marriage, on the other hand, seemed to be more closely linked to the economic activities of painters. More than 40 percent of the at least 139 painters who tied the knot married for the first time within two years of their master's registration and one in three chose a partner within their own professional circle.

CHAPTER 2
THE SECOND PLACE: BRUSSELS' PAINTERS AND THE LOCAL GUILD OF PAINTERS, GOLDBEATERS, AND STAINED-GLASS MAKERS

The second place is the work setting, which reduces the individual to a single, productive role. It fosters competition and motivates people to rise above their fellow creatures. But it also provides the means to a living, improves the material quality of life, and structures endless hours of time for a majority who could not structure it on their own.

– Oldenburg 1989, p. 16

2.1 A Social Approach to the History of Guilds in the Southern Netherlands

As with almost all their early modern contemporaries who worked in a Southern-Netherlandish city, the 'work setting' of seventeenth-century Brussels' master painters was to a large extent regulated by a local guild. Over time, such professional organisations have already received a lot of scholarly attention but how their role in urban society has been understood has fundamentally changed in recent decades.[1] Until well into the twentieth century, researchers dealing with pre-industrial Southern-Netherlandish guilds based their views mainly on two contradictory and politically coloured perspectives. On the one hand, they depicted guilds as strongly interconnected associations in which small-scale production and self-regulation had curtailed the effects of social inequality and economic competition among artisans. Driven by their nostalgia for bygone values, these authors applauded the unanimous acts of guild members and praised their contributions to maintain solidarity in past

communities.[2] On the other hand, scholars portrayed guilds as conservative strongholds that had hindered industrial progress and innovations with their rigid rules about the production and trade of goods. They denounced the static, elitist, and rent-seeking nature of the affluent merchants and entrepreneurs who they believed had benefited most from these organisations and stated that guilds had acted solely out of self-interest while anxiously holding on to their traditions.[3]

These one-sided ideological views dictated the debate for many decades but gradually lost their relevance during the second half of the twentieth century when historians increasingly began to contest the latter in an attempt to rehabilitate guilds economically. From the 1960s onwards, more and more studies were published that tried to nuance the distorted image of guilds in the Southern Netherlands based on often rather descriptive cases.[4] However, the real historiographic turnaround did not follow until the 1990s when scholars began to investigate the economics of the region's corporate organisations more systematically.[5] The work of Catherine Lis and Hugo Soly, in particular, contributed greatly to this economic revision. In a series of comparative articles and edited volumes, they argued that – despite the many differences between them – most Southern-Netherlandish guilds had been perfectly compatible with economic growth. Lis and Soly demonstrated that these organisations had often been more flexible than initially thought and that in many cases they had readily adapted to changing circumstances and market conditions. In addition, they found that guilds had rarely stood in the way of innovations and sometimes even had actively promoted them by fostering product quality, reduced transaction costs, and supporting a healthy market for trained labour.[6]

Around the turn of this century, this renewed interest in the economic advantages of guilds also found its way into art history. Economic historians and art historians alike increasingly indicated that the regulations imposed by artists' guilds – they primarily focused on those in early modern Antwerp and late medieval Bruges – had resulted in more than just unnecessary obstacles for those involved. By stimulating demand, facilitating cooperation, and reducing information asymmetry between producers and consumers, these organisational frameworks had also helped maintain the balance between supply and demand while at the same time stimulating the development of local art markets and thriving artistic climates. In doing so, scholars repeatedly emphasised, artists' guilds had often pragmatically read or modified their statutes depending on the specific circumstances in which they found themselves.[7] Or as Katlijne van der Stighelen and Filip Vermeylen aptly put it in 2006: 'it was [the artists' guilds'] flexibility and opportunism, their willingness to turn a blind eye when faced with many violations of their own rules, that ensured [their] survival *and* relevance well into the Age of Enlightenment'.[8]

More recently, historians have also reintroduced a more social perspective to the guild debate. The rather narrow focus on rehabilitating Southern-Netherlandish guilds economically had inadvertently pushed studies on these organisations' social importance into the background. Yet this too, scholars pointed out, had been a vital part of their histories.[9] Most notably, in 2008, Tine de Moor argued that the region's guilds could be considered 'surrogate families'.[10] Building on the 'nuclear-hardship hypothesis' – which was also central to the previous chapter of this study – De Moor stated that they had offered many working people a safe alternative to meet the social needs unmet by weak family ties. Guilds were closely knitted networks based on values such as confraternity, equality, and mutual aid and were through collective action often able to provide their members with greater security during troubling times than extended families ever could.[11] Their closed and self-regulating form played an important role in this. As De Moor convincing discussed, it promoted shared norms, solidarity, and a strong sense of community among guild members and encouraged them not only to think about their own affairs but also to consider the general welfare of their group.[12]

Similar observations about the social aspects of Southern-Netherlandish guilds were also made by other historians. For instance, Bart de Munck – who thoroughly investigated corporate organisations in pre-industrial Antwerp – suggested that guilds had in the first place provided an answer to social, rather than economic, challenges.[13] Through their defined membership and collective actions, they had allowed members to minimise conflicts with their peers and enabled them to distribute the available information, labour, and goods more fairly among them. However, De Munck also stressed that this solidarity had not been self-evident. Members of the same guild could differ greatly from one another socioeconomically and the once unconditioned brotherhood between them had to be increasingly replaced by formal rules from the sixteenth century onwards.[14] Johan Dambruyne and Peter Stabel confirmed that the social benefits of guild membership were not the same for everyone. They found that despite their access restrictions, these organisations had welcomed a striking number of outsiders, but that the latter had often enjoyed fewer opportunities for upwards social mobility.[15] For instance, Dambruyne witnessed more interlocking relationships at the guilds' highest positions, and Stabel noted that career opportunities were less for those without already established networks in their new environments.[16]

The work of economic sociologists such as Mark Granovetter, Brian Uzzi, and Jarret Spiro also contributed to a more social approach to the history of guilds. Their studies may not have focused on corporate organisations of the past, but often scrutinised the use of social relationships in comparable structures of the present.[17] Particularly interesting for this chapter was Uzzi and Spiro's 'Collaboration and

Creativity: The Small World Problem'. It examines relatively dense groups of artists and explores how ideas were created and diffused within them. These so-called small-world networks, they argued, are characterised by actors who are closely connected through previous collaborations with one another or with common third parties. This allows new ideas to circulate easily within them, while also giving the shared information enough credibility to be adopted in new contexts. As a result, creativity could flourish or – after a certain threshold – be extinguished. After all, too closely intertwined networks could homogenise the circulating ideas, isolating the embedded actors from novel information, and limiting their ability to break with current conventions.[18]

Despite these valuable additions to the renewed interest in Southern-Netherlandish guilds, the corporate structures to which artists belonged have until now hardly been explored from a more social perspective.[19] By focusing on the activities of seventeenth-century Brussels' master painters in their guild – the city's Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers – the following pages hope to demonstrate that this might be fruitful nonetheless and aim to gain more insight into the guild's impact on the social lives of these painters and its consequent influence on their artistic and economic endeavours. So far, the painters' guild has only been studied three times before. First, in the 1870s, the archivist Alexandre Pinchart (1823–1884) published a transcribed selection of the guild registers listing all of the painters who enrolled as an apprentice and/or master in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[20] Second, in 1973, the art historian Michel Kervyn de Meerendré used a quantitative approach to compare the guild's composition with its Antwerp counterpart.[21] Third, in 2019, the Project Cornelia team applied a new data management and analysis strategy to revisit and combine the labours of Pinchart and Kervyn de Meerendré.[22] This chapter builds on these contributions by zooming in on the guild's openness to new members, the social mobility it provided, and the information flows it generated.[23]

2.2 The Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers During the Seventeenth Century

While the earliest known record of organised painters in Brussels dates back to 1306, it was presumably not until 1387 – when the first ordinance was adopted – that a group of complementary occupations joined forces and the Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers was established.[24] Like other corporations, the guild was conceived to perform several interwoven and equally important tasks.

First, it sought to organise and control the production and marketing of paintings, gold foil, and stained glass in Brussels. By imposing a comprehensive set of rules, the guild determined who was allowed to work in the city, what training was required to do so, and how and where goods could be sold. This way the guild intended to protect its artisans against foreign competition and interlopers, while at the same time securing the markets' confidence in the quality of their goods – and thus reputation.[25] For instance, to guarantee its members' skills the guild carried out strict supervision from 1416 onwards to ensure that all new masters had completed a minimum of four years of formal training.[26]

Second, the guild provided a corporate framework for collective action and solidarity. The guild was governed by three deans who were annually appointed on the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist (24 June) and represented their fellows in urban politics. As a part of the Nation of Saint John – one of the Nine Nations that united the corporations in Brussels – they held a seat at the city council and were able to defend their colleagues' interests against those of the patrician lineages of the city's Seven Noble Houses.[27] Additionally, in 1474 they had founded an *armenbus* to support needy members or their families with a monetary allowance in the event of incapacity for work due to illness or an accident.[28] Finally, the guild also fostered (cross-craft) collaboration and cooperation.[29] As the name suggests, the organisation housed several professional groups. Painters, goldbeaters, and stained-glass makers predominated, but it also counted complementary artists such as glass engravers, glass painters, gilders, and illuminators among its members.

In the seventeenth century, the guild continued to fulfil all these roles to at least some extent. As the following sections will show, it repeatedly had to adapt to changing times in doing so, but overall managed to maintain a fairly constant community of artists. The preserved – and previously introduced – membership register makes it possible to gain a general idea of how the organisation's population developed throughout the period.[30] Between 1599 and 1706, a total of 805 apprentices and 549 masters were registered.[31] Most of whom were painters. They covered no less than 65 per cent of the entries for apprentices and 64 per cent of the entries for masters (table 6).

Table 6. The number of new apprentices and masters registered in the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers, 1599–1706

	PAINTERS		TOTAL	
Number of apprentices	523	(64.97%)	805	(100%)
Number of masters	353	(64.30%)	549	(100%)

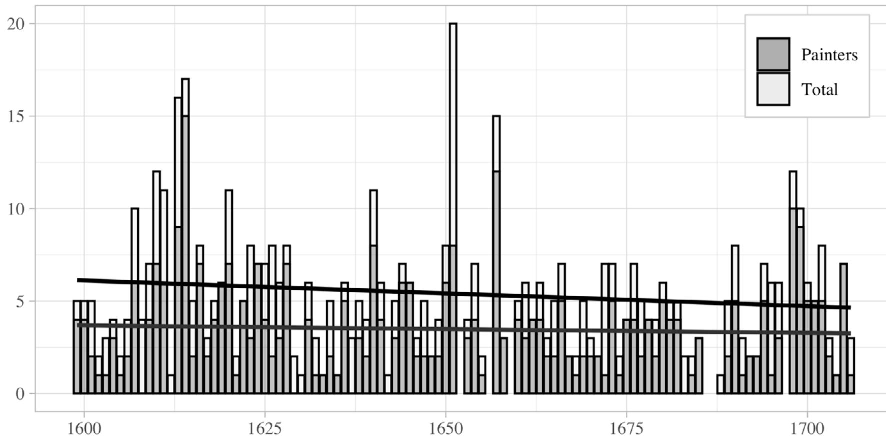


Fig. 9. The number of new masters and master painters in the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers per year, 1599–1706.

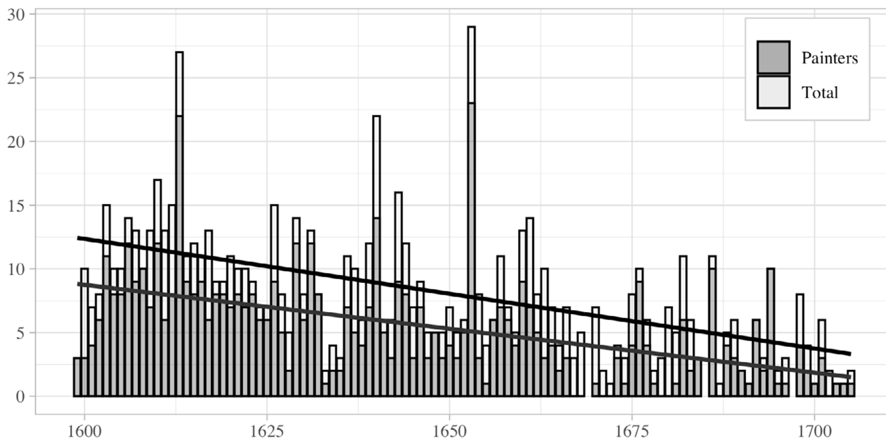


Fig. 10. The number of new apprentices and apprentice painters in the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers per year, 1599–1706.

The total influx of new masters followed a relatively stable trend with peaks and troughs throughout the century. As figure 9 shows, the guild welcomed an average of 5.1 masters per year. Overall, this number was higher at the start of the century and tapered off slightly towards the end. To some degree, this tendency of ups and downs was also reflected in the number of registrations of new master painters. However, their entries – rendered in a darker colour – showed more stability.

In contrast, figure 10 shows that the total quantity of newly enrolled apprentices steadily declined from 1599 to 1706. In three fading waves, the average number

of new apprentices almost halved from ten entries a year in the first half of the century to 5.3 in the second. This general decline resulted from a quite dramatic fall in the number of new apprentice painters, especially after 1630.

The discrepancy between the fall in the number of new apprentices and the virtually constant number of new masters is striking. At first sight, it seems logical to link the negative trend in the number of apprentices to the turbulent decades that Brussels and its inhabitants went through after the reign of the Archdukes Albert (1559–1621) and Isabella (1566–1633) had ended.[32] The year 1633 – in which only two new apprentices enrolled – could then be regarded as a symbolic turning point and the beginning of the inevitable decline of Brussels' painting. However, as the relatively stable number of new masters suggests that the city remained a healthy production and distribution centre for painting throughout the seventeenth century, it could also be that the affiliated masters' commitment to the group waned, causing them to feel less compelled to register new apprentices.[33] This seems to be confirmed by the guild's deans who, from the 1640s onwards, increasingly complained about the growing number of (foreign) freeloaders in the city who painted and traded their goods outside the formal framework of their organisation. On 11 October 1647, this even led the deans to readopt the guild's ancient ordinance in an attempt to compel new artists to adhere to their regulations.[34] As figure 9 shows, this measure initially resulted in a peak of new enrolments, but – as the following section will demonstrate – the deans had to be more flexible to ensure the continuation of their guild and the livelihood of its members.

2.3 The Guild's Conditions of Membership and Increasing Openness to Outsiders

From the first ordinance onwards, the guild had imposed various conditions of membership to determine who could join their organisation, and therefore who obtained the right to produce paintings, gold foil, and stained glass in Brussels. These restrictions gave the organisation the means to maintain the local supply–demand balance and also provided a sense of exclusivity among members that was necessary to generate social capital and mutual trust.[35] By clearly defining who had access to the group, they allowed members to collectively monitor, reward, and – if necessary – punish one another more easily and strengthen the quality of their shared norms, information flows, and cooperations.[36] Over time, the guild repeatedly updated its conditions of membership to get a firmer grip on the city's art market and to limit fraudulent conduct on the part of opportunistic artists.[37] The readopted 1647

ordinance lists the conditions that regulated the entry of new apprentices and masters during most of the seventeenth century (Appendix 4).[38]

For apprentices, the conditions were limited to paying admission and registration fees. New apprentices were required to pay a fee of six guilders to the guild, a sum equal to the value of two *gelten* (stoups) of Rhenish wine to one of the deans, and a pot of Walloon wine to the guild's servant. These fees did not have to be paid immediately; pupils were allowed to partake in a three-month trial period first. If they were to continue their apprenticeship afterwards, they had to pay the first half of the fees. The second half followed at the end of the first year. Given the importance of these instalments, masters were required to register new apprentices within three days of them joining their workshops. If their apprentices defaulted on one or more of their financial obligations, the masters would have to pay the fees themselves or risk the penalty of a fine. The sons of masters – that is, those who were born after their father had acquired the master's title – were exempt from apprenticeship fees.[39]

The conditions to become a master were more comprehensive. Foremost, to be admitted as a master, applicants had to be citizens or *poorters* of Brussels. This was not unusual since this ancient barrier applied to virtually all guilds in Europe.[40] Citizenship was automatically acquired by those who were born in Brussels and whose father or mother was a *poorter*, but could also be purchased by people without *poorter* parentage or by those who hailed from outside of the city.[41] Moreover, artists who wanted to become a master were required to pay a registration fee of 14 guilders, one *gelte* of Rhenish wine for each dean, and a pot of Rhenish wine for the servant. However, these fees were not the same for every aspiring master. Sons of masters who followed in their fathers' footsteps paid a reduced fee of only 11.5 guilders and those who had undergone their training elsewhere had to pay an increased fee of 20 guilders in addition to the obligatory quantities of wine. Finally, applicants had to have served a minimum of four years' apprenticeship and were required to swear an oath.[42] Masters who had not trained in Brussels, and who were unable to produce documents to prove that they had undergone the required training elsewhere, could submit work to demonstrate that they were worthy of admission to the guild. No further reference in the ordinance indicates that aspiring masters had to submit a masterpiece to become a master.[43]

Although these entry barriers favoured Brussels' citizens and the sons of masters, the membership registers suggest that in the seventeenth century the guild was far from closed to outsiders. For instance, the organisation offered a poor relief service to ease the burden of the apprenticeship fees on orphans and boys of limited means. This so-called *caritaet* allowed these poor youngsters to postpone the payment of either half or all of their fees until they were able to afford them.[44] During the seventeenth century, a total of 25 apprentices were accepted on such terms:

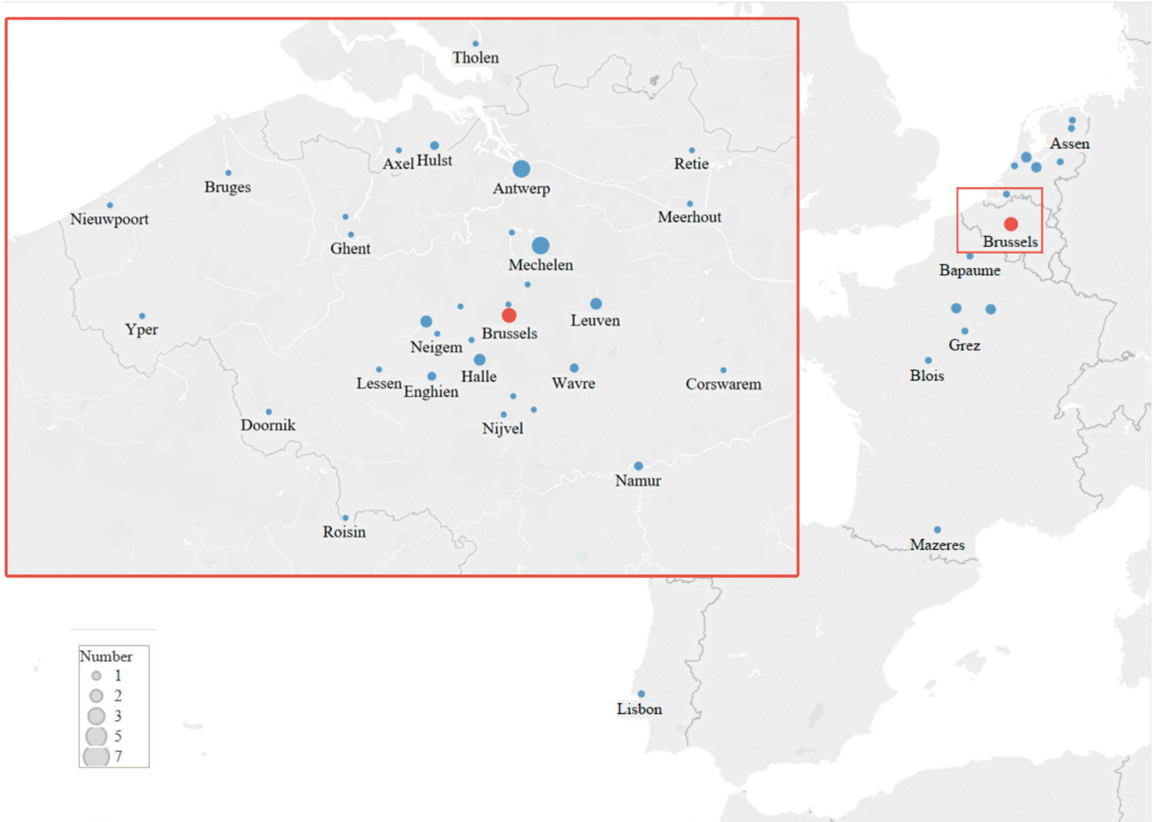


Fig. 11. The birthplaces of foreign apprentices that were registered in the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers, 1599–1664.

twelve of them were welcomed to train as a stained-glass maker, nine to become a painter, three to learn how to beat gold, and one whose future occupation was unspecified. The guild registered an additional ten apprentices who had paid only half of their membership fees for various reasons. For example, Hendrick Huysmans had received a cost reduction because he only wanted to learn how to draw 'to do any other craft', and the apprentice painter Pieter van Es had paid half as he was a mute.[45]

In addition, the register shows that the guild had also welcomed a significant number of artists from outside Brussels. Since the entries of new members are not all equally detailed, it is impossible to determine the exact number of immigrants who joined the organisation, but from 1599 to 1664 alone at least 78 apprentices were registered who were not born within the city walls (fig 11).[46] The vast majority of these often-young men had not travelled far and originated from the Duchy of Brabant. More than half of them were born in nearby towns and villages such as Ninove and Halle, and 14 hailed from the two other major artistic centres in the

region: 7 came from Antwerp and 7 from Mechelen. Eighteen apprentices were foreign. All but one came from neighbouring countries: 9 were born in France and 8 in the Dutch Republic. The remaining foreigner – Vincent Muchet – was further from home. He had travelled from Lisbon and began his training to become a painter in the workshop of Gillis Claessens in 1605.[47]

The guild also permitted journeymen who came from or had been trained elsewhere to work in Brussels.[48] These trained artists – who were not yet or did not aspire to be masters – were not included in the register, but the ordinance specified that they could perform their jobs in the city for two weeks without incurring any financial obligations. If desired, they were allowed to extend their stays for as long as they liked, provided that they contributed three *stuyvers* (approximately one-seventh of a guilder) to the guild's poor relief fund every six months.[49] This arrangement allowed these artists to top up their depleted travel budget before continuing their journey or – if they wanted to stay and become masters – to save up the obligatory registration fees quite quickly with only a few small commissions.[50] Other artists who did not want to live in Brussels but only wanted to sell their goods there, were also allowed to do so. The ordinance stated that they were welcome every Friday during the weekly market and at the two annual art fairs, but that the commodities imported by them had to leave the city immediately after these events closed under pain of confiscation.[51]

Masters from outside the city who did want to settle in Brussels were also admitted to the guild. For them, however, this was significantly more difficult. Although the entry fee – as with the apprentices and journeymen – was not prohibitive, the ever-increasing costs for acquiring the mandatory *poorter* status certainly were.[52] Around 1600, citizenship had cost only five guilders, but during the first half of the seventeenth century, it rose rapidly from 24 guilders in 1611 to 100 guilders in 1627, and 200 guilders in 1639. The price went down to 150 guilders in 1655, but two years later rose again to 170 guilders.[53] From 1600 to 1679, the guild's register listed 64 masters who were not born in Brussels – and who were therefore not automatically *poorters*.[54] Eighteen of them belonged to the group of previously immigrated apprentices; the remaining 46 had been trained elsewhere and were completely new to the guild (fig. 12). As with the apprentices, most of them originated from the Duchy of Brabant: 14 were born in Antwerp, 8 in Mechelen, and 4 in towns and villages in the vicinity of Brussels. Eleven others were foreign: 8 came from the Dutch Republic and the remaining 3 were born in England, France, and Switzerland.

Unfortunately, the register did not consistently state whether these masters had purchased citizenship before their enrolment. Forty-seven of them certainly did. Their master entries specified that they had become *poorter* and therefore complied with the ordinance. The entries did not detail when they had obtained this status, but the years in which 20 aspiring master painters had purchased citizenship were listed

Fig. 12. The birthplaces of foreign masters that were registered in the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers, 1599–1679.

in Jan Caluwaerts' book *Poorters van Brussel*.[55] The recorded dates – all from 1598 to 1656 – suggest a strong positive correlation between the years in which these artists acquired their *poorter* statuses and in which they became masters.[56] Almost all applicants, including those who had lived and worked in Brussels during their apprenticeship, obtained their citizenship one year before or in the same year as their master registration. The only exception was Wouter Janssens from Retie. Janssens had purchased his *poorter* status four years before he became a master in 1606 – the year in which he had started his apprentice training.[57] In other words, aspiring masters did not need to acquire citizenship to live within Brussels' city walls and seem to have purchased this relatively expensive status only to meet the guild's conditions of membership and produce their art independently.

However, this changed from 1639 onwards – the year in which the fee for acquiring the *poorter* status rose to 200 guilders – when the guild's deans started to notice a growing number of artists who worked in Brussels without having purchased

citizenship or being a registered master. Over the years, they documented several of these interlopers' names. In December 1642, the deans recorded violations of their rules by 'diverse foreigners' including one 'N[omen nescio] Wautier'.[58] They repeated the charge in August 1643 and – as mentioned above – even reinforced their complaints by readopting the guild's ordinance on 11 October 1647.[59] This too was accompanied by formal accusations against several interlopers. Charles Wautier was named again, along with Hendrik de Bois, Pieter François, Jacques Boesdonck, and Gasper van den Bemde.[60] The deans sought to prove to these artists that it was wiser for them to join their powerful organisation rather than to try to set up a small centre of production and trade in the shadows of the artistic, economic, and political strength of their thriving community. The register shows that at least some of the interlopers who were targeted in this way had complied with the guild's conditions over the following few years. Jacques Boesdonck enrolled as a master in 1647 and Charles Wautier followed suit in 1651.[61]

These entries were small victories for the guild, but they did not solve the problem. Other artists who had just arrived in the city continued to work and trade with impunity outside the organisation's framework and the annoyance of those who did comply with the rules must no doubt have increased. In other words, the social and economic fabric of the guild came under increasing pressure, both internally and externally. As a result, around the middle of the century, the deans must have realised that they were waging an impossible battle and shifted away from their repressive strategy towards a more open and pragmatic course that increasingly offered opportunities to aspiring masters who were not *poorters*. In 1653, they registered Gaspar van den Bemde as a master painter, while he had agreed to become – but was not yet – a *poorter*.[62] He kept to the agreement and purchased the status in the same year, after which the guild officials completed his registration in July 1654.[63] In 1657, the guild again registered three masters – Jan Verschuren, Jasper van Eycke, and François de Fosse – who were not *poorters*. Unlike Van den Bemde, however, they would never purchase citizenship either.[64]

During the following decades, 47 more artists would join the guild without being a *poorter*. Possibly to avoid giving rise to a discrepancy between these non-*poorter* masters and the regular masters, the guild introduced different statuses to differentiate them in the registers. In 1657, a guild official registered the painter Simon Duchatel as a master, then crossed out the words 'als een meester' (as a master) and replaced them with 'voor een *gratitude*' (for a *gratitude*).[65] Three years later, François Vogelsanck – who did not train in Brussels – purchased the same status, although it was called slightly differently: Vogelsanck was registered 'voor een *cortosie*'.[66] In 1661 and 1662, respectively, the painters Louis Cousin (*c.* 1606–1667) and Cornelis van Empel also paid their registration fee for a *cortosie*.[67] Both Cousin and Van Empel had trained

Fig. 13. Elisabeth Seldron, *Landscape with Feasting Soldiers and Women*, *c.*1740. Oil on canvas, 84 × 111 cm. Location unknown (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History).

in Brussels but were born elsewhere.[68] Unlike regular masters, the contributions these *cortosie* masters had to pay were not fixed. In 1665, someone identified only as 'bonnecroij' paid 60 guilders, the requisite quantity of wine for the deans, and a meal, while two years later the painter Willem van Gyn only paid a single fee of 42 guilders.[69]

The terms *gratitude* and *cortosie* ceased to be used from 1667 onwards. However, the practice of offering artists who were not – and would never become – *poorters* an opportunity to run a workshop in Brussels continued. In 1673, a guild official registered Martinus Delacourt 'als reconicie' (as a *reconue*).[70] Delacourt had presented the guild with a painting as an alternative for his registration fee and had agreed to pay for a meal within the next four months. The *reconue* painter Matthijs Helmont, who arrived one year later, was allowed to join the guild on the same terms.[71] Another year later, Hendrick Carel van Daele, who was previously registered in the guild as an apprentice in 1662, enrolled 'tot voldoeninghe van vrij te moghen schilderen' (with payment to paint as a free master).[72] Van Daele's entry in the register does not specify his financial contribution. Later entries that also used the term *reconue* to distinguish these unusual artists did not specify the amounts they had paid either. After the Bombardments of Brussels in 1695, however, the guild opted for more clarity and set the fees for these then fully accepted *reconue* members at 62 guilders and 4 stuyvers.[73]

The deans' decision to pragmatically ease the guild's access restrictions for this group of foreign artists was not unusual. Many other corporate organisations in the region – including the Antwerp Guild of Saint-Luke – employed similar strategies to protect themselves from losing relevance around the same time as well.[74] After all, by incorporating these clandestine producers into the guild, the deans not only helped these artists avoid the high costs of citizenship, but also helped themselves keep a grip on the city's artistic dynamics and the harmony between those who participated in it. This does not mean, however, that they fully accepted these non-*poorters* as one of their own. Members with a *gratitude*, *cortosie*, or *reconue* status were prohibited from taking the guild's oath and were therefore excluded from participating in many guild-related activities, meetings, and board opportunities.[75]

The same rule seems to have applied to female artists. Of all the names recorded in the guild's register from 1599 to 1706, only six were of women.[76] Four of them were widows of masters who had taken on their deceased husbands' teaching duties and the other two – Elisabeth Seldron and Catharina van Stichel – had only been allowed to join the organisation as *reconue* painters in 1702.[77] Unfortunately nothing is known about Van Stichel, but Seldron seems to have had a successful career.[78] From 1735 to 1741 she was active as a painter at the court of Archduchess Maria Elisabeth (1680–1741), and even today her richly decorated and often signed landscapes still occasionally find their way into the art trade (fig. 13).[79]

2.4 Social Mobility Within the Guild

Anyone who embarked on a career in the Brussels' guild was setting off on a challenging and uncertain course. This is easy enough to say with the wisdom of hindsight, but even in their own time aspiring artists must have realised that many of them would never enjoy the social and economic benefits of having a workshop of their own or holding a position on the guild's governing board. Of course, the trajectory from apprentice, to journeyman, to master, and eventually dean was not the ambition of every artist. There were plenty of them who were very much content with selling their labour for a wage, rather avoided a time-consuming term as dean, or simply decided to do something completely different.[80] Nevertheless, an analysis of the guild's membership register shows that the prospect of upwards social mobility continued to be a key driver for many artists within the organisation. Unfortunately, the register does not contain any information about journeymen, but the data available on apprentices and masters makes it possible to get a general idea of how the guild's members developed their careers.

2.4.1 From Apprentice to Master

The prospects for apprentices of becoming masters were limited and varied greatly depending on their origins. The sons of masters seem to have had the best chances of obtaining the status. No less than 103 of them were registered from 1599 to 1706 (table 7). Since masters were not obliged to register their sons as apprentices it is impossible to calculate their success rates. However, their innate *poorter*-status and reduced registration fees likely gave them a significant head start on their peers who also aspired to open a workshop of their own. Of the 805 registered apprentices whose fathers were not masters in the guild, only 214 eventually became a master (table 8). This number was even lower for the 78 apprentices who came from out of town. Only 18 of them eventually became masters. The boys from the poor relief service were even less likely to succeed. Only two of the 25 recorded by the guild officials were able to set up their own workshop.

Table 7. The number of master's sons who became masters in the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers, 1599–1706

	PAINTERS		TOTAL	
Sons of masters who became masters	52	(50.49%)	103	(100.00%)

Table 8. The number of apprentices who became masters in the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers, 1599-1706

	PAINTERS		TOTAL	
Apprentices (n = 805) who became masters	154	(19.13%)	214	(26.58%)
Of which				
Foreign apprentices (n = 78)	12	(15.38%)	18	(22.07%)
Accepted for *caritaet* (n = 25)	1	(4.00%)	2	(8.00%)

Put differently, an overwhelming 74 per cent of the apprentices whose fathers were not masters within the guild never became masters themselves. The registers contained more information about the fate of some of them. For instance, 11 occasions were noted in which masters dismissed their pupils for not paying their apprenticeship fee.[81] Ten others were compelled to give up their places because they failed to meet their master's expectations and demands.[82] Six boys left on their own accord, in some cases to learn another occupation.[83] One entry records an apprentice who was struck from the membership list and later had his fee refunded because his master had committed fraud.[84] Another pupil had to give up his training because his

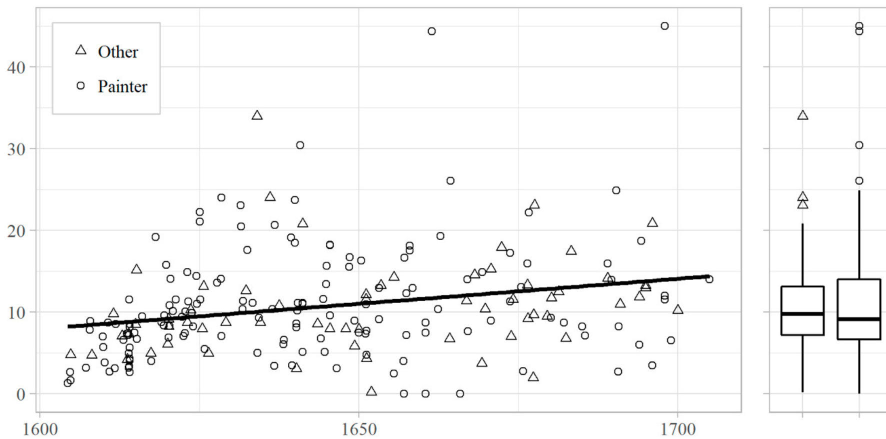


Fig. 14. The time interval between artists' apprentice and master registrations, 1599–1706. Each point represents an individual master plotted on the date of his master registration and in box plots.

master had moved to England.[85] One goldbeater, named Jan Bael, sadly died during his apprenticeship.[86]

That securing a master's title was no easy achievement was also clear from the median time that elapsed between being registered as an apprentice and as a master: namely, 9.3 years (fig. 14). The general training of painters was – with a median time of 9.1 years – slightly shorter, but both figures suggest that apprentices trained substantially longer than the prescribed four years. A longer apprenticeship had advantages for pupils and teachers alike. On the one hand, it allowed apprentices to perfect their skillset, giving them a robust preparation for a fully fledged career.[87] On the other hand, it provided teachers with a better return on their investment. Seasoned apprentices could work more autonomously, thus contributing more to the workshop's output.[88] Since apprentices could be fully trained within four years, young artisans likely used the additional time to acquire some capital by working as paid assistants in the workshop of their former teacher or that of another master.[89] This also meant that the apprentices who never became masters did not necessarily give up on their careers during or after their apprenticeship. In some cases, they remained active as journeymen, thus vanishing from the register but not from the population of active guild members.[90]

As figure 14 shows, there were some notable outliers. Some artists in the guild were able to acquire a master's title after an apprenticeship of fewer than four years, while it took others up to 45 years to set up a workshop of their own. Four artists were registered as apprentice and master on the same day. Three of them had immigrated from outside of the city and were more than likely to have enjoyed their

Fig. 15. Louis Cousin, *Portrait of an Unknown 36 Year Old General with his Servant*, 1652. Oil on canvas, 226 × 167 cm. Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History).

training elsewhere.[91] The fourth – the painter Adriaen Francois Boudewyns (1644–1719) – was trained in Brussels and had for unknown reasons evaded his apprentice registration and the associated fees until the moment he became a master.[92] For two painters the intervening period was longer than four decades. Of course, this did not mean that they were apprenticed or worked in Brussels for this entire period. One of them, for instance, was Louis Cousin who had started his training in 1617 and acquired a *cortosie* status as monsieur Primo 44 years later.[93] The painter owed this extreme interval and his Italianised name to a thirty-year stay in Rome. There he had been part of the Bentvueghels – an association for Dutch and Flemish painters active in the Eternal City – and had shot to fame with his altarpieces and portraits before he returned to Brussels in 1661 (fig. 15).[94]

While it is impossible to analyse the durations of masters' sons' training in comparison to those of other masters, an analysis of baptism records makes it possible to compare the ages at which these artists attained master status (table 9). Remarkably, there is virtually no difference between the median age of sons of masters and that of other masters who were born in Brussels at the moment of their registration.

Both groups started their own workshops at the median age of 24 years old. This suggests that, although the sons of masters were more likely to succeed, their apprenticeship did not substantially differ from those of other boys in terms of duration. The median age on which foreign masters were registered, however, was much higher: 36 years old. They had often practised their arts in other cities before joining the Brussels' guild.

Table 9. The age of painters (n = 182) at the time of their master registration, 1599–1706

AGE	REGULAR MASTERS		SONS OF MASTERS		FOREIGN MASTERS		TOTAL	
15–19	16	(8.79%)	2	(1.10%)	0	(0.00%)	18	(9.89%)
20–24	54	(29.67%)	15	(8.24%)	4	(2.20%)	73	(40.11%)
25–29	34	(18.68%)	7	(3.85%)	5	(2.74%)	46	(25.27%)
30–35	12	(6.59%)	7	(3.85%)	1	(0.55%)	20	(10.99%)
35+	9	(4.95%)	3	(1.65%)	13	(7.14%)	25	(13.74%)

2.4.2 From Master to Dean

After obtaining the title of master, ambitious artists could strive for one of the three annually appointed positions on the guild's governing board.[95] About one out of five of the 549 masters who were registered from 1599 to 1706 served as dean at least once during their careers (table 10).[96] One hundred and three of them took on the position within this particular period. Seven others were first registered as a dean in the eighteenth-century guild records after 1706.[97] Here too there were noticeable differences depending on one's origins. Unsurprisingly, the sons of masters enjoyed the most opportunities to join the board. More than a quarter of them were active as dean at least once. As a rule, these master's sons were treading in their father's footsteps in adopting the role of leadership – in 18 of the 29 cases their fathers had been recorded as deans at least once before them.[98] Of the 64 masters who were not born in Brussels, only 5 became deans. None of the *reconue* members, nor the two masters who were originally accepted as apprentices for *caritaet*, ever took on the position.

The median duration between an artist's master registration and his first term of office was 10.4 years (fig. 16). However, this interval varied widely per master. Some of them became a dean in the same year they had started their own workshop – as was the case for four masters, including the painter Gillis Leyniers – while others took up to 40 years to first serve the board. The median master's son took slightly longer to first become a dean, namely 11.1 years. According to Johan Dambruyne – who recorded a similar discrepancy in sixteenth-century Ghent – master's children

entered the guild at an earlier age and thus needed a longer period to take office.[99] Table 9 shows that this was not necessarily the case in the Brussels' guild. Even so, their outliers were less extreme, as the box plots below show.

Table 10. The number of masters who served as dean in the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers, 1599–1736

	PAINTERS		TOTAL	
Masters (n = 549) who became deans	59	(10.74%)	110	(20.03%)
Of which				
Sons of masters (n = 103)	11	(10.68%)	29	(28.16%)
Foreign masters (n = 64)	2	(3.13%)	5	(7.81 %)
Reconue members (n = 47)	0	(0.00%)	0	(0.00%)
Accepted for *caritaet* (n = 2)	0	(0.00%)	0	(0.00%)

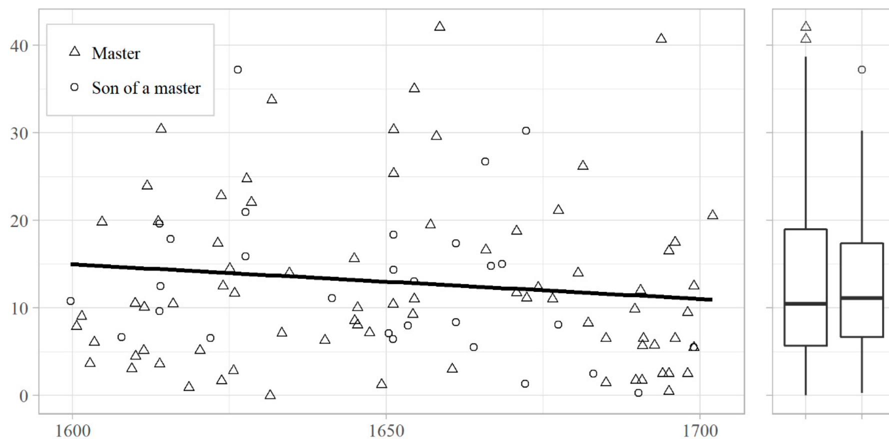


Fig. 16. The time interval between artists' master registration and first term as dean, 1599–1736. Each point represents an individual master plotted on the date of their master registration and in box plots.

The vast majority of masters who served as a dean did so for multiple terms (table 11). On average each board member took on the position 2.7 times during their career. The usual procedure was for the same trio to remain at the helm of the guild for two successive terms; only from 1704 to 1707 did the same three guild officials serve for a third year.[100] This unofficial rule was intended both to guarantee a certain continuity and coherence in policy and to prevent an unduly great concentration of power within a handful of individuals or families. This was a necessary measure, given the fact that the available positions were divided over a relatively small portion of

the members.[101] If a master did not choose to serve for a second consecutive term, it would take him an average of 6.4 years before he would serve as dean again. Ten masters served five times or more.

Table 11. The number of terms masters (n = 110) served as dean per master, 1599–1736

TIMES	REGULAR MASTERS		SONS OF MASTERS		FOREIGN MASTERS		TOTAL	
1	22	(20.00%)	7	(7.27%)	1	(0.90%)	30	(37.27%)
2	16	(14.55%)	14	(12.72%)	2	(1.82%)	32	(29.09%)
3	21	(19.09%)	3	(2.73%)	1	(0.90%)	25	(22.73%)
4	11	(10.00%)	2	(1.82%)	0	(0.00%)	13	(11.82%)
5+	6	(5.45%)	3	(2.73%)	1	(0.90%)	10	(9.09%)

Altogether, these figures show that the conditions to join the board were better for those who had an already established network within the guild. The opportunities for outsiders were limited and the five foreign masters who did manage to secure a position on the board seemed to have obtained this thanks to their extraordinary merits. For instance, the Antwerp-born painter Gaspar de Crayer (1584–1669) was registered in Brussels as a master in 1607 and served as a dean in the consecutive years 1614 and 1615. From his arrival in the city onwards, de Crayer had received significant commissions. He portrayed Spanish officials and members of the city council and painted numerous altarpieces to decorate local churches (fig. 17).[102] His appointment as a dean, in other words, conferred not only the painter but also the guild with a certain prestige. The Antwerp born goldbeater Francois Ysenbout had also proved his value as being one of the most desired teachers during the second half of the seventeenth century.[103] He trained a total of nine students during his career and served the board more frequently than any of his contemporary fellows.[104] From 1665 to 1695 he held the position no fewer than nine times. In that last year, he even died in office and was replaced by his fellow goldbeater Jan Baptist Maeseler.[105]

2.5 Occupational Ties and Information Flows

The artists who did succeed in becoming master and/or dean within the guild entered an extensive network of colleagues. As discussed above, guilds – through their specific rules and customs – helped create a group identity among their members in which shared norms, solidarity, and confraternity were paramount. They provided a framework for mutual assistance and sociability and enabled their members to

Fig. 17. Gaspar de Crayer, *The Descent from the Cross*, *c.*1640. Oil on canvas 308 × 223 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, SK-A-75 (photo: Rijksmuseum).

more easily meet, share information, and occasionally collaborate.[106] Naturally, the extent to which artists could or wanted to use these benefits varied, but guild membership always carried the potential to establish both vertical and horizontal ties.

2.5.1 Vertical Ties: The Dynamics of Masters' Workshops

One of the most prominent relationships masters could enter into through their guild membership was the one with their apprentices. First and foremost, masters intended to train their pupils as fully fledged artists in exchange for financial compensation and an extra pair of hands. Apprentices joined their production process from the outset and acquired the necessary skills by trial and error. As the need arose, the masters were available to intervene, correct, or finish the apprentices' works while the boys observed.[107] Imitation and emulation of the masters' works served as the foundation of apprenticeships, which enabled workshops to take on larger projects.[108] In addition to this *on-the-job* training, masters also introduced their apprentices to the specific customs of their network and trade.[109] They expected their pupils to integrate into the workshops' cultures and to adopt the norms and values of the guild. The majority of apprentices even lived under their master's roofs.[110] Therefore, some scholars stated that masters played a pivotal role in the upbringing of their pupils. They evoked an image in which masters acted *in loco parentis* and raised these boys as they would raise children of their own.[111] More recent studies, however, argued that these relationships between apprentices and their masters tended to be more businesslike and that the private sphere of the family often prevailed over the public sphere of the workshop.[112]

Unfortunately, very little data is available to analyse the ties master painters maintained with their apprentices in seventeenth-century Brussels. Only four articles in the guild's ordinance prescribed the desired dynamics of masters' workshops. Each master was permitted to take on only one pupil during the first three years of the mandatory four-year period of training. This meant that a new apprentice could not start until his predecessor had learned the basics and could work more independently. In addition, pupils had to complete their entire apprenticeship under the guidance of the same master. If an apprentice violated this provision, both he and his new master were liable to the payment of a fine. Masters were not allowed to put their pupils and journeymen to work anywhere other than in their own workshop. However, they were free to decide how many apprentices they wished to take on throughout their careers – and thus were free to refuse pupils.[113]

The guild's register shows that the seventeenth-century masters who took on apprentices trained an average of 2.89 of them during their careers. In general, master

painters trained the most pupils: 3.25 on average, as opposed to 2.35 on average for both the master goldbeaters and stained-glass makers. Of course, not *all* of the guild's masters took on apprentices. In fact, as table 12 shows, the majority of them never took on apprentices at all. It also shows that less than 10 per cent of the group's masters trained more than half of all pupils. Of the 232 masters who had apprentices, 35 trained six or more boys. Only six artists – all master painters active during the first half of the century – took on ten or more apprentices. Major figures such as Gaspar de Crayer and Antoon Sallaert topped the list, but it also included painters who scarcely appeared on the radar of art historians, such as Antoon Van Opstal, Pieter Coppens, Jan van Velthoven, and Gerard van Hoochstadt.[114] After 1650, the list of masters who took on a relatively large number of apprentices continued to be dominated by painters although no longer exclusively. For instance, the above-mentioned goldbeater Francois Ysenbout, who trained nine pupils, also opted for a career with numerous apprentices.

Table 12. The number of apprentices per master, 1599–1740

APPRENTICES PER MASTER	MASTERS (N = 549)	CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE	APPRENTICES (N = 670)[A]	CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE
0	317	57.74%	0	0.00%
1	89	73.95%	89	13.28%
2	53	83.61%	106	29.10%
3	26	88.34%	78	40.75%
4	19	91.80%	76	52.09%
5	10	93.62%	50	59.55%
6	13	95.99%	78	71.19%
7	7	97.26%	49	78.51%
8	3	97.81%	24	82.01%
9	6	98.91%	54	90.15%
10+	6	100.00%	66	100.00%

[a] The rest of the recorded apprentices were trained by artists who had been registered as masters before 1599. Since the registers kept in the sixteenth century have not survived, they have been left out of consideration in this table.

Masters who trained two or more apprentices generally respected the prescribed period of three years between one and the next. On average, the interval between both boys entering their workshop was 4.7 years. In exceptional cases, the guild allowed new masters to register more than one apprentice in the same year. For example, on 28 July 1675, David III Teniers (1638–1685) enrolled as a master and on the very same day registered three apprentices – without paying their entrance fees, as a marginal note makes clear.[115] Various details reveal that Teniers, the son of

the renowned court painter David II Teniers (1610–1690), had previously worked in his father's workshop, and had now decided to develop his activities within the framework of the guild.[116] The high status of the Teniers workshop may explain why the deans were willing to waive the rules on this occasion.

A more detailed insight into the relationships between masters and their apprentices can be found in apprenticeship contracts. Unfortunately, these too proved to be scarce. Only a handful of contracts came up during an extensive – but not exhaustive – search in the notarial deeds of Brussels' State Archives.[117] None of them dealt with masters who practised their art within the regulated environment of the guild. Presumably, guild members concluded their agreements orally, relying on the organisation's legal framework to provide sufficient protection for both parties. Nevertheless, the contracts presented notable information about the training of painters in the city. For instance, one of them was the result of negotiations between the painter Johannes de Loose and Adriaan Rombouts' godfather and uncle Adriaan Buelens. The agreement established that De Loose would teach Rombouts 'die conste van schilderen' (the art of painting) for two years. A detailed description of the training was not provided, but De Loose seemed to have done everything in his power to alleviate his concerns about a possible breach of contract. Both parties even agreed that Rombouts and his family would have to pay a fine of 140 guilders if he ended his apprenticeship prematurely.[118]

Another contract between the painter Francois Boulie and the parents of Cornelis Antoon Cortens contained more information. It stated that Cortens would learn 'die konsten van schilderen miniature' (the art of painting miniatures) in two periods of ten months each. During the first period, the pupil had to work half a day five times a week, while Boulie would receive a fee of one *ducaton* (approximately three guilders) per month. The second ten months were more intensive. During this period, Cortens had to work every day excluding holy days. The contract specified that the apprentice needed to be present from seven in the morning to seven in the evening with a break between half-past eleven and half-past two in the afternoon. Boelie would record all absence days, and these had to be made up for after the agreed period had ended. Nothing in the document indicated that a fee had to be paid during these months. The contract further clarified that everything Cortens would produce during his apprenticeship was for the benefit of his teacher. Finally, a remarkable clause showed that Boelie initially wanted to punish the violation of any of his rules by scolding and imposing Cortens with a fine of 25 *patakons* (approximately 20 guilders). Luckily for the boy, his parents did not agree with this penalty, and the section was crossed out before the document was signed.[119]

It is striking that the artistic and social implications of apprenticeship are neither addressed in the ordinance nor in the contracts.[120] The documents confirm that the

relationships between masters and their students were indeed rather businesslike, often initiated by the latter's parents or guardians, and permeated with a mutual distrust of being exploited.[121] For instance, the duration of apprenticeships was a recurring concern. Masters wanted to capitalise on the time they invested in training their pupils by preventing them from working elsewhere or simply running off. According to the historian Bert de Munck, this was a rational concern. Nearly all the legal conflicts he encountered during his extensive study of apprenticeships in early modern Antwerp arose from pupils breaching contracts.[122] The shared fine that the Brussels' guild handed out to runaway boys and their new masters was certainly intended to discourage this practice and to defuse possible tensions between the masters involved. The provisions that stipulated that masters could only train one apprentice every three years in their workshops, on the other hand, protected the rights of apprentices. They prevented masters from using their pupils as cheap labourers and encouraged them to spend as much of their energy as needed on the early years of the boys' training.

2.5.2 Horizontal Ties: Mutual Trust and Solidarity

Guild membership also fostered relationships between the various masters and/or deans themselves. Guilds held assemblies where members could meet one another to reinforce their shared norms, convey information, and organise collective action.[123] For most, if not all, Southern-Netherlandish guilds one of the most important of such assemblies was the communal meal.[124] These gatherings often ranged from the copious to the excessive and took place at different times over the year to symbolise the organisation's socio-economic and political influence.[125] Like other guilds, the Brussels' guild likely held its most important meal annually at the feast day of their patron saint: 24 June, the Feast of Saint John the Baptist.[126] This meal was preceded by a Mass and attended by all active masters and deans. It offered members the opportunity to meet face to face and to organise guild-related matters such as the appointment of a new board. In addition to these meetings, there were also smaller-scale meals that newcomers offered to the deans. For instance, a passage in the guild records states that two new masters had accompanied the board 'at the table' on 17 December 1651.[127] A marginal note specifies that the newcomers had paid for the food. Such meals were not mentioned in the 1647 ordinance and were relatively rare in later entries of masters.[128] This suggests that they were not obligatory, but can be interpreted as an initiation practice for new masters to become familiar with the specific customs and norms of the guild and its members.[129]

Since positive relationships can seldom be traced in the archives, it is challenging to determine the impact of guild membership and such assemblies on Brussels'

Fig. 18. Pieter Snayers, *The Siege of Armentiéres*, 1649–1651. Oil on canvas, 104 × 136 cm. Location unknown (photo: Christie's).

masters.[130] A rare example that does demonstrate the existence of solidarity among artists is the well-documented dispute between the painter Pieter Snayers (1592–1667) and the Valenciennes City Council in 1662.[131] Snayers had painted a large battle scene depicting the Battle of Valenciennes for the council and stated that the agreed-upon price was no longer sufficient.[132] According to him the weeks of work and delivered quality had increased the value of his painting significantly and to reinforce his claim he had five of his fellow guild members – which he described as 'les plus princepaus mestres del arte de paintures' – testify the same. The painters Gaspar de Crayer, David Teniers, Louis Cousin, Daniel van Heil, and Charles Wautier all stated that they had seen Snayers' work and that the price was indeed too low.[133] The painting in question has been lost since 1940, but one of Snayers' many other battle scenes from the same period gives an idea of what it must have looked like (fig. 18).[134]

Of course, the social effects of guild membership should not be overestimated. Hierarchical tensions and competition between masters were inevitable.[135] Artists excluded one another from business ventures and the chances of obtaining valuable information were certainly not equal for all.[136] To illustrate, only one of the 47 *reconue* artists – the painter Jacob Huysmans – considered the benefits of

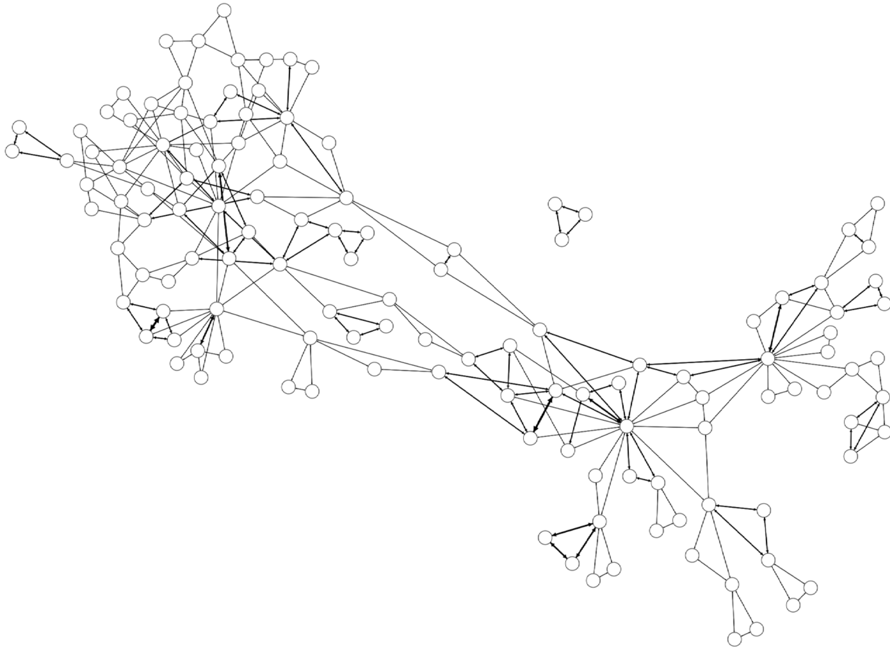


Fig. 19. A visualisation of the guild's governing board over time, 1599–1706. Each node represents an individual dean. Each edge represents a relationship between two deans who served on the board at the same time. The placement of the nodes is randomly generated with the ForceAtlas2 algorithm, but, in general, the deans shown on the left were more active at the beginning of the century and those on the right more towards the end.

membership significant enough for him to become a full master 12 years after first entering the guild.[137] Moreover, most masters only gathered a few times a year and these meetings were certainly not always harmonious.[138] The guild's ordinance even laid down three specific rules that hoped to manage the social conduct of members during their communal assemblies. Under penalty of fines, members were reminded that slandering or gossiping about their 'fellow brothers' was out of the question. In addition, the rules emphasised that any kind of quarrel, swearing, or violence did not belong in the guild's room.[139] That these rules were not superfluous became apparent on 21 April 1699, when a disagreement in the guild's room between Adriaen Francois Boudewyns and Matthys Schoevaert – two elders of the guild – became so heated that Boudewyns gave Schoevaert a slap in the face and was sentenced to a fine of five *patakons*.[140]

The relationships between deans – who met with the elders several times a year to discuss and vote on propositions – can be analysed in more detail.[141] Figure 19 shows a construction of all registered ties between the board members who served from 1599 to 1706.[142] It should be clarified that this network as a whole never

existed at any given point in time. The deans and the relationships between them have been merged into one static image and many of them were never active – or even alive – at the same time. Yet, visualising all their ties together provides interesting insights into the ways these deans organised their board. For instance, apart from one trio, all of them were connected to one another with a mean distance of only 5.2 steps between all possible pairs.[143] Theoretically, this meant that the average board member would have had the potential to contact any other dean via five or fewer colleagues.[144] In addition, the composition of the board – three deans were appointed each year – ensured that the network was relatively clustered with a high density of ties.[145] In other words, the guild's deans formed a closely knit group who managed to guarantee the continuity of their organisation by succeeding one another in such a way that allowed them to easily share governing experience and information.[146]

This cohesive structure had advantages not only for the stability of the guild but occasionally also for the individual artists who were part of it. The network provided the deans with possibilities to collaborate and fostered the development of mutual trust between them. For instance, when the painter Melchior Sallaert (1606–after 1674) took office in 1672, he used his relationship with other (former) board members to borrow large sums of money. He borrowed 600 guilders from the goldbeater Francois Ysenbaut, with whom Sallaert had served as a dean from 1665 to 1667, and lent an additional 500 guilders from the stained-glass maker Artus de Kemp who had held the position in 1669. Both contracts explicitly stated that Sallaert was 'tegenwoordelijck deken van het schilders ambacht' (currently dean of the painters' guild) and that he would pay back the borrowed amounts including interest within the year. The former deans' trust turned out to be justified. Sallaert repaid both of his loans within the agreed periods.[147]

2.6 Conclusion

In the seventeenth century, Brussels' master painters were united as a community in the local Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers. This corporate organisation had significant influence on the painters' lives and careers. It regulated who was allowed to work in the city through membership and set strict, yet feasible, conditions for aspiring artists who wanted to join. Initially, Brussels' citizens and sons of already affiliated masters were considerably favoured by these access restrictions, but as the willingness of immigrant artists to follow them diminished in about 1650, they became increasingly open to outsiders as well. This pragmatic

flexibility allowed the guild to maintain a relatively healthy and harmonious population throughout the century but was not always to the benefit of new members. For instance, there were significantly fewer opportunities for upward social mobility for those who originated from out of town or who were recruited through the guild's poor relief service. The prospects for climbing the guild's hierarchical ladder were not too great for most of the other members either. Only about a quarter of all registered apprentices managed to eventually set up a workshop of their own and less than one-fifth of all registered masters was ever elected to serve as a dean. The select group of artists who could build on an already existing network within the guilds, however, enjoyed more opportunities. For example, nearly 30 per cent of all masters' sons became dean.

The artists who did succeed in becoming masters and/or deans could enjoy various social and economic advantages as a result. For example, they could strengthen their bonds with colleagues by participating in communal activities such as masses and meals or increase the capacity of their workshop by recruiting apprentices. However, due to a lack of relevant sources, it is often difficult to determine to what extent masters decided to use these benefits. The few known cases suggest major differences between them. Some like Pieter Snayers and Melchior Sallaert took advantage of the group's solidarity by successfully asking their peers for help, while others like Charles Wautier could hardly be persuaded to join at all. Also, not every master could or wanted to make use of the extra manpower. Only 10 per cent of them trained more than half of all apprentices. This high number of pupils assured these specialist teachers of a more or less steady income and the ability to take on larger projects but seemed simply unnecessary for some of their colleagues.[148]

CHAPTER 3
THE THIRD PLACE: THE SOCIAL LIFE OF BRUSSELS' PAINTERS BEYOND HOME AND WORK

> *The third place is a generic designation for a great variety of public places that host the regular, voluntary, informal, and happily anticipated gatherings of individuals beyond the realms of home and work.*
>
> – Oldenburg 1989, p. 16

3.1 The 'Third Place' in the Early Modern Southern Netherlands

The 'third place' was introduced by the sociologist Ray Oldenburg in his influential 1989 book *The Great Good Place*. '[B]eyond the realms of home and work', the third place is neither public nor private and facilitates broader interactions in an informal, creative, and – most importantly – intentional manner.[1] According to Oldenburg, these gathering places are characterised by their neutral, playful, and levelling nature. Within them, a group of regulars sets the tone, mutual aid is the norm, and light-hearted conversation is the main, but not only, activity. The third place offers a sense of belonging, unwinding, and support and is 'often more homelike than home'.[2] Oldenburg discussed cafés, coffeehouses, and main streets as examples of such social hangouts and emphasised that their benefits on an individual level went hand in hand with their vital and unifying role in community life and the circulation of ideas.[3]

While Oldenburg mainly focused on contemporary examples, historians have found the social functions of what can be considered as early modern third places to be very similar. For instance, in his study of public houses in early modern Brabant and Flanders, the historian Hugo Soly demonstrated that inns and taverns not only provided hospitality services but also played a crucial role in facilitating sociability

and communication. He described that they served as social gathering places in which people from all walks of life came together to meet, exchange information, and forge business contracts.[4] Comparable findings were presented by other historians in their surveys of public houses outside the Southern Netherlands.[5] For example, the historian Maarten Hell – who studied inns in early modern Amsterdam – stated that frequenting these establishments was a social and economic necessity for anyone who wanted to actively participate in society.[6] He added that public houses also played a vital role in the lives of artists. They regularly visited them and used their infrastructure to sell paintings, prints, and other works of art both privately and publicly.[7]

Other historians found that chambers of rhetoric provided some functions of a third place as well. In recent years, they described these dramatic societies as networks of like-minded people who regularly met in informal settings to discuss, perform, and write poetry.[8] For the study of chambers of rhetoric in the Southern Netherlands, the work of Anne-Laure van Bruaene is especially important. As part of the research project *Rederijkers: conformisten en rebellen. Literatuur, cultuur en stedelijke netwerken (1400–1650)*, she shifted away from the literary focus of her predecessors to analyse the rhetoricians' role in urban culture and society instead. According to Van Bruaene, chambers of rhetoric were places of conviviality that provided the perfect environment for artisans, artists, and merchants to come together and express their creativity and religious commitment.[9] With regard to the Brussels' rhetoricians, Van Bruaene further specified that the vast majority of them were artists. Tapestry producers were by far the most numerous, but many painters were affiliated to one of the city's chambers too.[10]

The same social significance was also ascribed to confraternities. Over the past decades, historians have studied them extensively. They demonstrated that, although these religious associations could differ greatly from one another, they all offered a broad framework for sociability.[11] The historian Dylan Reid even stated that the only consistent component of confraternities was their common pursuit of *brotherhood*: a diffuse concept that, according to him, 'included elements of co-operation, trust, mutual aid, the ability to resolve disputes and work together, and shared religious values, beliefs and devotions'.[12] This also applied to confraternities in the Southern Netherlands. In mostly locally focused studies, scholars emphasised their social importance on communities in Antwerp, Brussels, and Ghent, among others, and the vital role they played in establishing and maintaining relationships between their members.[13] With regards to the affiliated artists, the historian Paul Trio added that confraternities also acted as active patrons of the arts. They repeatedly commissioned paintings and other artworks to honour their patron saint and decorate their altars or chapels.[14]

Surprisingly, the role of these early modern third places in the lives of artists has received relatively little art-historical attention. Art historians mainly examined them as patrons of individual works of art or discussed the involvement of well-known painters such as Pieter Bruegel, Adriaen Brouwer, and David II Teniers.[15] Only a handful of contributions described chambers of rhetoric and confraternities from a more social vantage point. For instance, in his study of patronage in seventeenth-century Antwerp, the (art) historian Bert Timmermans described them as social gathering places for the urban elite. He stated that these dramatic and religious associations offered affiliated artists a certain prestige, helping them to gain additional prominence. He further noted that membership provided painters with the possibility to meet new clients more easily and thus secure extra commissions.[16]

Recently, there has also been a growing interest in the spatial distribution of artists and artistic activity. Using mainly contemporary examples, scholars emphasised the importance of face-to-face relationships in transferring knowledge and stated that the proximity of colleagues was a significant factor for artists when they choose a place to live.[17] Although some art historians have drawn the same conclusions for early modern artists, the historical evidence for spatial clustering among painters remains scarce. Due to a lack of location-related information in archival sources, studies often focused on the most prominent and well-documented artists or limited themselves to describing the distribution of painters between cities.[18] Only in a few cases, art historians mapped the concentration of artists within a seventeenth-century city itself. For instance, Klara Alen demonstrated that many Antwerp tapestry producers lived in the streets surrounding the *Tapissierspand* and Weixuan Li illustrated the great popularity of Rembrandt's neighbourhood among artists in seventeenth-century Amsterdam.[19]

In short, the social significance of third places for early modern painters and other artists has not yet been accorded a prominent role in the art-historical narrative. Art historians increasingly focused on the spatial distribution of artistic activity but often did not go beyond well-defined cases in their descriptions of local gathering places and associations. The scarcity of empirical evidence has undoubtedly contributed to this. Due to their predominantly informal nature, the vast majority of interactions in early modern third places were never recorded and are therefore almost impossible to reconstruct or investigate. Since several historians nevertheless noted that such places could offer benefits to artists, this chapter will explore to what extent they were part of the social lives of seventeenth-century Brussels' painters and how they influenced their artistic activities. It will successively analyse the involvement of painters in local public houses, chambers of rhetoric, and confraternities and map their spatial distribution over the city to examine whether certain parishes or neighbourhoods were more appealing to them than others.

3.2 Public Houses

Public houses – like inns and taverns – were without a doubt the most important and accessible third places in seventeenth-century Brussels.[20] Scattered throughout the city, they welcomed local and foreign guests and provided them with food, drink, and accommodation.[21] The exact number of public houses in Brussels remains unknown but counts in other cities suggest that there was at least one inn or tavern per 100 to 300 inhabitants. For instance, the historian Hugo Soly estimated the number of public houses in Antwerp to be more than one per 220 citizens in 1584[22] – a staggering ratio that corresponded to the figures listed by Beat Kümin and Maarten Hell in their studies of public houses in seventeenth-century Amsterdam and early modern Central Europe.[23] That Brussels hosted such a large number of inns and taverns too could be deduced from the city's extensive production of beer. In 1617, Brussels had no fewer than 75 breweries that together produced more than 240,000 barrels of beer in a year. The quantity decreased slightly over the century, but in 1709 the production was still estimated at an annual 200,000 barrels – most of which were intended for local consumption.[24]

However, as discussed above, public houses did more than just distribute beer and offer hospitality services. They also served as crucial hubs for social, cultural, and economic activities.[25] Inns and taverns were meeting places that fostered solidarity and allowed visitors to develop or maintain contacts by dancing, laughing, and playing games together. These activities were often combined with conversations. Publicans and their guests discussed day-to-day affairs, regional gossip, and rumours, and also occasionally exchanged thoughts on political events and innovations.[26] In addition, public houses were the place par excellence for traders and artisans to conclude business transactions.[27] Buyers and sellers could meet there without any obligations and could bargain, haggle, and drink together to work towards or conclude an agreement.[28] In this regard, it is telling that many inns and taverns were located in the vicinity of markets and had special storage rooms for the goods and merchandise of their guests.[29]

Unfortunately, little is known about the importance of public houses for Brussels' painters. Only two notarial deeds were found that provide information about the activities of the city's artists in these establishments.[30] In both cases, it concerned a painter who had moved from Antwerp to Brussels and had left unfinished business in an Antwerp inn. First, in 1633, the painter Gaspar de Crayer (1584–1669) asked his Antwerp colleagues Carel de Cauwer and Philips de Momper to testify about a deal they concluded two years earlier in Den Robyn – an Antwerp inn located on the Ramshoyenveste. Both men stated that De Momper had resold one of De Crayer's letters of obligation to Antoon Cornelissen Cheeus. They specified that

Fig. 20. Joos van Craesbeeck, *Tavern Scene*, *c.*1645. Oil on canvas, 60 × 78 cm. Antwerp, Royal Museum of Fine Arts Antwerp, 822 (photo: Collection KMSKA – Flemish Community).

the letter was worth 48 Flemish pounds and resulted from a bet that De Momper had won against De Crayer regarding *peys oft treves* (peace or a truce).[31] Second, almost two decades later, in 1651, the painter Joos van Craesbeeck (*c.*1605–*c.*1660) – best known for painting tavern scenes (fig. 20) – testified about a painting that was stored in the Antwerp inn De Weirdt on Reyndersstraat. Van Craesbeeck had recently moved to Brussels and left his work of art and some unpaid debts behind. One of his creditors – the art dealer Cornelis van Diest – reacted to the painter's sudden departure by confiscating the abandoned painting and forcing Van Craesbeeck to come back and handle his affairs. A strategy that seems to have been successful. Only a few days later, Van Craesbeeck travelled back to Antwerp, where he testified about the confiscation in dismay and soon came to a settlement.[32]

Of course, the lack of archival evidence does not mean that Brussels' artists did not also trade goods in their local public houses. In most cases, their transactions were simply not written down. They were based on trust and solidarity and the parties involved only recorded them when a conflict arose.[33] A case in point is the deal between the Brussels' tapestry producer Gillis van Habbeke and the Antwerp merchant Jan Baptist Franco in the Brussels' inn De Wolf. In December 1643, Van

Habbeke agreed to trade a set of eight tapestries for two of Franco's diamonds. Seven of the tapestries had already been woven and the last piece would follow as soon as possible. Shortly after, however, Van Habbeke tried to sell the eight tapestries to a third party. The *tapissier* had discovered that the diamonds were worth much less than Franco had implied and tried to limit his loss by selling at least one of his pieces for a fair price. When Franco got wind of Van Habbeke's plan, he dragged him to court where both their transaction and the following conflict were written down.[34]

3.3 Chambers of Rhetoric

While public houses barely left any paper trails, other seventeenth-century third places in Brussels were relatively well documented. For instance, much is known about the three official chambers of rhetoric: Den Boeck, De Corenbloem, and 't Mariacranske.[35] These literary and dramatic societies dedicated themselves to writing poetry and performing vernacular plays at public and private festivities, including regular Sunday meetings, annual celebrations of their patron saints, and public ceremonies.[36] For example, during Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand's (*c.*1609–1641) Joyous Entry in 1634, the three chambers welcomed and honoured their new governor with allegorical spectacles throughout the city. Members of 't Mariacranske portrayed the monarchy in various ways and actors of both Den Boeck and De Corenbloem enacted personifications of *Belgica* that were freed and protected from their misery by the Cardinal-Infante – a hero 'greater than Perseus'.[37] The chambers also vied against one another in a series of poetic competitions.[38] During these events, several chambers from all over the Netherlands came together in one city to compete around a specific topic. For example, in 1620, De Corenbloem and 't Mariacranske were awarded prizes for their poetry and decorations during a *blazoenfeest* in Mechelen in which each chamber portrayed their blazons.[39]

However, as the seventeenth century progressed, the chambers gradually changed and their public performances became increasingly rare. The seeds for this shift had been sown in the previous century. In this eventful period, the rhetoricians had actively participated in political and religious disputes. On behalf of the local authorities, they had propagated Reformed teachings and had stirred public opinion with their critical plays and songs.[40] Unsurprisingly, this had caused a great deal of distrust on the part of the central government and after the region's reconciliation with Rome, the authorities started to question and repress the rhetoricians' public appearances more and more.[41] Nonetheless, most chambers succeeded to maintain a stable – or in some cases even growing – number of members.[42] They conformed to

the changing times and reduced their public activities in favour of their social ones. Rhetoricians began to engage semi-professional actors (*personagien*) for their plays and opted more often for performances and assemblies behind closed doors.[43] Put differently, the chambers transformed themselves into exclusive networks in which sociability was vital and members could build and maintain relationships of trust.[44]

Luckily, the membership registers of all three Brussels' chambers are – at least partly – preserved. The register of Den Boeck, which is kept in the Royal Library of Belgium in Brussels, is by far the most detailed.[45] It contains a list of all sworn members complemented by the names of the annually elected princes and deans that served the society's governing board. While the number of board members varied, Den Boeck normally appointed a prince and two deans per term.[46] An analysis of the register shows that seven master painters joined the chamber as members during the seventeenth century: Nicolaes Caussens, Gillis Claessens, Christoffel Goffin, Simon Lemmens, Jan Meysens, Lanceloot Volders, and David Wouwermans.[47] Five of them also were appointed a position on the board. Claessens served as dean in 1612, Lemmens and Wouwermans were elected as princes in 1662 and 1679, and Goffin and Volders held the positions of dean and prince in 1661 and 1666 and 1692 and 1693 respectively (table 13).[48]

The register of De Corenbloem, which is also kept in the Royal Library, is less extensive.[49] It contains the names of all rhetoricians who were elected prince, dean, or elder, but does not list any of the sworn members. Here too, the number of board members varied greatly. In some years the chamber only appointed a prince and two deans, while in others a prince, four deans, and two elders were recorded.[50] As these board compositions suggest, De Corenbloem was considerably larger than Den Boeck.[51] This was also reflected in the number of master painters who served on De Corenbloem's board. From 1600 to 1699, no less than eight of their names appeared in the register: Philips Van der Baeren, Severyn Diertyts, Gelaude Habaert, Gerard van Hoochstadt, Pieter Janssens, Jan Noveliers, Salomon Noveliers, and Antoon van Opstal. All of them served as a dean for one term after which half of them returned as an elder. Van Hoochstadt was mentioned most often. He was appointed as a dean in 1620 and acted as an elder in 1635 and 1636 (table 13).[52]

Finally, the board members of 't Mariacransken could be deduced from the register of the Brussels Seven Sorrows Confraternity preserved in the Archives of the City of Brussels.[53] This confraternity – which will be discussed in more detail in the next part – was founded by members of De Lelie, a chamber of rhetoric that in 1506 merged with another chamber called De Violette to form 't Mariacransken.[54] Since the provosts of the latter continued to supervise the confraternity's activities, their names were recorded in the association's register for most of the seventeenth century. Especially in the first and last decades of the century, the manuscript provides a relatively complete list of names. This is not the case for the period from about 1630

to 1670. Between these years, the entries of board members were more sporadic.[55] Despite this gap, the register shows that at least three painters took on the position of provost: Francois de Bargas, Pieter Coppens, and Jan de Paege. All of them served for two terms, only De Bargas was later recorded as an elder as well (table 13).[56]

Table 13. The number of master painters per chamber of rhetoric, 1599–1712

CHAMBER OF RHETORIC	MEMBERS	DEANS/PROVOSTS	ELDERS	PRINCES
Den Boeck	7	3	NA	4
De Corenbloem	NA	8	4	0
't Mariacransken	NA	3	1	NA

Although this data does not provide insight into the exact number of painters who became rhetoricians, it does show that at least seventeen of them were actively involved with Den Boeck, De Corenbloem, and 't Mariacransken. This is not surprising. Those who joined one of these chambers could enjoy various benefits. First, a select number of rhetoricians was eligible for exemption from serving in one of Brussels' citizens' militia – a privilege the city council granted to 60 sworn members per chamber from 1561 onwards.[57] Second, membership could provide painters with various opportunities for (cross-craft) collaboration and trade.[58] Rhetoricians were mainly recruited from among a broad middling group of skilled artisans, artists, and merchants.[59] In Brussels, for example, many tapestry producers were associated with one of the chambers.[60] Third, affiliated painters could also benefit from additional commissions.[61] Chambers hired them to paint the decorations and scenery used during performances or to provide the ornaments that adorned their activities during civic festivities.[62]

Despite these benefits, rhetoricians did not always seem to have taken the associated conditions seriously. To join a chamber, aspiring members had to pay an admission fee, make an annual contribution, and swear an oath of allegiance.[63] This last point, in particular, generated more and more friction over the course of the seventeenth century. An increasing number of rhetoricians tried to evade their responsibilities and declined the time-consuming and often expansive positions on their chambers' governing boards. Princes and deans were expected to cover the costs of meals and celebrations, and these could increase considerably depending on the number of members.[64] As early as 1562, the painter Jacob de Punder (1527–*c.*1575) donated two paintings to Den Boeck to relieve himself of these burdens and less than a century later so many rhetoricians refused to take office that the Brussels City Council felt compelled to intervene.[65] On 27 April 1647, they announced that anyone who wanted to join a chamber committed themselves for life and had to help bear all necessary duties at all times.[66]

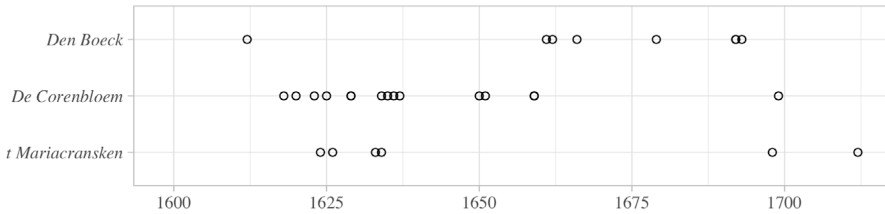


Fig. 21. Timeline with the years in which a master painter served on the board per chamber, 1599–1712.

The effect of this new rule on the involvement of painters seems to have varied per chamber. Figure 21 shows the years in which painters served on the chambers' boards from 1599 to 1712. Striking is the difference between Den Boeck and De Corenbloem. While painters in the former took office more frequently after 1647, artists in the latter almost completely vanished from the register during the second half of the century. Of course, this does not necessarily indicate causality but it is not unthinkable that painters started to shy away from De Corenbloem and its large number of members in order to avoid major financial obligations. Den Boeck, in contrast, had far fewer members so that for some painters the socio-economic benefits of joining seemed to have outweighed the burdens of obligatory board positions.

3.4 Confraternities

Painters could also join one of Brussels' many confraternities. These religious associations were dedicated to – and often named after – a patron saint and revolved around salvation as well as solidarity.[67] They often maintained an altar or chapel where they organised masses to venerate their heavenly protector and prayed for the souls of deceased members and relatives. In almost all cases, they had their own curate to lead these services.[68] Besides their care for the dead, confraternities also provided a framework for aid among the living. They imposed conditions for mutual assistance and organized communal meals and pious activities to foster solidarity.[69] Members, in other words, were part of a network of cooperation and support that persisted beyond the grave.[70] However, the extent to which they could benefit from their fellow congregants varied greatly. Confraternities showed vast differences in their prominence, prestige, and the social ranks of those who were allowed to join. Some recruited men, women, and children from all sorts of origins, while others only enlisted a select group of men from the highest regions of society.[71]

3.4.1 The Confraternity of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows

In Brussels, too, there was a diverse range of confraternities.[72] The aforementioned Confraternity of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows, for example, was one of the more accessible associations that transcended the boundaries of class, gender, and age with several thousand members from all walks of life.[73] It was established in 1499 by the Chamber of Rhetoric De Lelie and had a chapel in the former Church of Saint Gorik.[74] Ever since its foundation, the confraternity attracted a wide audience. To become a member, aspiring members only needed to meditate several times a week on the pity of Our Lady and the suffering of Christ. Even the dead were welcome to join if a living relative performed these exercises for them.[75] Because of this open model, membership for most must have been a passive – or even a posthumous – affair, in which salvation often prevailed over solidarity.[76]

During the seventeenth century, a few painters are known to have played a more active role within the Seven Sorrows Confraternity. At least three of them became involved through the association's unique relationship with the rhetoricians of De Lelie's descendant 't Mariacransken. As discussed above, Francois de Bargas, Pieter Coppens, and Jan de Paege all served the chamber as provosts and consequently supervised the activities of the confraternity.[77] When Coppens and De Bargas first took on these positions in 1633 and 1698, respectively, they seized the opportunity to register their wives and children as congregants as well.[78] Other painters benefited from the association's patronage.[79] Most notably, in 1605, the confraternity commissioned an altarpiece for its chapel from the court architect and painter Wenzel Coebergher (*c.*1561–1634) (fig. 22). This panel – which is currently kept in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium in Brussels – depicts the *Lamentation* and was later accompanied by six smaller, now lost, paintings to complete the cycle of the Seven Sorrows by Coebergher's colleague Theodoor Van Loon (1581/1582–1649).[80] The pious community's appeal to painters was also apparent from a small note in the confraternity's seventeenth-century inventory regarding Charles Wautier (1609–1703).[81] This painter was recorded to have paid off an interest of 42 guilders and 10 stuyvers in the confraternity's name shortly after his immigration to Brussels in 1633/1634. As far as is known, Wautier never became a member of the association, but his involvement is striking as he only joined the Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers twenty years later.[82]

Fig. 22. Wenzel Coebergher, *Lamentation*, 1605. Oil on panel, 306.5 × 239.5 cm. Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium, 124 (photo: Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium).

3.4.2 The Brotherhood of Saint Ildefonso

The Brotherhood of Saint Ildefonso was of a completely different nature. Archduke Albert himself had founded this association in Lisbon in 1588 and had moved it to Brussels in 1603 after he became sovereign of the Netherlands. It had a chapel in the Church of Saint-Jacques on the Coudenberg where it celebrated its patron saint and commemorated deceased members.[83] In contrast to the Seven Sorrow Confraternity, membership was limited and exclusive to the archducal court only.[84] An analysis of the brotherhood's preserved membership register in the Brussels State Archives shows that merely a handful of painters enjoyed the privilege of joining the association as well.[85] Among the names and titles of (mainly Spanish) officers and servants, four members were described as *pintor*. Unsurprisingly, all of them painted for the court: Jacques Francquart (1583–1651) joined in 1614, Willem van Deynum (*c.*1575–after 1624) in 1616, David II Teniers (1610–1690) in 1653, and the latter's son David III Teniers (1638–1685) in 1670.[86] In 1671 and 1677, David II Teniers was even elected to serve the brotherhood's board.[87] Membership of the Saint Ildefonso Brotherhood undoubtedly benefited these artists' social status, and in some cases also provided them with the opportunity to receive additional commissions. For instance, in 1669, David III Teniers painted the coats of arms of Íñigo de Velasco (1629–1698), Governor of the Spanish Netherlands from 1668 to 1670, in the brotherhood's statute book.[88] Seven years later, he or his father was paid 7 guilders and 4 stuyvers to do the same with the coats of arms of Carlos de Gurrea (1634–1692), Governor from 1675 to 1677.[89]

3.4.3 The Confraternity of Saint Eloi

Brussels' painters, however, were most involved with the Confraternity of Saint Eloi. This association was one of the oldest religious and charitable sodalities in the city and adopted its first statutes as early as 1367.[90] It was founded by different groups of artisans to assist one another in times of need and continued to raise money to help Brussels' sick and poor throughout the ages.[91] The confraternity also remained affiliated with various guilds from which it recruited the majority of its members. Organisations that revolved around metalwork were by far the most numerous, but it also included bakers, saddlers, and the Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers.[92] The association's altars and chapels reflected this variety. The most important chapels were dedicated to Saint Eloi and were located in the Church of Saint Michael and Saint Gudula and the confraternity's *aalmoezenhuis* (almshouse) in the Lange Ridderstraat.[93] Others were dedicated to the patron saints

of those professions that did not enjoy Saint Eloi's protection. For example, until the mid-seventeenth century, the affiliated painters venerated Saint Luke on their own altar in the Church of Saint Michael and Saint Gudula. This altar was taken down in 1649 to make way for the Chapel of Our Lady of Deliverance that is still there today.[94]

The confraternity's annual accounts for almost the entire seventeenth century are preserved in the archives of Belgium's Public Centre for Social Welfare in Brussels.[95] Together they provide a relatively complete overview of the association's governing board and patronage during this period. The board was consistently described on the first few folios. It was rather extensive and consisted of two *momboren* (guardians), three *provisoren* (deans), and three *toezieners* (supervisors). The *provisoren* and *toezieners* exercised day-to-day management. They were elected from among the affiliated guilds' representatives and served for three consecutive years each. Continuity of management was guaranteed by a rotating hierarchy. Every year on the Feast of Saint John the Baptist (24 June) one *provisoor* and one *toeziener* who had served a full term of office were replaced. The remaining board members then moved up in the ranking so that the newcomers – who started at the bottom – could familiarise with their tasks. The positions of *provisoor* were divided between the guilds of blacksmiths, goldsmiths, painters, and saddlers. The first two were permanently represented. The last two shared a position and alternated every three years. The positions of *toeziener* were mainly held by bakers, knife makers, and *lormier*s. The *momboren* did not belong to the affiliated guilds. They represented the city council and supervised the board and the charitable initiatives they organised.[96]

From 1594 to 1712, a total of fourteen members of the Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers took office as *provisoor* (table 14).[97] Most of them served one term of three consecutive years. A few exceptions deviated from this rule. For example, the painter Antoon van Opstal served for four years from 1631 to 1635 and the painter Quinten Symons held the position for two years from 1639 to 1641.[98] Only the stained-glass maker Carel de Swert took on a second three-year term. He joined the board in 1680 and again in 1704.[99] All painters, goldbeaters, and stained-glass makers who were appointed on the confraternity's board had previously served the guild as deans.[100] The median interval between their first term as dean and their first term as *provisoor* was an astonishing fifteen years.

As table 14 shows, only 4 of the 14 guild members who became *provisoor* were painters: Jan Claerbodts, Antoon van Opstal, Quinten Symons, and Pieter van den Winckel.[101] This is striking as data collected by Edmond Roobaert indicates that they had almost exclusively occupied the guild's position on the confraternity's board during the previous centuries. From 1476 to 1603, he recorded only one term in which the guild was represented by a stained-glass maker and none in

which a goldbeater served.[102] Perhaps painters started to shy away from the duties and responsibility involved. After all, joining the board was a time-consuming undertaking that most certainly came at the expense of their productivity. *Provisoren* had to check the confraternity's accounts, defend its business interests, and organise its charity works.[103] Alternatively, it is possible that it was not the distribution of board positions among the guild members that changed, but the registration thereof in the annual accounts. For example, in 1609, Adriaen van Zinnick was appointed to represent the guild as *provisoor*. While he was a master goldbeater with several apprentices employed, the confraternity's annual accounts recorded him as a painter.[104] Something similar happened with the entries of the stained-glass maker Wouter Jacobs. He served from 1623 to 1626 and was consistently described as a painter.[105] Most likely in these cases – and during the previous decades – the word *schilder* (painter) was used to refer to the guild represented and not to specify the occupation of the *provisoor* in question.[106]

Table 14. The number of painters, goldbeaters, and stained-glass makers who took on the position of *provisoor*, 1594–1712

	PAINTERS	GOLDBEATERS	STAINED-GLASS MAKERS
Number of *provisoren* (n = 14)	4	3	7

The annual accounts also provide insight into the confraternity's expenses during the seventeenth century. Like the previously discussed associations, they repeatedly engaged artists to produce or retouch artworks and other decorative elements.[107] For instance, the painter Jan de Paege decorated an iron crown for one of the chapels of Saint Eloi in 1629 and in about 1655 his colleague Richard van Orley painted and gilded a statue of the patron saint sculpted by Jan Hulsbos.[108] In 1670, the painter Michiel Allaert was paid for his contribution to the confraternity's triumphal arch that was used in the celebration of the three hundred years jubilee of the Sacrament of Miracle.[109] Four years later, the portrait painter Lanceloot Volders received 60 guilders for a painting to decorate the boardroom.[110] In addition, the painters and gilders Egidius Basavechia, Andries van der Elst, Thomas Pins, and an unspecified Breughel were all compensated for retouching the association's alcoves, altars, mantelpieces, and picture frames.[111] Unfortunately, most of these works were lost during the 1695 Bombardment of Brussels. In about 1702, the painter Jan van Orley obtained a commission to redecorate the confraternity's chapel. He was paid 350 guilders for an altarpiece depicting Saint Eloi giving alms to those in need (fig. 23).[112]

Fig. 23. Jan van Orley, *Saint Eloi giving Alms*, *c.*1702. Oil on canvas, 350 × 186 cm. Brussels, Museum of the Public Centre for Social Welfare, T.130 (photo: KIK-IRPA).

3.5 Parishes and Neighbourhoods

Like public houses, chambers of rhetoric, and confraternities, the area in which someone lived could also be seen as a third place. It brought a consciousness of familiarity and solidarity and knitted neighbours together with mutual obligations and a sense of belonging. According to the historian James R. Farr, 'bonds between neighbors could be as tight as that of kin, faith, or craft'.[113] Of course, there always was a potential for rivalry and enmity, but often conflicts were tempered by social control and a Christian ideal to maintain peace between neighbours.[114] For painters, in particular, a strategically chosen place of residence could also yield artistic benefits. The spatial proximity of other artists, for instance, could foster 'spillovers' of knowledge and skills. It offered painters the possibility to exchange ideas, receive information, and access one another's work and collections more easily.[115]

3.5.1 Parishes

By analysing to which parishes the painters belonged, it was possible to gain more insight into their spatial distribution over Brussels. From 1520 onwards, the city was divided into four parishes: Our Lady of the Chapel, Saint Catherine, Saint Gorik, and Saint Michael and Saint Gudula.[116] They all were connected to a specific part of town and had strictly defined boundaries that determined who belonged to which. Due to Brussels' rapidly growing population, three more parishes split off during the seventeenth century. In 1622, the Churches of Saint-Jacques on the Coudenberg and Saint Nicholas became parishes. Both churches had been subordinate to the chapter of Saint Michael and Saint Gudula during the previous centuries and had to continue to cede their funeral proceeds to the main church even after they became independent. Twenty-four years later, in 1646, the Church of Our Lady of Finistère became the seventh parish. This church was built after the chapel that preceded it had become too small to keep pace with the city's urban growth and had to be expanded itself just ten years after it was finished.[117]

To find out to which parishes the painters belonged, the baptism records of 81 of their first-born children registered from 1601 to 1709 were analysed. This particular sample provided valuable information about the locations where the artists and their spouses settled down. As discussed in the first chapter, newlyweds generally separated from their natal households to form nuclear families of their own. Most of them welcomed their first child shortly after and baptised them in the parish of their new home. For painters, the median interval between marriage and the baptism of their first-born child was only 1.1 years.[118] As earlier demonstrated,

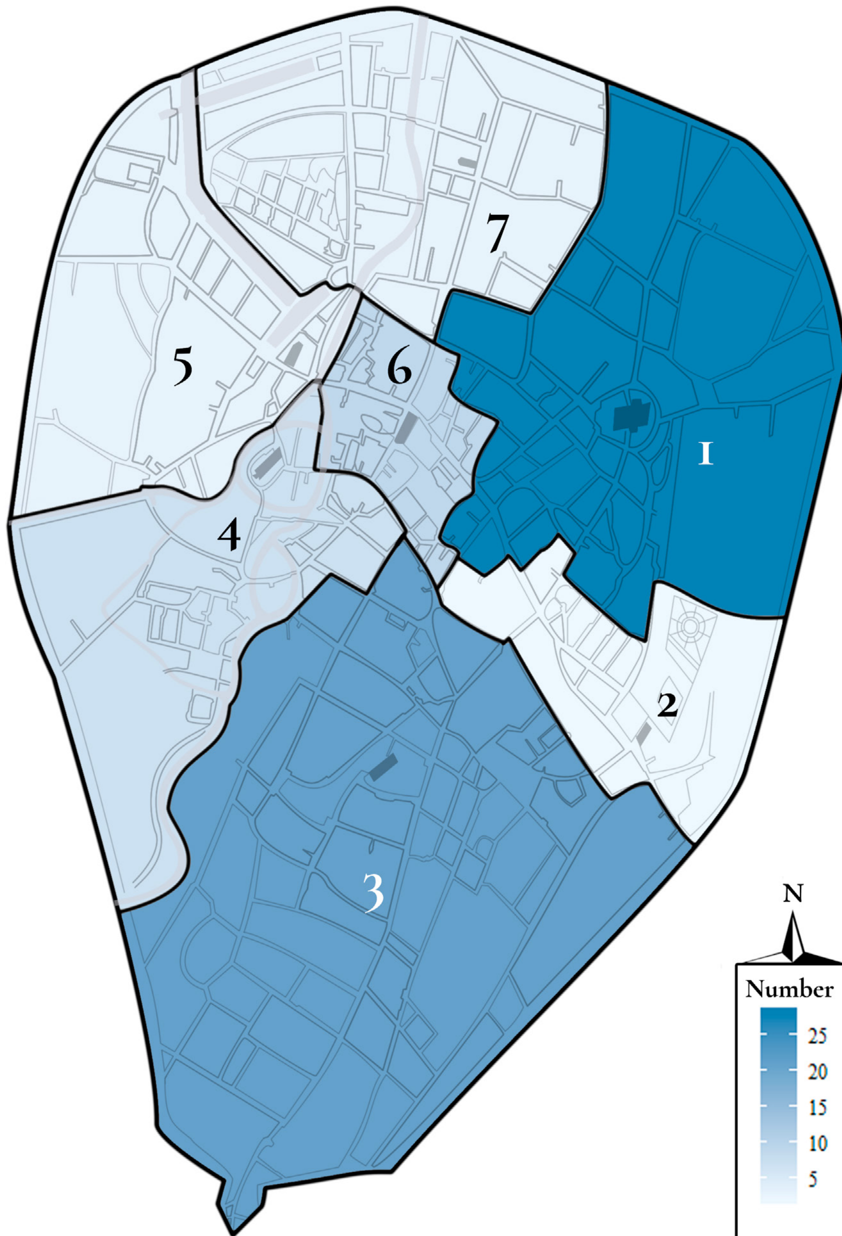


Fig. 24. The spatial distribution of master painters per parish, 1601–1709. The parishes are numbered as follows: (1) Saint Michael and Saint Gudula, (2) Saint-Jacques on the Coudenberg, (3) Our Lady of the Chapel, (4) Saint Gorik, (5) Saint Catherine, (6) Saint Nicholas and (7) Our Lady of Finistère.

many painters started their own workshops at approximately the same time. Because of this, these registrations offered the rare opportunity to identify parishes that attracted more novice artists with youthful ambitions.

As illustrated in figure 24, almost two-thirds of the painters belonged to only two of Brussels' seven parishes. The largest concentration was in the Parish of Saint Michael and Saint Gudula. No fewer than 31 painters baptised their first-born child in that church. It was closely followed by the Parish of Our Lady of the Chapel. Twenty-two painters christened their first child there. The remaining one-third of the painters were spread over Brussels' other parishes. Eleven baptised their child in the Church of Saint Nicholas, eight in the Church of Saint Gorik, four in the Church of Saint Catherine, and three in the relatively young Church of Our Lady of Finistère. Only two painters baptised their first-borns in the prestigious Church of Saint-Jacques on the Coudenberg: David III Teniers in 1672 and Lambert de Hondt just two years later.[119] At these times, both Teniers and De Hondt were probably worked in the workshop of Tenier's well-known father David II, who – as a court painter – had been part of the same royal parish for several years by then.[120]

3.5.2 The 1702 Census of Brussels

A more detailed analysis of the distribution of painters in Brussels was made possible by an extensive census held in 1702. At the start of the War of the Spanish Succession, the new King Philips V of Spain (1683–1746) pressured the States of Brabant to levy a new tax per capita.[121] Everyone from the age of 14 years old was appraised and recorded. In Brussels, the census was carried out by members of the city council. In groups of two, and accompanied by a secretary, they systematically mapped the city's 40 neighbourhoods.[122] Per house they listed the inhabitants and often noted additional information about their occupation, number of children, and financial situation. The resulting records are kept in the Brussels State Archives and the Archives of the City of Brussels. In 2018, they were fully transcribed by a group of volunteers and published after editing by Herman Swinnen.[123]

A total of 65 painters were recorded in the census.[124] As figure 25 shows, they lived relatively scattered throughout the city. Only in three places did groups of painters cluster together. Two of them were located next to the Zenne river. The first was in the far north of the city and covered all three neighbourhoods within the Parish of Our Lady of Finistère. The second was in the southern Parish of Our Lady of the Chapel and included three neighbourhoods that were on the east side of the waterway. The third cluster did not border the Zenne but consisted of several neighbourhoods that surrounded the Church of Saint Michael and Saint Gudula. It

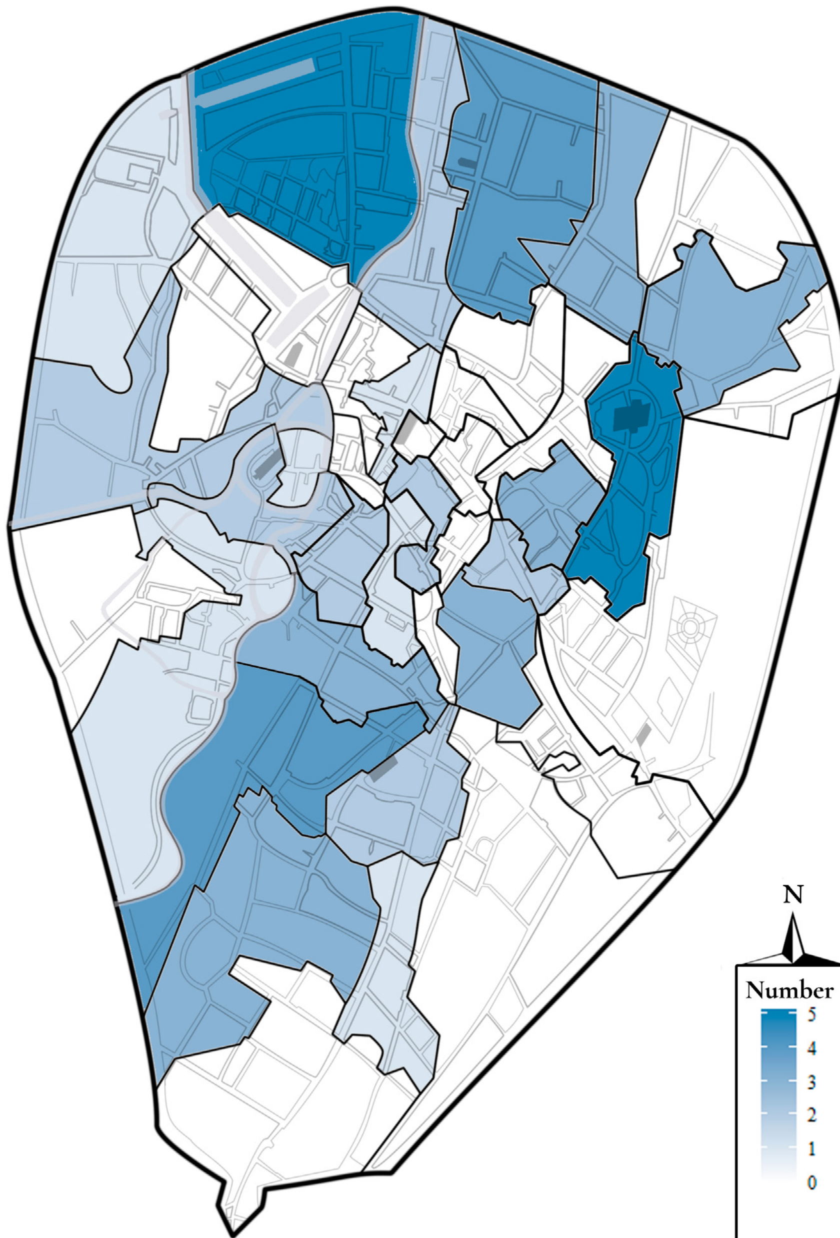


Fig. 25. The spatial distribution of master painters per neighbourhood, 1702.

Fig. 26. Theodoor van Heil, *Fire at the Brussels inn 'De Wolf'*, 1690. Oil on canvas 74 × 116. Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium, 223 (photo: Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium).

was in this area only that a secretary recorded two painters who actually lived next to each other: the portrait painter Lanceloot Volders with his wife and two children and the flower painter Hieronymus Breughel with his wife and four children.[125]

Occasionally, the census also offered additional information about the painters. For instance, for some of them, it provided insight into their monetary affairs. Many of these painters seemed to have struggled. No fewer than 11 were labelled as poor or very poor. The businesses of four others were described as running badly. Carel Jacobs' record was especially striking. It clarified that the painter had little work and that he had temporarily left behind his wife and three minor children to travel abroad.[126] In contrast, other painters seemed to have been relatively well-off. Five of them – including the landscape painter Theodoor van Heil who, like his father Daniel, achieved fame by painting burning buildings and winter scenes (fig. 26) – outsourced their domestic work to a maid.[127] In almost all cases, these girls lived with the painters' families. Only in the case of Pieter le Court was it specified that she lived in a different house.[128] The records of nine painters specified the type of work they did. They were defined as *cladtschilder* instead of the usual *schilder*. This description made clear that they did not produce any artistic works, but earned a living by painting houses and interiors.[129] Finally, the census also recorded seven widows of painters. The entry of Jacob Huysmans' widow stood out in particular. It described that she was still earning a living by selling paintings and that she and

her daughter shared their house with a journeyman-painter named Willem van der Meren.[130] None of these characteristics seemed to have influenced a painter's place of residence. With the exception of the court, the rich and poor lived side by side and the city had no clear economic residential segregation until well into the nineteenth century.[131]

Although these analyses help to map Brussels' artistic centres, it should be nuanced that in terms of dimensions the city then was far from the modern metropolis now. It was fairly small and regardless of one's place of residence, all neighbourhoods were easily accessible within walking distance. In addition, the examined data only reflects particular moments in time that did not necessarily correspond to the pronounced mobility of early modern artisans.[132] The painter Paulus Breughel (1669–1738) – the younger brother of the aforementioned Hieronymus – is a striking example. From 1693 to 1711 alone, he moved at least three times within the city's walls. In 1693, he rented a house in the *Veederstraat* near the Church of Saint Michael and Saint Gudula.[133] During the census of 1702, he and his wife Catharina van Lack were recorded in the vicinity of the *Ossenmarkt* in the Parish of Our Lady of Finistère.[134] Nine years later, Breughel and Van Lack rented a third house in the same parish. This one was located on the *Wolfsgracht* opposite the now demolished Temple des Augustins.[135]

3.6 Conclusion

The social importance of early modern third places is often difficult to grasp quantitively. Much of what happened within these social hangouts was never documented and archival data on their doings is therefore particularly scarce. The few preserved notarial deeds, membership registers, and account books that do provide more insight into these places, however, suggest that they must have played a considerable role in the lives and careers of most seventeenth-century Brussels' master painters. Many of them frequented the city's numerous public houses, joined one of the three chambers of rhetoric, and/or became involved in one of the diverse confraternities. Within these later literary and religious associations, some of them even took on positions on the governing boards. This was not surprising. A visit to or membership of a third place provided painters with the opportunity to socialise, share information, trade, and – with regards to the chambers and confraternities – enjoy their patronage.

Despite these benefits, some of the more institutionalised third places seem to have lost importance over the course of the seventeenth century. Painters served less and less on the boards of chambers of rhetoric and increasingly shared their

exclusive governing positions in confraternities with other professional groups. This seemed especially the case with larger and more accessible organisations in which the social benefits did not always outweigh the time-consuming and expensive terms in office. In addition, Brussels did not seem to have had a clear area in which painters clustered. The vast majority of them settled in the Parishes of Saint Michael and Saint Gudula and Our Lady of the Chapel, but none of the city's forty neighbourhoods housed a remarkably large concentration of painters. This is striking since earlier studies into the spatial distribution of painters and tapestry producers in Amsterdam and Antwerp demonstrated that artists in those cities did have clear preferences when choosing a place of residence.

PART II

THE THREE PLACES OF PAINTING

When added together, the quantitative insights from Part I paint a picture of the average life of a seventeenth-century Brussels' painter – a picture that of course does not correspond to the actual history of any of the artists studied, but that does make it possible to identify the exceptional or unusual individuals among them. In this second part, the lives and works of some of these atypical painters will be analysed in more detail. In three chronologically arranged case studies, it will zoom in on what socially distinguished these remarkable – and often understudied – artists from their peers in the general population and how this might have influenced their artistic production. By linking these cases to some of Brussels' most prominent places of painting, the following chapters will also further explore the city's unique artistic environment in which the presence of the court (Chapter 4) was accompanied by both a vibrant internal art market (Chapter 5) and celebrated tapestry industry (Chapter 6).

CHAPTER 4
PAINTING FOR THE COURT: A FAMILY OF PAINTERS AT THE START OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

4.1 Brussels' Painters and the Archdukes' Patronage

Since the 1920s, there has been a great deal of interest in painters who enjoyed the patronage of the Brussels' court during the reign of the Archdukes Albert (1559–1621) and Isabella (1566–1633) at the start of the seventeenth century. Unsurprisingly, much attention was paid to the close relationship between the Archdukes and Pieter Paul Rubens (1577–1640). Early contributions by (art) historians such as Joseph Destrée, Charles Terlinden, and S. Duval-Haller explored Rubens' privileged position at the court and described some of the most prominent commissions the painter carried out within this role.[1] To this day, the Archdukes' clear preference for the Antwerp master and the various aspects of his courtly activities remain a popular research topic.[2] However, as these studies often highlight, Rubens' situation was exceptional and not necessarily representative of that of his less celebrated colleagues. This was already pointed out by the architect and historian Paul Saintenoy in his article 'Les peintres de la Cour de Bruxelles au XVIIe siècle' in 1927. He stated that most painters who had served the Archdukes were not very gifted or renowned at all and that – unlike with Rubens – much remains unknown about the work they had provided for the court.[3]

This artistic and social diversity was further explored by the painter and art historian Marcel de Maeyer. In his 1955 book *Albrecht en Isabella en de schilderkunst* – which is still at the heart of the debate today – he provided an overview of the numerous painters who had received the Archdukes' patronage during their careers. Apart from Rubens, he discussed no fewer than 43 different artists and divided them based on their specialty and/or style. Difficult to situate or largely unknown painters – including several Brussels' masters such as Antoon van Opstal, Michiel

de Bordeaux, and members of the Noveliers family – were grouped separately.[4] De Maeyer was able to retrieve biographical information related to the court for nearly all of these painters and concluded that although many of them had worked for the Archdukes, their positions, pay, and privileges had differed greatly. Only a few of them were allowed to claim the various tax reliefs and exemptions enjoyed by the Archdukes' servants and even fewer were officially appointed as court painters.[5]

In the decades following De Maeyer's extensive survey, scholars continued to analyse the Archdukes' patronage from different vantage points.[6] Most notably, in 1998, the Royal Museum of Art and History in Brussels organised an exhibition focusing on Albert and Isabella's reign. The catalogue – edited by the historians Werner Thomas and Luc Duerloo – consists of various essays on the duo's relationship to the arts but also includes studies on related subjects such as their cultural influence, religious policies, and the structure of their household.[7] Seven years later, the art historian Sabine van Sprang published another noteworthy contribution in the edited volume *Sponsors of the Past: Flemish Art and Patronage 1550–1700*. She revisited De Maeyer's list of painters and attempted to establish a classification for some of them. Besides the artists who had only occasionally worked for the Archdukes, Van Sprang made a distinction between those who were officially appointed court painter and those who had only received privileges. She convincingly demonstrated that the first group consisted mainly of local painters who had to be permanently available to perform decorative or collection-related tasks at the court when needed, while the second consisted of *fournisseurs privilégié* from all over the country who had executed paintings for the Archdukes without any other fixed obligations.[8] The Antwerp Rubens and Antoon van Dyck (1599–1641) were exceptions. They were granted the position of court painter without having to settle near the court or assume any practical responsibilities.[9]

In recent years, art historians have examined several individual Brussels' painters – such as Hendrick de Clerck (*c.*1560–1630) and Denys van Alsloot (*c.*1568–*c.*1626) – who belonged to Van Sprang's second group of the court's privileged purveyors. They described these artists' lives and pictorial characteristics in detail and often elaborated on the Archdukes' preference for their work.[10] In addition, they paid considerable attention to the various commissions these painters had executed for the court. For example, the famous depictions of the 1615 Brussels' *Ommegang* – that Van Alsloot had painted with the help of some colleagues on behalf of the Archdukes – were repeatedly scrutinised with great emphasis on their stylistic features, documentary value, and political functions (fig. 27).[11] Scholars dedicated similar studies to other Brussels' artists who had also painted for the Archdukes but did not receive any additional privileges during the duo's reign. Among others, they analysed the careers, works, and connections to the court of Gaspar de

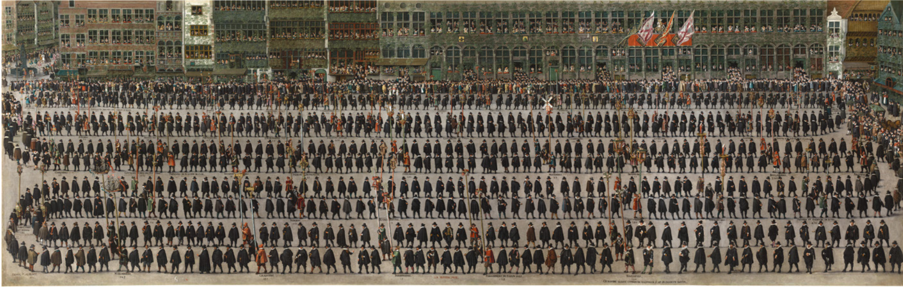


Fig. 27. Denys van Alsloot and Antoon Sallaert, *The Procession of the Guilds*, 1616. Oil on canvas, 130 × 380 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, P1347 (photo: Photographic Archive Museo Nacional del Prado).

Crayer (1584–1669), Antoon Sallaert (1594–1650), Pieter Snayers (1592–1667), and Theodoor van Loon (1581/1582–1649).[12]

Despite this ongoing and ever-broadening interest in Albert and Isabelle's patronage, many Brussels' painters who had served at the Archdukes' court are still largely unknown today. Art historians tended to focus on artists who had at least a small corpus of attributed works to start from and often neglected those for whom such artistic sources were lacking. Especially local court painters – who mainly performed practical tasks or made decorative works that were lost along with their patrons' Coudenberg Palace and retreats in Tervuren and Mariemont – fell victim to this selection.[13] Cases in point are several members of the Noveliers family. At least three of them served the court as painters but, as the next part will show, they were only occasionally featured in art-historical discussions.

4.2 The Noveliers Family of Painters

The first description of the Noveliers family of painters dates back to 1863. In that year the Brussels' historian and archivist Alexandre Pinchart published and annotated two petitions submitted to the Archdukes by members of the family in the second volume of his *Archives des arts, sciences et lettres*. The first petition dates from 8 November 1618 and came from Pieter Noveliers (*c.*1560–between 1618 and 1623). He wrote that he had enjoyed tax relief on beer and wine and exemption from participating in vigilante patrols for his service to the court since 1605, but that he now wanted to renounce these privileges in favour of his son Salomon (1587/1588–1660). He stated that he was old, sick, and 'laquelle s'augmentant de jour à aultre' (worsening from day to day), and that his son had already assumed his duties long ago.[14] The

Archdukes agreed to the transfer and only eight days later, on 16 November 1618, they received a second petition for the same benefits by David Noveliers (*c.*1580–after 1645). Pinchart suspected that he was a son of Pieter as well, but could not provide any additional data about the painter or the success of his request.[15]

In 1877, the French historian Alfred Michiels was able to provide more information. He stated that David was active as a court painter with the main task of documenting important indoor events in the life of the Archdukes and that he had received 1,000 Flemish pounds for delivering some paintings to the court in 1617. Michiels did not provide any archival evidence to back up these claims but did refer to 'un panneau de David Noveliers' (a panel by David Noveliers) depicting *Albert and Isabella in their Cabinet* in the home of the art dealer Baur at 7 Rue d'Antin in Paris.[16] David and his family also featured in Henri Hymans' posthumously bundled *Œuvres* from 1920. Based on Pinchart's published transcription of the registers of the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers, Hymans clarified that David was indeed Pieter's son and that he and his brother Salomon were recorded as master's sons in 1610 and 1614 respectively. He also noted that there was a fourth painter in the family named Jan Noveliers (1589–1679). He was the son of Lucas (d. 1642), had studied with his uncle Pieter, and became a master painter in 1631.[17]

While Paul Saintenoy mostly echoed his predecessors' findings on the Noveliers family in his 1927 article, Marcel de Maeyer presented additional data on the services they performed for Albert and Isabella in his 1955 book described above.[18] He successively described Pieter, Salomon, and David's activities at the court and used various transcribed documents to demonstrate that their main task had consisted of curating and restoring paintings in the Archducal collection. De Maeyer also provided conclusive evidence that confirmed the success of David's 1618 petition for privileges and gave more information about the painter and his kin's doings besides their duties at the court. He stated that Pieter and Salomon had also acted as art dealers and that David had occasionally worked as a copyist. Finally, he identified David's son Salomon (1613–1652) as the fifth painter in the family and described that the latter was registered as a master's son in 1645.[19]

In recent decades, art historians only mentioned members of the Noveliers family sporadically. They were never the subject of an extensive study and if one or more of their names came up, they or their activities were seldom examined or contextualised.[20] Only two scholars described the painters in more detail. First, in 2005, Sabine van Sprang specified that although Pieter, Salomon, and David had all received privileges, only Salomon was officially appointed the title of court painter.[21] Nine years later, she also scrutinised a painting by David that belonged to Denys van Alsloot's original series documenting the 1615 Brussels' *Ommegang* (fig. 28).[22] Second, in 2010, the art historian José Juan Pérez Preciado included Salomon in

Fig. 28. David Noveliers (in collaboration with Denys van Alsloot and Antoon Sallaert), *The Parade of Giants and the Horse Bayard*, 1616. Oil on canvas, 118 × 327 cm. Spain, private collection (photo: Erfgoed Brussel).

his PhD dissertation on the art collection of the Marquis of Leganés. He identified the painter as the author of various portraits in the nobleman's inventory and stated that he was involved in the purchase of various other pieces as an art dealer.[23]

Together, these contributions evoke a fragmented picture of a relatively successful painter's dynasty that consisted of no fewer than five painters, at least three of whom had received privileges from the Archdukes. This was exceptional. As described in Chapter 1.4, the local art market was rarely large enough to support multiple workshops within a family, nor was it a given for artists to receive additional benefits for serving the court. The tax exemptions – enjoyed by Pieter and his sons, among others – were particularly problematic. Their costs were borne by city authorities and therefore often met with resistance.[24] This seems to have prevented the Archdukes from granting them freely. For instance, the Antwerp landscapist Joos de Momper (1564–1635) had to wait almost 27 years before he received privileges and in 1608 a petition from the Brussels' painter Gysbert van Veen (1562–1628) was denied after almost a decade of service 'à cause de la conséquence' (because of the consequences).[25] By reassessing previously published documents on the Noveliers painters and supplementing them with as yet unpublished data about their genealogy and network, the next two parts will shed a new – more social – light on the family and their activities. In doing so, they not only aim to better understand the success of these often-overshadowed artists but also for the first time explore the social interconnectedness of painters at the Brussels' court.

4.3 The Noveliers Family's Privileged Position at the Court

The following pages will delve deeper into the Noveliers family's activities at the court. It will examine how Pieter, David, and Salomon all managed to obtain court privileges and explore the ways in which they utilised the access these positions provided them to some of the most eminent artists and patrons of their time.

4.3.1 Obtaining Court Privileges

In 1596, Pieter Noveliers submitted his first known petition to the Brussels' court. He introduced himself as a merchant living in the city with his wife and children and stated that he had suffered badly 'durant ces troubles et guerres' (during these troubles and wars). They had greatly diminished his business and had forced him to use up almost all of his recourses to keep his family afloat. To get back on his feet, he requested the court permission to hold one or two lotteries for 6,000 guilders each. He would keep the tickets safe in a box with two locks and would engage a third party for the winning draw to prevent suspicions of fraud. His proposal was approved on 13 March of the same year, and shortly after Pieter's situation seems indeed to have improved.[26] He took on several apprentices – including his two sons and nephew – and even started to receive commissions from the Archdukes themselves.[27] In 1603, the duo paid him 3 Flemish pounds for copying the designs of the fountains' instruments used during the construction of their gardens, and only two years later they granted him privileges for serving them with his art on a more regular basis.[28]

Two socio-economic reasons can help explain Pieter's rapid success at the court – at least in part. First, the painter was specialised in restoration. This skill must have helped him in his activities as an art dealer but must also have been valuable in the eyes of the Archdukes. After their accession in 1598, they had started a campaign to breathe new life into the Brussels' court and it is not unthinkable that they saw in Pieter an expert who could help them restore the splendour of the royal sites built by their illustrious predecessors.[29] Second, long before Pieter began working for the court, he had embedded himself in a network of prominent colleagues and officials. As early as 1587, he was a witness at the wedding and became a godfather to the child of the painter Baptist Floris.[30] Floris was the son of the renowned Antwerp artist Frans Floris (1519–1570) whose work was highly regarded at the Brussels' court. The archducal collection contained several of his paintings and Archduke Albert's contemporary biographer Aubertus Miraeus (1573–1640) named Floris as one of his patron's favourite artists.[31] Thirteen years later, in 1600, the nobleman

Lamoral de Tassis (1557–1624) became godfather to Pieter's eponymous son Pieter.[32] De Tassis had spent a long time at the royal court in Madrid and combined a military career with a position at the postal service after his return to the Southern Netherlands in 1581. Later, in 1608, De Tassis was also appointed imperial baron by Emperor Rudolf II (1552–1612) and in 1615 he inherited the office of postmaster general in Brussels.[33]

Almost immediately after Pieter was granted privileges, his sons David and Salomon Noveliers also began to enter court circles and occasionally work for the Archdukes. In 1606, David became godfather to the child of the painter Gillis Claessens and Catharina Waleyns de Hasseleer.[34] Claessens was the son of the Brugge painter Gillis Claessens who is known to have worked for the Archdukes and Waleyns de Hasseleer was the sister of David's then-future wife Sara.[35] The following year, in 1607, the Archdukes granted David and his Antwerp college Frans Francken (1581–1642) permission to undertake a short business trip to Holland and in 1610 they reimbursed him 262 guilders for the supply of two landscapes and four devotional pieces by unnamed artists.[36] Seven years later, in 1617, they also paid him 1,000 Flemish pounds for several paintings by his own hand appraised by Pieter Paul Rubens.[37] By then, his brother Salomon had presumably taken over most of their father's duties at the court. When the latter successfully petitioned in 1618 to renounce his privileges in favour of his son Salomon, he stated that his intended successor had already assumed the corresponding duties long ago.[38] One year later, David also followed in his father's footsteps. He was appointed privileges in 1619 'pour raccomoder et réparer les peinctures, mesmes en faire plusieurs nouvelles' (to mend and repair the paintings and even make several new ones).[39]

That Pieter introduced his sons to his courtly pursuits long before they themselves were granted privileges seems to have been a deliberate strategy. It provided David and Solomon with the opportunity to win the Archdukes' favour and undoubtedly increased their chances of securing court positions of their own. This approach was not uncommon. Other court-employed artists like Otto van Veen (1556–1629) and Wenzel Coebergher (*c.* 1561–1634) did the same.[40] In 1617, Van Veen successfully requested the Archdukes to employ his son Ernest at the mint and five years later Coebergher was succeeded as the court's architect and engineer by his brother-in-law Jacques Francquart (1577–1651).[41] Earlier, in 1613, Coebergher had also helped Francquart obtain a position as court painter.[42] At the time, he was responsible for all of the Archdukes' building, fortification, and renovation works, as well as for anything related to them. In this leading capacity, he was actively involved in decorating architectural projects and often commissioned works from other local painters – including his brother-in-law – as a subcontractor.[43]

4.3.2 Serving the Archdukes and Collaborating with Other Court-Employed Artists

Sources that provide more insight into the Noveliers family's activities at the court show that Pieter, David, and Salomon Noveliers continued to expand their network after their appointments. They often collaborated with other court-employed artists and in some cases even forged bonds of spiritual kinship with them. Already in 1616 – when Pieter was still the only one in the family to enjoy benefits – David joined forces with the aforementioned Denys van Alsloot and Antoon Sallaert.[44] Van Alsloot had received a commission from the Archdukes to make eight large paintings documenting the events and processions of the 1615 Brussels' *Ommegang* and had engaged David, Sallaert, and several other painters to help him complete this major project on time.[45] Sallaert was responsible for the design of most of the

Fig. 29. Antoon Sallaert, *Young Girl with a Bow and Arrow*, *c.*1615. Black chalk on paper, 205 × 121 mm. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, MB 5098 (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History).

figures and David painted a piece depicting *The Parade of Giants and the Horse Bayard* (fig. 28).[46] It was signed and dated 'DAVIT NOVELIERS/A 1616 Brussel' and fits in perfectly with the other works in the series in terms of composition and style. This indicates that David maintained close contact with his colleagues during the execution of his canvas, which seems to be confirmed by the use of Sallaert's preparatory drawing of a young girl with a bow and arrow as a model for a figure in the back row of the parade (fig. 29).[47] David also worked together with Van Alsloot on other projects. The 1618 inventory of the Middelburg mint master Melchior Wyntgis mentions a *Triumph of David* after Lucas van Leyden's (1494–1533) that was started by David and finished by Van Alsloot and Hendrick de Clerck.[48]

In later years, it was mainly David's brother Salomon who was mentioned in relation to other painters. He was appointed court painter during Isabella's regency with an annual salary of 200 Flemish pounds 'pour l'entretien des peintures de la cour et maison de la Veure' (for maintaining the paintings at the court and residence of Tervuren).[49] In this capacity, he must have come into contact and collaborated with many colleagues who also worked or wished to work for the court. Several of these partnerships are known. For instance, in 1624, Salomon teamed up with his Brussels' colleague Quinten Symons – best known today for being a sitter on one of Van Dyck's portraits (fig. 30) – to restore more than fifty paintings in the Tervuren Castle. The artworks had been cut from their frames and severely damaged during an attempted theft and were found, rolled up in a temporarily empty pond reservoir, before the perpetrators could have taken them away. Salomon and Symons were appointed to make an inventory of the recovered pieces and restore them to their original state.[50] At that point, the two painters must have known each other for several years already. They had learned together in the workshop of Salomon's father Pieter and were both registered as masters in the Brussels' guild on 4 February 1614.[51] In 1638, Salomon also became godfather to Symons' eponymous son Quinten.[52]

Five years after his collaboration with Symons, in 1629, Pieter Snayers' wife Anna Schut (d. 1675) was registered as the godmother of Salomon's daughter Anna Maria Noveliers.[53] Snayers and Schut had moved from Antwerp to Brussels less than a year earlier and it is telling that they formalised their ties with Salomon almost immediately after their arrival. Both painters must have seen the benefits of such a bond. On the one hand, Snayers could use the court painter to gain easier access to the Archdukes, while on the other, Salomon could profit from his new fellow townsman's artistic talents as an art dealer. In the following years, they indeed seem to have collaborated repeatedly. Snayers carried out numerous commissions for the Brussels' court and Salomon sold several of his colleague's battle scenes to the Spanish Marquis of Leganés.[54] He was also named in Snayers' deceased widow's inventory of administrative documents in a now lost bundle with 'various receipts

Fig. 30. Antoon van Dyck, *Portrait of Quinten Symons*, *c.*1634. Oil on canvas, 95 × 83.7 cm. Den Haag, Mauritshuis, 242 (photo: Mauritshuis).

concerning deliveries of merchandise of paintings and other things between the husband of the deceased, Seigneur Novelliers, van Heel and others'.[55] Salomon also traded the art of other court-employed painters. In about 1631, he bought a *Flora* from the Antwerp Jan Brueghel (1601–1678), and in 1640 the court paid him 550 Flemish pounds for the delivery of a large canvas with the *Procession of the Maidens of the Sablon* to the castle in Tervuren.[56] This work is attributed to Antoon Sallaert and is currently in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium in Brussels (fig. 31).

Salomon also seems to have maintained a close relationship with Gaspar de Crayer.[57] They served together as court painters since 1635 under Isabella's successors Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand (1609–1641) and Archduke Leopold Wilhelm (1614–1662), and seem to have joined forces at least once in this capacity.[58] In 1640, the painters were mentioned together by the executors of Rubens' estate. They had brokered the purchase of 29 artworks – to the value of 27,100 guilders – from the late painter's collection on behalf of the Spanish King Philip IV (1605–1665) and were generously rewarded for this. Salomon received a painting described as *A Nymph with a Basket of Fruit*, and De Crayer received one described as *Saint Benedict*.[59] Seventeen years later, in 1657, the two painters again stood side by side on a more personal level. They both were witnesses at the wedding of Salomon's daughter

Fig. 31. Attributed to Antoon Sallaert and his workshop, *The Procession of the Maidens at the Sablon.* Oil on canvas, 180 × 339 cm. Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium, 173 (photo: Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium).

Catharina Noveliers and Jan Baptist Francois de Bruyn.[60] The long period between Salomon and De Crayer's first known collaboration and their bond of spiritual kinship is striking. It matches the timeline of Salomon's relationship with Symons but contrasts completely with his dealings with Snayers. This suggests that Salomon and his colleagues considered these ritualised ties as a reliable method for quickly establishing trust with new business partners who they did not yet know. After all, Salomon was already familiar with De Crayer and Symons well before they started working together while Snayers was new to the city and still had to prove himself reliable.

4.3.3 Serving the High Nobility and Officials

Pieter, David, and Salomon Noveliers' privileged positions at the court brought them into contact not only with other artists but also with potential patrons. They must have met countless wealthy nobles and high officials while curating, restoring, and expanding the archducal collection and were engaged by some of them to perform similar duties for them as well. Most notable was the family's relationship with Lamoral de Tassis. As discussed above, Pieter already knew this nobleman before he was granted privileges. In 1600, De Tassis had become godfather to one of the painter's children and in 1601 and 1602 he had bought numerous paintings from him.[61] Pieter continued to work for De Tassis after he started serving the Archdukes. In 1618, three years after De Tassis had inherited the position of postmaster

general, the English diplomat William Trumbull (*c.*1575–1635) wrote that Pieter had bought a work by Raphael for the 'generall of the postes here, a man of great welth, and one that is a great lover of pictures'. Trumbull added that Pieter was an old acquaintance of his and that one of the painter's sons had confidently ensured him that his father had bought the painting from an Antwerp Lermans for only 130 pounds sterling.[62] By then, both Salomon and David had also started working for De Tassis. In 1617, the postmaster general bought a painting from Salomon, and from 1617 to 1622 he repeatedly paid David amounts ranging from 200 to no less than 2,588 guilders for the provision of one or more unspecified artworks.[63]

Other noblemen too made use of the family's specialities. For instance, in 1613, a Noveliers – presumably Pieter – was appointed to inventory and value the painting collection of the recently deceased Duke of Aarschot, Charles de Croÿ (1560–1612), and in 1632 Salomon sold an *Our Lady and Saint Catharina* by Antoon van Dyck to the courtier Balthazar Gerbier (1592–1663).[64] The latter was the Brussels' agent of the English king Charles I (1600–1649) and – according to his own writings – had obtained the painting by outbidding Archduchess Isabella.[65] The artwork was meant as a gift to Gerbier's monarch but shortly after he had purchased it a dispute arose. For reasons still unknown, Van Dyck suddenly denied authorship and greatly discredited Salomon who had sold it as an original. At the request of his client, and to protect his reputation as an art dealer, Salomon made a sworn deposition in front of a notary that the painting was indeed by Van Dyck and that he had packed and delivered it himself in a small case. He also enlisted the help of the Archduchess' chamberlain Jan van Montfort (1596–1649) – a close acquaintance of his who, four years later, would become godfather to his daughter Ursala Margareta Noveliers.[66] Cited as a witness, Van Montfort stated that Rubens had confirmed the attribution in his presence and that the Antwerp master could not believe that Van Dyck could paint the subject better if he tried.[67]

In about 1636, Salomon – described as *el pintor noveliers* – also delivered various paintings to the then Duke of Aarchot, Philips Charles of Aremberg (1597–1640), and sent numerous full-length portraits of Spanish kings and the Habsburg dynasty to the Marquis of Leganés in Madrid.[68] They were described in the latter's inventory as 'de mano de Noveliers' (by Noveliers' hand) and made up the bulk of a group that also included works by Rubens, Van Dyck, De Crayer, and Snayers.[69] It is not inconceivable that Salomon had engaged these painters himself on behalf of the Marquis. As described above, he knew all of them personally and had sold some of Snayer's battle scenes to the Spanish nobleman at an earlier stage.[70] One of the portraits made by Salomon might have been the recent likeness of Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand that he lent to the Antwerp City Council for 24 guilders to be used and copied by Rubens in the decorations of the new governor's Joyous Entry in 1635.[71]

Figs. 32 and 33. Salomon Noveliers, *Portraits of Emperor Rudolph II* and *Queen Mary I of England*, *c.*1636. Oil on canvas, 200 × 121 cm and 208 × 122 cm. London, Apsley House, WM.1509-1948 and WM.5-1980 (photo: English Heritage).

Several others are scattered in various public collections today. They generally appear to be based on older well-known depictions of the subjects and are often incorrectly attributed based on their original compositions. To illustrate, two of Salomon's portraits that are now at the Apsley House in London were erroneously ascribed to Antoon Mor (*c.*1517–1577) and Hans von Aachen (1552–1615) (figs. 32 and 33).[72]

At times, the family's ties to the court appear to have also helped relatives who did not themselves work for the Archdukes in getting commissions. Two such cases are known. First, in 1623, an otherwise unknown Justus Noveliers successfully requested Isabella to recommend him as an ebony carver to the Viceroy of Sicily, Emanuel Filibert of Savoy (1588–1624).[73] He stated that he had already worked shortly for Savoy in his youth and explicitly added that he was the nephew of the recently deceased Pieter who had served her as a painter during his lifetime.[74] Second, Justus' brother Jan Noveliers repeatedly worked for the Jonkheer Charles Vits (d. 1665) – 'in sijne leven Capiteijns van den Hoochstraet wijck' (in his life captain of the Hoochstraet district) – and his family. In 1665, he testified about some pieces he had carried out for Vits at the request of the latter's daughter Johanna. He stated that he had been painting the *blasoenen* and coats of arms of the Jonkheer and his father and grandfather for years and that all of these men 'altyd sijn begraeven geweest met het blasoen voor het lijck' (had always been buried with the *blasoen* on their body).[75]

4.4 The Noveliers Family's Activities Outside the Court

Outside of the court too, the Noveliers family networked with other painters and engaged in artistic activities. They were part of various local organisations, welcomed colleagues into their family through marriages, and repeatedly worked as conservators. This section will explore these private pursuits and in particular focus on the dynamics between the court-employed members of the family and the Brussels' guild.

4.4.1 Guild Membership

As briefly mentioned above, all known painters of the Noveliers family were registered in the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers as masters. The socio-economic benefits of their membership are hard to determine, but some of them seem to have made more use of the opportunities it provided than others. For instance, the guild's registers show that both Pieter and David were relatively active and successful as teachers. Pieter trained no less than ten different apprentices during his career and David took on eight.[76] These numbers far exceeded the city average of 3.25 apprentices per painter and also that of other court-privileged artists such as Hendrick de Clerck and Denys van Alsloot who enlisted only one and four pupils respectively.[77] Moreover, many of Pieter and David's students – five per workshop – were registered as masters in Brussels themselves. Remarkably high ratios, given that in the seventeenth century less than one in five apprentice painters were able to obtain this title in the city.[78] Their nephew and cousin Jan, in turn, took on only two apprentices during his career – none of which became a master – but was the only one in the family to ever held a position on the guild's governing board.[79] He served as a dean for four terms in the consecutive years 1644 and 1645 and again in 1650 and 1651.[80]

Both Salomons were only listed once in the registers when they entered the guild as master's sons. Neither ever employed an apprentice nor served the organisation's governing board. This was not uncommon at the time. As described in Chapter 2.4.2 and 2.5.1, the majority of Brussels' master painters never became a teacher or dean. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether the older of the two – Pieter's son Salomon – remained a member of the guild throughout his life.[81] After Isabella had appointed him court painter, he was granted additional favours on top of his previously acquired privileges. These extra benefits were enjoyed by all official servants of the court and included an exemption from guild obligations.[82] This meant that – unlike his father and brother who did not bore official titles – Salomon no

longer had to be part of the guild to paint for his Sovereign patrons or their entourage. Whether he made use of this option, however, remains unclear. The registers do not provide information on ongoing memberships or deregistrations, and other contemporary court artists made divergent decisions in this regard.[83]

Some of them – such as Gaspar de Crayer, Otto van Veen, and the largely unknown Francois Verbeelen – consciously chose to remain a member or join the guild despite the exemption their positions had granted them.[84] They seemed to have done so primarily out of a will and/or need to engage in activities that were prohibited in Brussels to anyone outside of the organisation. For instance, only active guild masters were allowed to train apprentices or accept commissions from private patrons.[85] The first activity seems to have been especially important to Verbeelen and De Crayer. Verbeelen took on two more apprentices after he was appointed *peintre ordinaire* to the court in 1601 and De Crayer enrolled six more pupils after he took office in 1635.[86] The second activity seems to have been Van Veen's main motivation to join the guild.[87] He was registered as a master in 1620 after he had already worked in Brussels for five years as the court's warden of the Mint and had complained to the Archdukes about the low number of artistic commissions he received from them.[88]

Other court artists – such as Wenzel Coebergher, Jacques Francquart, and the Antwerp-born painter and illuminator Willem van Deynum (*c.*1575–after 1624) – chose never to register as masters in the guild.[89] This suggests that their activities at court were profitable enough for them to focus (almost) exclusively on their patrons but also that they were relatively isolated from most of their colleagues. This sometimes seems to have led to conflict – for instance, in 1618, when the guild's deans brought a legal process against Van Deynum. The latter had moved to Brussels four years earlier after he was appointed *pintor y yluminador* of the court and had received the usual privileges.[90] He painted miniatures for the court for several years without any problems, but after allegedly entering the private market, the deans took action.[91] They filed a complaint with the city council and contested the painter's exemption of guild obligations. Their effort turned out to be in vain. At Van Deynum's request, the Archdukes intervened and settled the matter in their servant's favour after he had reassured them to only work for 'Henne Hoogheden, graven ende princen ende gevreydde persoonen' (Their Highnesses, counts and princes, and privileged people).[92] As far as is known, Salomon served only clients similar to those listed by Van Deynum. Whether this influenced his relationship to the guild remains uncertain. For now, conclusive evidence about the status of his membership after his appointment to the court is lacking.

4.4.2 'De Corenbloem', Marriage Relations, and Working as Conservators

The Noveliers family also fostered noteworthy relationships with private painters and patrons outside of the guild. First, several of them were recorded on the governing board of the Brussels' chamber of rhetoric De Corenbloem. Jan served as dean and elder in 1618 and 1629 and David's son Salomon was dean in 1650.[93] Jan's son Lucas (1622–1676) – who is not known to have been a painter – also took office. He was recorded as a dean in 1652 and as an elder in 1661.[94] It was striking that of the five Noveliers painters, only Jan and Salomon joined the rhetoricians. They were the only ones not affiliated with the court and it is possible that they used the chamber as an alternative to meet potential collaborators and clients. It also provided them with the possibility to get relieved from participating in vigilante patrols[95] – a coveted freedom that their court-privileged relatives enjoyed as well.

Fig. 34. Dirk Bouts (restored by David Noveliers), *Justice of Emperor Otto III*, *c.*1471. Oil on panel, 324.5 × 364 cm. Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium, 1447–1448 (photo: Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium).

Second, Pieter's daughter Maria Noveliers married a painter twice. The first was the Mechelen-born Godfried Rogaerts. He was registered as a master's son in the Brussels' guild in 1611 and wedded Maria later that year.[96] The second was Philips de Backer who hailed from Brussels. He became a master on 1 February 1614 – three days before Salomon – and married Maria in 1620 after she was presumably widowed.[97] It is not known whether either of these painters collaborated with members of the Noveliers family, but they seem to have maintained close contact with each other over the years. In 1612, Pieter and David's wife Sara Waleyns de Hasseleer became godparents to Rogaerts and Maria's first child and in 1616 Salomon became godfather to their second and last.[98] In 1621, Salomon's wife Catharina Gibels also became godmother to one of De Backer and Maria's children and one year later Jan de Gruyter – who was an apprentice of Maria's cousin Jan – the godfather of another.[99]

Finally, Pieter and David managed to make name for themselves as conservators. Already in 1608, Pieter received 600 guilders for repairing and cleaning a statue and five paintings – including Roger van der Weyden's *Scene of Justice* – in the Brussels' town hall.[100] Four years later Pieter or David was reimbursed travel cost with regards to a restoration of Jan van Eyck's *Ghent Altarpiece*, and in about 1627 David gilded the frames of and repaired an unspecified *Adoration of the Magi* and Dirck Bout's (*c.*1415–1475) *Descent from the Cross* in the Church of the Assumption of Our Lady in Watervliet.[101] About one year later, David also restored *Justice of Emperor Otto III* by the same Bouts in the town hall of Leuven (fig. 34). The city council clarified that they had chosen the foreign Noveliers – a 'seer constigen en vermaerden schilder' (very skilled and renowned painter) – because of his ability to restore these highly valued pieces 'gelyck oft die nyeuwt waren' (as if they were new).[102]

4.5 Conclusion

The Noveliers family of painters was deeply intertwined in the artistic fabric of Brussels and its court at the start of the seventeenth century. It consisted of no less than five painters, three of whom – Pieter and his sons David and Salomon – were granted privileges by the Archdukes Albert and Isabella. They were appointed to oversee and preserve the duo's painting collection and to occasionally expand it. In this capacity, they came into contact with numerous distinguished colleagues and courtiers and were able to establish an extensive network that reached the highest circles of the court. This allowed the trio to repeatedly collaborate or trade with some of the most celebrated painters of their time, easily attract new clients among

the high nobility and officials, and receive social and economic assistance when problems arose. This wide network appears to have also enabled the family to thrive in their hometown for many decades. They managed to work in the same city for three generations, enjoying the court's favour for nearly this entire time. In 1659 – long after Albert and Isabella had passed away – Salomon received his last pay as a court painter.[103] He died the following year, ending the family's ties to the Brussels' court after serving it for more than half a century.[104]

The success of the Noveliers family shows how Brussels' artists could use the benefits of family ties to further their careers. The family's painters managed to build and maintain a shared artistic identity, which benefited not only those who worked at court but also their relatives who did not. From time to time, they too managed to obtain commissions from the Archdukes' entourage and restored numerous irreplaceable artworks throughout the Southern Netherlands. Additionally, the Noveliers case indicates that the lack of a direct relationship with the court – or rather the financial security that came with it – seems to have influenced the extent to which a painter manifested himself in other communities. For example, Salomon – who was the only one to obtain an official court position – was largely absent from the registers of the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers, while his cousin Jan – who did not work for the Archdukes – was relatively active as a teacher and dean in the guild and was repeatedly recorded on the governing board of the chamber of rhetoric De Corenbloem.

CHAPTER 5
PAINTING FOR THE MARKET: THE SONIAN FOREST DEPICTED AROUND THE MID-SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

5.1 The Sonian Forest Painters in Art-Historical Literature

The complex composition of a mid-seventeenth-century group of Brussels' landscape painters, who depicted the sandy hills and luxuriant trees of the nearby Sonian Forest, has been the subject of art-historical debate for almost a century. Already in 1926, Hippolyte Fierens-Gevaert, the art historian and curator of the Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium examined the idyllic sceneries made by members of this 'école bruxelloise' in his pioneering exhibition on Flemish landscape painting.[1] He focused primarily on Jacques d'Arthois (1613–1686), according to Fierens-Gevaert the undisputed leader of the group, and the staffage that was added to his works by other artists. Fierens-Gevaert stated that previous scholars had often attributed these decorative elements to various contemporary painters without further investigation. He listed no fewer than 11 artists who supposedly had collaborated with d'Arthois and used their biographic data to endorse or refute some of these partnerships.[2] In addition, he mentioned Lucas Achtschellinck (1626–1699) and Ignatius van der Stock (1636–1668) as followers of d'Arthois and pointed to the striking similarities between the three painters' works.[3]

It was this artistic homogeneity that caught the attention of Fierens-Gevaert's coworker Arthur Laes in the 1940s. In two overlapping articles, he demonstrated that the attributions of landscapes to d'Arthois and his followers were often just as unsubstantiated as those of the added figures.[4] He backed this claim with some compelling examples. For instance, he described a series of seven landscapes in the Brussels Cathedral of Saint Michael and Saint Gudula. While all of these paintings were attributed to d'Arthois, only one of them turned out to be signed by the master after close examination. Two others bore the signatures of his colleagues Daniel van

Heil (1604–after 1664) and Ignatius van der Stock. Additional archival research added the names of Lucas Achtschellinck and Jan van der Vinne to the list of artists involved.[5] Laes described a similar confusion with regard to five landscapes in the Church of Our Lady of the Chapel. This series was originally attributed to d'Arthois and Achtschellinck. However, when the paintings were taken down and held under scrutiny, the signature of d'Arthois appeared only on one piece. Two others were signed by Francois Coppens (1628–1685) and a fourth bore the name of Willem van Schoor (1617–after 1676).[6]

Despite – or rather because of – these early lessons, various art historians tried to differentiate the individual Sonian Forest painters during the last decades of the previous century. Most notably, Édouard de Callatay successively described the stylistic characteristics of Louis de Vadder (1605–1655), Achtschellinck, and Van der Stock in contrast to one another and to d'Arthois. He confirmed that attributing these artists' landscapes was challenging due to their many similarities but emphasised that there were also enough differences to make the effort. Among others, he mentioned distinctions in techniques, treatments of details, and colour palettes and compared these elements to link certain paintings to their alleged makers.[7] A similar approach was used by other art historians in their studies of Achtschellinck, De Vadder, and, above all, d'Arthois. They praised the pictorial qualities of the individual painters and attributed artworks based on a few signed examples. With regard to d'Arthois, some scholars also managed to add biographical information. They mainly described his investments in local real estate and his vanity that resulted in imprisonment for illegally carrying a rapier – a thin and sharp-pointed sword that only noblemen were allowed to wear.[8]

From the start of this century onwards, scholars started to study the painters more as a group. In 2000, Sabine van Sprang described the uniform appearance of the artists' landscapes and drew attention to their collaborative nature. She stated that they not only produced joint ensembles for churches and monasteries but also worked together with other artists who were not painters to publish their landscapes in prints and design cartoons for tapestries.[9] Fifteen years later, a first attempt was made to map 'l'École des peintres de la forêt de Soignes' in its entirety. Building on previous studies, Simon Meynen analysed the stylistic homogeneity of Achtschellinck, d'Arthois, De Vadder, and Van der Stock and introduced the notion of two groups of 'membres satellitaires'. The first consisted of landscape painters who were part of the school itself. He named Willem van Schoor, Francois Coppens, and Jan van de Vinne as examples. The second group comprised artists who collaborated with the landscape painters by adding figures or architectural elements. This involved artists such as David II Teniers (1610–1690), Adam Francois Van der Meulen (1632–1690), and Pieter Bout (*c.*1640–1689).[10]

Although these studies succeeded in demonstrating the artistic unity of the group, the complex relationships between the painters themselves remain largely unexplored. Based on a limited number of signed landscapes, scholars attempted to sketch a multifaceted reality of collaboration and mutual influence. Only occasionally did they use new archival or biographical data to verify their findings. As a result, a small number of sources were constantly recycled in literature and art historians continued to attribute paintings to only a handful of the most prominent members of the group. By adopting a social rather than a stylistic vantage point, this chapter presents a more inclusive view. It explores the network of Sonian Forest painters based on the 'three places' described in Part I and uses the results to reassess some hitherto accepted attributions.

5.2 The Growing Demand for Native Landscapes

At the time of the Archdukes Albert (1559–1621) and Isabella's (1566–1633) accession in 1598, the Sonian Forest – roughly 10.000 hectares of woodland located at the southeast of Brussels – was in a sorry state.[11] During the religious turmoil of the previous decades, the ancient hunting grounds of the dukes of Brabant had suffered from neglect and became the refuge of pillaging freebooters.[12] To consolidate their reign and enact the return of peace and order, the Archdukes launched a campaign to restore the forest to its former glory and bring the area's most eminent castles, monasteries, and priories back into shape.[13] In addition, they revived the Burgundian-Habsburg tradition of hunting and reinstated their exclusive right to shoot the grounds' many deer, wild boars, and other game.[14] To further enhance the forest's prestige, the Archdukes also commissioned leading artists to produce artistic representations of the area.[15]

In Brussels, this task was mainly reserved for the landscape painter Denys van Alsloot (*c.*1568–*c.*1626).[16] He became a master in the city's Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers before 1599 and was appointed *fournisseur privilégié* to the Archdukes in 1606.[17] In their service he repeatedly painted the Sonian Forest following the artistic conventions of his time: decorative wooded landscapes with staffage in the foreground and funnel-shaped passages to panoramic vistas in the back. The figurative scenes were often added by his fellow court-employed painter Hendrick de Clerck (*c.*1560–1630).[18] Several of Van Alsloot's landscapes depicting the forest contain topographical elements associated with the Archdukes. For instance, his signed and dated *Landscape with Diane discovering the pregnancy of Callisto* (1614) shows a native scenery overlooking the priory of Groenendael – a monastery that the archducal duo had recently restored and repopulated (fig. 35).[19]

Fig. 35. Denijs van Alsloot, *Landscape with Diane Discovering the Pregnancy of Callisto*, 1614. Oil on canvas, 148 × 219.5 cm. Location unknown (photo: Christie's).

Outside of the court too, the demand for landscape paintings inspired by the nearby forest grew. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Brussels' urban elite gradually changed its perception of nature.[20] Enthused by the lyrical poetry of Horace and Virgil, among others, they revived classical ideals of the countryside as a place of peace and tranquillity. It was increasingly considered a rustic haven that offered an atmosphere of relaxation, leisure, and spiritual refreshment.[21] In addition, the beauty and harmony of nature were seen as expressions of a divine Architect that was unspoiled, accessible, and presented a possibility for religious contemplation.[22] In contrast, Brussels' rapid urbanisation caused the city to be perceived more and more as an insalubrious and populous place from which members of the upper classes and nobility desperately wanted to escape.[23] As a result – and undoubtedly stimulated by the Archdukes' initiatives to revitalise the area – many of them purchased property on the edge of the Sonian Forest.[24] To enjoy the virtues of nature without having to leave the convenience and safety of urban life, they often bought landscapes depicting the prestigious forest as well.[25]

This renewed and widespread interest in the Sonian Forest not only favoured Brussels' most renowned landscapists like Van Alsloot, but also provided opportunities for the city's less prominent painters. Philips de Vadder (1590–after 1613) was one of them. He was a student of the portrait painter Nicolaes van Nevele and

Fig. 36. Philips de Vadder, *Landscape with Convoy Leaving a Village*, *c.*1615. Technique and dimensions unknown. Location unknown (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History).

became a master in the Brussels' guild in 1613.[26] Unlike his teacher, De Vadder focused primarily on painting local sceneries.[27] Only one painting can be attributed to him with certainty. It depicts a traveller's convoy in an artificially layered landscape and bears De Vadder's signature on the wagon (fig. 36).[28] Pieter van der Borcht (1591–after 1662) also depicted the nearby woodland. He was a student of Van Alsloot and became a master in 1625.[29] According to Cornelis de Bie, he started his career by painting *geestighe* (witty) figures but later devoted himself entirely to landscapes.[30] His work is reminiscent of that of his teacher and consists of dense afforestation interspersed with distant views (fig. 37).[31]

Around the 1630s, the group of painters at the centre of this chapter began to form. Louis de Vadder and Jacques d'Arthois, who became masters in 1628 and 1634 respectively, can be considered as its founders.[32] They were the first to produce depictions of the Sonian Forest on spec and did so in a manner that differed greatly from the work of the artists described above.[33] Their landscapes are painted with loose brush strokes in a limited palette and are characterised by the idyllic representation of the most striking elements of the region: the sandy hills in bright ochres, the backlit plants and trees in dark greens, and the skies and ponds in light blues. In addition, they share a slightly elevated viewpoint and are often enriched with small figures who defy the dirt roads to make their way through the overgrown lands. De Vadder's *Landscape with Market Vendors* is a typical example (fig. 38). As several art historians noted, the fluent and decorative style of these works seems to be primarily kindred to the arcadian sceneries Pieter Paul Rubens (1577–1640)

Fig. 37. Pieter van der Borcht, *Landscape with Convoy*, *c.*1625. Oil on canvas, 69 × 116 cm. Location unknown (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History).

made towards the end of his life.[34] In this case, however, the influence of the Antwerp master should not be overestimated. Most of his landscapes remained in his private collection until after his death and only a few had earlier been dispersed through copies and prints by, among others, his Antwerp colleague Lucas van Uden (1595–1672).[35]

Be that as it may, d'Arthois and De Vadder's modern interpretation of the Sonian Forest proved to be successful. Their landscapes were widely distributed through prints, repeatedly used as designs for tapestries, and adorned the interiors of several churches and monasteries in and around Brussels.[36] In other words, there was a steady demand for native landscapes that allowed both painters to maintain a relatively high pace of work. A legal process filed by a creditor against d'Arthois in 1659 provides additional insight into the painter's productivity. It reveals that he worked from 10 to 25 days on a landscape depending on its size and that he was richly compensated to do so. He received 200 florins for a smaller piece he painted for the prior of the Brussels Carmelites and no less than 900 florins for a larger one commissioned by the prior of the Red Cloister.[37] In contrast, other reputable painters in Brussels with a predominantly local clientele – such as Gaspar de Crayer (1584–1669) and Maximiliaan de Hase (1713–1781) – produced between six and ten paintings a year.[38]

After De Vadder's death in 1655, d'Arthois' depictions of the nearby forest became increasingly monumental and staged. Above all, the painter appears to have

Fig. 38. Louis de Vadder, *Landscape with Market Vendors.* Oil on canvas, 175 × 230 cm. Ghent, Museum of Fine Arts, 1965-B (photo: MSK Ghent).

Fig. 39. Jacques d’Arthois, *Autumn Landscape*, 1670. Oil on canvas, 400 × 335 cm. Bruges, Groot Seminarie (photo: KIK-IRPA).

strived for dynamic and decorative compositions. His later – often large – landscapes are filled with arrangements of lush vegetation and foliage and are often dramatised by contrasting zones of colour (fig. 39).[39] Nevertheless, during the second half of the century, paintings with local sceneries continued to be in vogue and this steady popularity appears to have encouraged nearly a whole generation of Brussels' landscapists to emulate the work of d'Arthois and De Vadder. Lucas Achtschellinck is their best-known follower. He was a pupil of Pieter van der Borcht and became a master in 1657.[40] Many other painters such as Adriaen Francois Boudewyns, Francois Coppens, Philips van Dapels, Alexander van Herssen, Ignatius van der Stock, and Willem van Schoor used their decorative style as their point of departure as well.[41] As discussed above, these painters' landscapes show a remarkable homogeneity and are notoriously hard to distinguish from those of the two forerunners.[42] In this respect, it is telling that most of them – unlike d'Arthois and De Vadder – apparently never felt the need to sign their works.[43]

5.3 The Sonian Forest Painters' Network

The painters that depicted the Sonian Forest were not only connected artistically but also formed a closely knit group socially. An analysis of Brussels' parish and guild registers reveals numerous ties between the landscapists and allows for a partial reconstruction of the most significant outlines of their network. The following pages will describe these interrelationships by using the 'three places' defined in Part I.

5.3.1 Family Ties

The Sonian Forest painters were related to one another by various bonds of natural and spiritual kinship (fig. 43A). First, unlike in the general population of Brussels' painters, occupational continuity was relatively common within the group. Many of the landscapists were trained by their father or a brother, or themselves trained one of their sons or relatives, to become a master in the local Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers.[44] For instance, Jacques d'Arthois took on both his brother Nicolaes (1617–after 1653) and son Jan Baptist (1638–1662) as apprentices. They were registered as a master and a master's son in 1640 and 1657.[45] Willem van Schoor was succeeded by his son Louis (1650–1702) who became a master in 1678.[46] Francois Coppens – who himself was registered as a master's son in 1650 – even trained two of his sons: Jan Francois (1657–1687) who joined the

guild in 1678 and Augustin (1668–1740) who became a master in 1689.[47] In addition, Louis de Vadder was presumably apprenticed by his aforementioned brother Philips.[48] Unfortunately, the guild registers do not provide any definite information, but given that the latter also employed their other brother Huybrecht (1592–after 1645) it seems likely.[49]

That a relatively large part of the group of painters trained one or more of their children or relatives confirms the success of their decorative representations of the Sonian Forest. As argued in Chapter 1.4, the demand for an artist's work was often a decisive factor when engaging a family member into the business. To make their employment economically worthwhile, sufficient work had to be available.[50] For a handful of the group's painters, this clearly was the case. It should be noted, however, that not all of the kin who registered in the guild truly followed in their teachers' footsteps. For example, in a notarial deed from 1660 – only three years after becoming a master painter – Jan Baptist d'Arthois was described as being a *bode* (carrier) between Antwerp and Brussels.[51] The document did not specify whether he was still active as a painter, but it is clear that the young d'Arthois – at least occasionally – pursued a different profession. Tragically, he was murdered two years later while working on his new job.[52] On 28 April 1662, he was buried at the *Minnebroederskerckhoff* in the Parish of Saint Michael and Saint Gudula.[53]

Second, several Sonian Forest painters established bonds of spiritual kinship with one another and each other's families.[54] For instance, Huybrecht de Vadder became the godfather of Nicolaes d'Arthois' daughter Anna in 1646.[55] Eleven years later, Lucas Achtschellinck's father Johannes and aunt Maria van Onckel – who was the sister of Achtschellinck's mother Anna – acted as the godparents of Francois Coppens' son Jan Francois.[56] The relationship between Lucas Achtschellinck and Ignatius van der Stock, however, stood out in particular. In 1662, Achtschellinck became the godfather of Van der Stock's son, who was named after him.[57] He was also closely related to Barbara, the mother of Van der Stock's son. She was Achtschellinck's younger sister, whom Van der Stock had married four years earlier.[58] That Achtschellinck's relationship with Van der Stock's family was long-lasting and strong, was evident from the testament he had made during the summer of 1698 when he was old and suffering from sickness. He expressed his wish to give all of his prints, drawings, and sketches to his godson Lucas van der Stock. The rest of his belongings were to be divided into three: a third for the same godson and his wife Constantia Denis, a third for their children, and a third for Anna van der Stock – who was also a child of Ignatius van der Stock and Barbara Achtschellinck.[59] In November of the following year, the painter's last will was executed by his eponymous inheritor.[60]

5.3.2 Occupational Ties

The Sonian Forest painters were also linked to one another through their shared membership in the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers (fig. 43B). While it is often difficult to determine the impact of such associations, some of the artists can be traced back to the same workshop. For instance, Jacques d'Arthois trained six apprentices – far more than the Brussels' average of 3.25 pupils per painter – throughout his career.[61] According to the guild registers, only two of them managed to set up workshops of their own. In 1662, Cornelis van Empel was registered for a *cortosie* and six years later Philips van Dapels became a master.[62] In addition, d'Arthois employed at least one journeyman, Cornelis Huysmans (1648–1727), who worked exclusively for him for two years before he became a master himself in 1675.[63] No works by Van Empel have survived as far as is known, but both Van Dapels' and Huysmans' paintings closely resemble those of their master in style and subject matter (figs. 40–42).

Most of the other painters within the group took on apprentices during their careers as well. Nicolaes d'Arthois, Francois Coppens, Louis de Vadder, and Ignatius van der Stock all trained two pupils, Willem van Schoor took on four, and

Fig. 40. Jacques d'Arthois, *Landscape with Travellers.* Oil on canvas, 245 × 242 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, P1359 (photo: Photographic Archive Museo Nacional del Prado).

Lucas Achtschellinck even had nine – almost triple the Brussels' average. As with d'Arthois, only a few of their pupils completed their apprenticeship.[64] In 1660, De Vadder's apprentice Ignatius van der Stock set up a workshop of his own.[65] Five years later, Van der Stock's pupil Adriaen Francois Boudewyns enrolled as an apprentice and master on the same day.[66] He was followed two years later by Willem de Gyn, who was registered for a *cortosie* after working in Van Schoor's workshop

Fig. 41. Philips van Dapels, *Landscape with Travellers.* Oil on canvas, 65 × 73.5 cm. Location unknown (photo: Hampel Auctions).

Fig. 42. Cornelis Huysmans, *Landscape with Farmers.* Oil on canvas, 117 × 164 cm. Location unknown (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History).

for thirteen years.[67] Finally, in 1698, Achtschellinck's pupil Theobald Michu was recorded as a *reconue*.[68] Since all of these apprentices contributed to the output of their teachers' workshops, their relatively large number reaffirms the painters' high production rate and capacity.[69] Simultaneously, it raises questions about the many unsigned landscapes that have been attributed to the masters on stylistic grounds.

While almost all of the group's painters were active as teachers, only one of them ever held a position on the guild's governing board. In 1687, Lucas Achtschellinck was appointed as dean. He served together with the goldbeater Judocus van Dormael and stained-glass maker Christiaen Crocx.[70] Strikingly, Achtschellinck only took up the position of dean once. As described in Chapter 2.5.2, the majority of masters who joined the guild's board did so for multiple terms. The aforementioned Crocx, for instance, was recorded as dean no less than nine times from 1685 to 1716.[71] It is not unthinkable that Achtschellinck and his fellow landscapists consciously abstained from taking on the time-consuming board positions and favoured their business activities instead.

5.3.3 'Third Place' Ties

To date, there are no indications that the Sonian Forest painters also maintained relationships with one another via visits to or membership of early modern 'third places'. However, a few of them seem to have lived in spatial proximity of each other at some point in their lives. Occasionally, the artists' burial records provided information about their places of residence at the time of their deaths. While it is often difficult to exactly pinpoint these locations, the *Steenweg* in the centre of Brussels was recorded remarkably often.[72] For instance, when Francois Coppens was buried in the Parish of Saint Michael and Saint Gudula in 1685 it was detailed that he used to live '*in den Steenweg*'.[73] The same street was also noted in the burial records of Coppens' father Pieter in 1647 and Lucas Achtschellinck's father Johannes in 1669 and brother Pieter in 1683.[74] Since – as noted above – Johannes Achtschellinck also acted as the godfather of Francois Coppens' son Jan Francois in 1657, it seems likely that both families knew each other well and lived close by (fig. 43C).[75]

Figure 43 combines all of the aforementioned ties between the painters into one visualisation. It shows that almost all of the group's landscapists were connected to one another. Only Willem van Schoor, his son Louis, and his former apprentice Willem de Gyn formed a separate cluster without ties to the rest of the group.[76] The network's mean distance between each pair of actors was 4.2 steps with a diameter – longest shortest path between any two nodes – of nine steps.[77] In other words, the average artist could contact any other painter within the group via only three

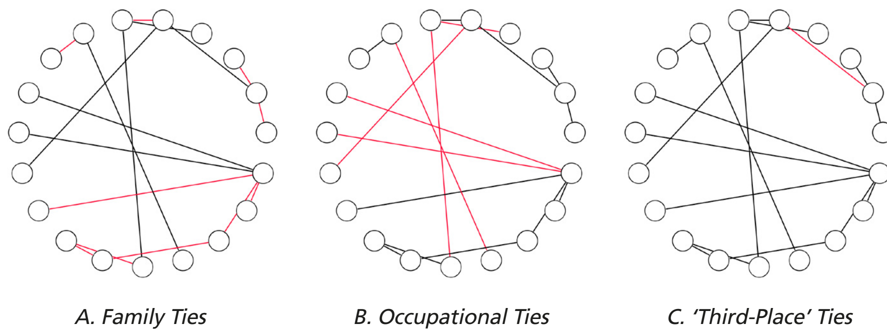


Fig. 43. Network of Sonian Forest painters per place. The red ties represent the relationships associated with the specific place listed below the graph.

of their colleagues. Most certainly, these relationships contributed to the painter's artistic homogeneity. They provided the group with the possibility to quickly share ideas and easily access each other's works.

5.4 Collaborations

The group of Sonian Forest painters also frequently worked together with one another and with other artists. They produced joint series of landscapes, collaborated with figure painters to add staffage to their works, and designed sceneries for Brussels' renowned tapestry producers. By analysing archival documents and preserved artworks, this section will discuss the different ways in which the landscapists' collaborated and explore the underlying dynamics between the artists involved.

5.4.1 With Each Other

The Sonian Forest painters repeatedly collaborated with each other. As mentioned above, several of them worked together in the same workshop as master and apprentice/journeyman. While relationships like these are often difficult to analyse, Cornelis Huysmans' biographer and personal friend Egidius Jozef Smeyers (1694–1771) offered a unique glimpse behind the scenes of Jacques d'Arthois' business.[78] He described how Huysmans worked for d'Arthois as a journeyman for two years. At a salary of one *schelling* per diem, the young painter was sent out by his master almost daily to make drawings of Brussels' surroundings. He mainly drew the Sonian Forest and – to d'Arthois's satisfaction – frequently added the people he encountered

during his trips. According to Smeyers, Huysmans was such a diligent worker that he often consumed no more than a loaf of bread and a lemon squeezed in water. In addition, he regularly wore rags because his clothing – and sometimes even his skin – had been cut and torn by the forest's thick vegetation. Of course, constantly supplying his master with study materials also impacted Huysmans' own production. Smeyers stated that the journeyman had to learn to paint by candlelight at night and only had managed to finish two small landscapes throughout this period.[79]

Occasionally, Sonian Forest painters also worked together with colleagues from other workshops – albeit less directly and intensely. From the mid-seventeenth century onwards, several of them collaborated on series of landscapes for churches and monasteries all over the Southern Netherlands. These series, in which individual painters contributed one or more of their works, were often in large sizes and enriched with biblical figures. For instance, Lucas Achtschellinck, Jacques d'Arthois, Francois Coppens, and Willem van Schoor all joined forces to produce a set of five sceneries for the Brussels Church of Our Lady of the Chapel. The landscapes all contain scenes depicting the Holy Family and although they were painted by four different artists, the ensemble's uniformity makes it clear that the works were intended to be perceived as a whole (fig. 44 and 45).[80] Similar series adorned the walls of the Red Cloister in the Sonian Forest, the former Abbey of Dunes in Bruges, and many other places of worship in Brussels, Ghent, and Mechelen, among others.[81]

A series of nine landscapes painted for the Chapel of Our Lady in Brussels' Church of Saint Michael and Saint Gudula – seven of which have been preserved – provides additional insights into the dynamics of these collaborations. Six of the paintings were listed in the annual accounts of the local Confraternity of Our Lady. Their entries mention the names of the artists involved and give the payments they received. For instance, Lucas Achtschellinck was paid a total of 240 florins for painting two sceneries in the years 1659 and 1662.[82] Two years later, in 1664, four of his colleagues collected their payments for making one landscape each: 150 florins were paid to Jacques d'Arthois, 100 florins to Daniel Van Heil, 90 florins to Jan Van der Vinne, and 80 florins to Ignatius van der Stock.[83] The dates and amounts of payment listed are striking. First, they seem to indicate that the paintings were not commissioned and produced at the same time. Achtschellinck's first payment was recorded almost five years before that of his colleagues. Therefore, it seems likely that at least one of his landscapes was finished and hung long before the other painters even started working on theirs. This assumption is reaffirmed by Van der Stock's signature on one of the paintings: *Ignatius van der Stock fecit 1661* (fig. 46).[84] It was dated three years before the artist was paid but still long after Achtschellinck's first appeared in the accounts.

Second, the entries show that, although the paintings are similar in size and iconography, there was a significant disparity in the landscapists' compensations.

Fig. 44. Francois Coppens, *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt*, *c.*1664. Oil on canvas, 180 × 237 cm. Brussels, Church of Our Lady of the Chapel (photo: KIK-IRPA).

Fig. 45. Willem van Schoor, *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt*, 1664. Oil on canvas, 180 × 237 cm. Brussels, Church of Our Lady of the Chapel (photo: KIK-IRPA).

d'Arthois stood out in particular. He earned half as much again as his colleagues Van Heil and Van der Vinne and almost double the amount of Van der Stock. On the one hand, this inequality appears to be due to the differences in fame and reputation of the artists involved. For instance, d'Arthois was already an established painter at the time of the commission, while Van der Stock had become a master only one year before making his part of the series.[85] On the other hand, the painters' stylistic choices may also have contributed. Their wooded landscapes undoubtedly

Fig. 46. Ignatius van der Stock, *Landscape with the Holy Family*, 1662. Oil on canvas, 142 × 257 cm. Brussels, Cathedral of Saint Michael and Saint Gudula (photo: KIK-IRPA).

Fig. 47. Daniel van Heil, *Landscape with the Holy Family and a View on Antwerp, c.*1664. Oil on canvas, 143 × 174 cm. Brussels, Cathedral of Saint Michael and Saint Gudula (photo: KIK-IRPA).

form a visual unity, but both Van Heil and Van der Vinne combined their modern depictions of the nearby forest with exotic mountain views that had enjoyed great popularity at the start of the century (fig. 47).[86]

5.4.2 With Figure Painters

The Sonian Forest painters also worked together with figure painters to add staffage to their landscapes. This way of collaborating, in which two or more artists complemented each other's work according to their respective speciality, was widespread in the early modern Southern Netherlands and has received a lot of scholarly attention over the past decades.[87] Already in the 1990s, the art historians Elizabeth Honig and Katlijne van der Stighelen described this practice in seventeenth-century Antwerp. They identified two coinciding and overlapping types of collaboration. The first type was between the most illustrious and sought-after artists of their day. Generally, it arose from a need to increase the artistic and economic value of an artwork by combining the personal and distinguishable styles of both painters. The second type was mainly between lesser-known artists and was motivated primarily by expediency and necessity. The painters involved worked together to streamline the (mass) production of cheap artworks or collaborated simply because they were not capable of painting all desired elements on their own. This type was often orchestrated by a third-party art dealer.[88]

The same collaborative continuum can be identified in Brussels. At the one end, several of the group's landscape painters joined forces with the city's most distinguished figure painters. Among others, Louis de Vadder provided sceneries in some of the paintings of Gaspar de Crayer and Michael Sweerts (1618–1664), Willem van Schoor collaborated with Gillis van Tilborch (1632–*c.*1678), Jacques d'Arthois and Jan van der Vinne worked with Louis Cousin (*c.*1606–1667), and Adriaen Francois Boudewyns with Pieter Bout (c.1640–1689).[89] Best known – and most cited – is the partnerships between Jacques d'Arthois and David II Teniers.[90] The figures in the former's landscapes were repeatedly painted by the latter and this shared authorship was in some cases even asserted with the addition of both signatures.[91] Their *Landscape with a Supposed View on Val-Duchesse* in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium in Brussels, for example, is signed with *Jac.d.Arthois F.* on the bottom right and Teniers' monogram *DT.F* at the bottom left (fig. 48).

At the other end, the landscapist also worked together with more obscure painters. As mentioned above, these collaborations were often mediated by middlemen, and it is perfectly possible that the painters themselves did not know one another.[92] For instance, in 1668, the Antwerp art dealer Guilliam Forchondt (1608–1678) sent one of d'Arthois' landscapes to his agents in Vienna. He mentioned that the staffage was added by the Antwerp painter Pieter van Halen who was subcontracted by Forchondt at least once two years before the shipment.[93] Other contemporary documents specified that the figures in d'Arthois' sceneries were also added by the

Fig. 48. Jacques d'Arthois and David Teniers, *Landscape with a Supposed View on Val-Duchesse.* Oil on canvas, 150 × 188 cm. Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium, 6672 (photo: Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium).

Antwerp painters Goubau, Minderhout, and Van Balen.[94] In Goubau's case, the record even clarified that his additions were painted on behalf of the collector himself: the further unknown Jan Verschueren from Antwerp.[95]

Undoubtedly, similar practices were also used to add figures to the paintings of the group's other landscapists. However, contrary to the examples listed above, most collaborative activities were hidden. The figure painters involved hardly ever signed their staffage and artistic associations were rarely documented. At times, art dealers even considered the identity of a painting's creators to be a trade secret that was carefully kept secret.[96] As a result, the attribution of figures has proved to be problematic. Art historians took note of the few known – often prestigious – collaborations and used these to attribute the staffage in a wide array of landscapes to only a select number of artists.[97] For example, the aforementioned partnership between Adriaen Francois Boudewyns and Pieter Bout prompted scholars to recognise figures by the latter's hand in countless landscapes attributed to Lucas Achtschellinck, Jacques d'Arthois, Louis de Vadder, and Ignatius van der Stock, among others.[98]

Fig. 49. Lucas Achtschellinck and attributed to Pieter Bout, *Landscape with Farmers,* 1686. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Location unknown (photo: RKD — Netherlands Institute for Art History).

Fig. 50. Attributed to Ignatius van der Stock and Pieter Bout, *Landscape with Farmers.* Oil on canvas, 109 × 132. Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium, 4535 (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History).

While it does indeed seem logical to associate this closely knit group of painters to the same figure painter, a critical view remains necessary. To illustrate, additional biographical data shows that both De Vadder and Van der Stock had already died – in 1655 and 1668 respectively – before Bout was registered as a master in the guild in 1671.[99] Of course, Van der Stock and Bout might have collaborated before the latter became a master, but if this was the case – what has yet to be revealed by further archival research – there are still some interesting notes to be made.[100] For instance, the staffage on a now lost landscape that was signed and dated by Achtschellinck in 1686 has been ascribed to Bout (fig. 49).[101] The same figures reappear almost unchanged in a painting that is attributed to Van der Stock and Bout in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium in Brussels (fig. 50).[102] Since Van der Stock died eighteen years before the date on Achtschellinck's work, this attribution suggests that Bout added the figures long after Van der Stock finished his painting, or that he kept painting the same unaltered scenes for almost two decades. However, it might also suggest – and this seems more likely – that this stylistic attribution was false and that either Van der Stock or Bout was not involved in the production of this work.

5.4.3 With Tapestry Producers

Finally, most of the Sonian Forest painters seem to have been involved with Brussels' thriving tapestry industry.[103] Louis de Vadder certainly was. Already in 1644, he was granted privileges for designing the cartoons that were woven by various of the city's *tapissiers*.[104] For instance, in 1644, the tapestry producers Gerard van der Strecken 1603–1677) and Jan van Leefdael (1603–1668) agreed to weave a set of five landscapes after the De Vadder's design for their colleague Charles de la Fontaine (*c.*1610–1678).[105] The latter must have been satisfied with the result because a year later he commissioned eight more tapestries depicting the painter's decorative sceneries.[106] In the same year, the tapestry producer Boudewijn van Beveren (1617–1651) paid De Vadder the significant amount of 1000 guilders for designing a set of *Verdures with the Story of Diana and Pan* and famously labelled him the 'voornaemste schilder van den lande' (best painter in the country).[107] Other tapestry producers worked with De Vadder as well. In 1650, Jan Cordys stated that he had woven cartoons after the painter's design and even 35 years later his designs were still mentioned among those owned and used by Willem van Leefdael (1632–1688).[108]

After De Vadder had died in 1655, no less than five of the group's other painters competed for his privileges. Lucas Achtschellinck, Jacques d'Arthois, Jan Claessens, Daniel van Heil, and Willem van Schoor all applied for the position based on their previous merits as tapestry designers.[109] Unsurprisingly, d'Arthois came out on top.

The city administration specified that he was chosen for his 'milheijt ende expedientie' (mildness and experience).[110] In the following years, two other landscapists also received the city's support. In 1659 and 1661, Van Schoor was granted privileges and in 1689 they were awarded to Achtschellinck.[111] Unfortunately, there are currently no sets that can be linked to d'Arthois, Claessens, Van Heil, or Van Schoor with certainty. The latter, however, must have had a close relationship with the tapestry producer Erasmus de Pannemaecker (1627–after 1687). In 1660, he became the godfather of De Pannemaeker's daughter Maria Thereasia and he was a witness at the *tapissier*'s second marriage ten years later.[112] Achtschellinck, on his turn, is known to have executed the landscapes for numerous series, including *The Story of Perseus*, *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, and *The Story of Alexander*.[113] That several of these sets – as the next chapter will discuss – were produced in collaboration with Van Schoor's son Louis (1650–1702) is, of course, significant.[114]

5.5 Conclusion

It is clear that the Brussels' artists who devoted themselves to painting landscapes inspired by the nearby Sonian Forest around the middle of the century formed a closely knit group. Stimulated by the growing market for native sceneries and encouraged by one another's success, they produced almost indistinguishable depictions of the prestigious woodland en masse. This artistic homogeneity went hand in hand with various social relationships between the painters. They were trained in each other's workshops, became godparents to each other's children, and in one case even married into each other's families. In addition, it was common practice within the group to employ one or more family members. These many interrelationships must have eased the dissemination of information between the artists involved and most certainly contributed to their shared manner of painting.

While this dense network undoubtedly fostered emulation, it is striking that it did not seem to have resulted in any cross-workshop collaboration. The groups' joint series of landscapes appear to be mainly composed of successive commissions by various third parties and none of the figure painters who added staffage was found among the landscapists' spiritual kinship or third-place contacts. In some cases, the collaborating artists did not even seem to have known each other. In addition, the painters' many interrelationships may have hampered the groups' lasting success in the long run. As Brian Uzzi and Jarrett Spiro demonstrated in their influential contribution on small-world networks, it is possible for actors to become too closely intertwined over time. As a result, they can become isolated and lose the ability

to break with current conventions; the need to innovate fades from view, even as the market, fashion, and taste continue to evolve.[115] This might explain why the group died out after three generations, losing its prominent market position after the death of Achtschellinck in 1699.[116]

CHAPTER 6
PAINTING FOR THE TAPESTRY INDUSTRY: THE CO-PRODUCTION OF TAPESTRY CARTOONS AT THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

6.1 The Increasing Interest in Brussels' Tapestry Designers and Cartoon Painters

Until recently, the activities of seventeenth-century Brussels' painters as tapestry designers and/or cartoon painters have hardly been studied.[1] Already in 1878, in his pioneering *Les tapisseries bruxelloises*, the historian and director of the Archives of the City of Brussels Alphonse Wauters (1817–1898) noted that art historians had often overlooked painters' tapestry designs, cartoons, and the resulting tapestries in favour of their paintings and prints. He argued that – 'à leurs yeux' – these woven *decorative* artworks were deemed inferior to the *fine arts* and unworthy of attention.[2] In an attempt to dispel this mistaken notion and fill the lacuna it had caused, Wauters established an early chronology of tapestry designers. Using the vast body of archival materials at his disposal, he listed numerous painters who had provided tapestry designs and cartoons and briefly discussed the documents that linked them to Brussels' most luxurious industry. As for the seventeenth century, Wauters paid much attention to major – mostly Antwerp – figures such as Pieter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), Jacob Jordaens (1593–1678), and David II Teniers (1610–1690), but also discussed less-renowned – often Brussels – artists including Antoon Sallaert (1590–1650), Daniel Leyniers (1618–1688), Lucas Achtschellinck (1626–1699), and Jan van Orley (1665–1735).[3]

Despite Wauters' early efforts, seventeenth-century tapestry designers and cartoon painters continued to receive relatively little scholarly attention in the following decades. Heinrich Göbel (1879–1951) and Marthe Crick-Kuntziger (1891–1963)

published several studies on the (cultural) history of tapestries during the twentieth-century interwar period, but apart from a few attributions, they rarely elaborated on the painters who had been involved.[4] This gradually changed around the 1950s, when a select group of tapestry scholars resumed Wauters' venture to put the woven medium more firmly on the art-historical agenda. They increasingly started to focus on the artistic and pictorial qualities of tapestry series and studied some of the most aesthetically pleasing examples in detail. In doing so, they consistently made sure to highlight and discuss the often-celebrated Antwerp painters who had designed the artworks. For instance, tapestry editions made after designs by Rubens and Jordaens were repeatedly scrutinised with a major focus on the painters' creative characteristics.[5]

From the 1980s onwards, the growing interest in tapestries and their designers began to include more lesser-known Brussels' artists as well. The qualitative variety of tapestry series analysed grew steadily and art historians increasingly fell back on Wauters' comprehensive list of names to attribute them. Occasionally, these studies also used stylistic comparisons with paintings or prints and entries in (previously published or newly found) archival documents to link designs to their probable maker(s).[6] For example, in her article on a late-seventeenth-century *Continents and Related Allegories* series, Elisabeth J. Kalf utilised an earlier unearthed *mémoires* to examine various editions of the set and ascribe their shared compositions to Louis van Schoor (1650–1702) and Pieter Spierinckx (1635–1711).[7] At the turn of the century, many of the new attributions and insights provided by these studies were brought together in two – now widespread and customarily cited – works: the 1999 book *Het Vlaamse Wandtapijt* by Guy Delmarcel and the 2007 exhibition catalogue *Tapestry in the Baroque* edited by Thomas P. Campbell.[8]

Over the last decades, art historians have also begun to focus on the complex manufacturing and distribution processes that underlie tapestry editions. Most notably, Koenraad Brosens developed an inclusive approach to study Brussels' tapestry in the seventeenth century and early eighteenth. Based on archival data and by adopting a materialist perspective, he described the city's flourishing tapestry production as a collaborative and socially interwoven industry in which major investments in cartoons, materials, and labour costs were accompanied by multiple uncertainties and risks.[9] According to Brosens, *tapissiers* had to embed themselves in extensive networks that enabled them to set out successful entrepreneurial strategies and that consequently 'can be regarded as one of the prime loci of artistic innovation (!)'.[10] A similar approach was adopted by other tapestry scholars such as Klara Alen and Martine Vanwelden who used it to study the socio-economic dynamics of tapestry production in Antwerp and Oudenaarde.[11]

While this recent line of research managed to situate the more object-based studies in their proper context, it also raised questions about the validity of their

fixation on authorship. Brosens and Astrid Slegten pointed out that '[tapestry] cartoons were, in essence, collaborative works in progress' and Alen reconsidered whether it still makes sense to attribute series to one particular artist.[12] An extensive examination of this issue and the role of painters in producing tapestry editions, however, has not been carried out yet. This chapter will explore this lacuna by analysing the works of and relations between late seventeenth-century Brussels' tapestry designers and cartoon painters. In doing so, it re-assesses previously published archival data and describes just how tapestry cartoons were designed, painted, and used. In addition, it introduces the spatial distance between painters who were involved in the tapestry industry as a way to address the problem of shared authorship.

6.2 Adapting to a Changing Taste

In 1656, the painter Michael Sweerts (1618–1664) pointed out to the Brussels City Council that its leading tapestry industry was in dire need of a new generation of tapestry designers.[13] In a successful petition for *vrijdommen* or privileges – usually consisting of a tax relief on beer and wine and an exemption from participating in vigilante patrols – he stated that the production of high-quality tapestries had been hampered by recent malpractices and suffered greatly as a result.[14] According to Sweerts, his newly established drawing academy could bring respite. He had founded the academy after returning from a lengthy stay in Italy and declared that it could perfect the drawing skills of many aspiring artists within only a few years. Consequently, the painter argued, it held the potential to restore Brussels' most prominent art form 'tot sijnen ouwden luijster en eere' (to its former lustre and glory).[15]

Although Sweerts presumably exaggerated the direness of the situation, the demand for local tapestry designs did indeed seem to be in decline around the time of his petition. In the decades before, there had been a steady market for the work of Brussels' tapestry designers. Especially the prolific Antoon Sallaert – who had designed and painted the cartoons for more than 24 tapestry series by 1646 – seemed to have profited.[16] His designs are characterised by dynamic and crowded compositions that are reminiscent of those created by Pieter Paul Rubens around 1620.[17] They are filled with large muscular figures and leave little to no room for the depiction of landscapes or decorative settings (fig. 51). After Sallaert's death in 1650, other Brussels' tapestry designers like Lanceloot Lefebure – who was the godfather of Sallaert's daughter Maria – and Daniel Leyniers continued to design tapestries with a similar monumental *horror vacui* (fig. 52).[18] By then, however, these optically and

Fig. 51. Workshop of Jan II Raes after Antoon Sallaert, *Theseus Rediscovering his Father's Sword and Sandals* (*The Story of Theseus*), *c.*1630. Wool and silk, 396 × 446 cm. Barcelona, Palacio de Pedralbes, A 357-12033 (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History).

Fig. 52. Workshop of Joris Leemans after Lanceloot Lefebure, *Triumphant Entry of Constantine into Rome* (*The Story of Constantine*), *c.*1650. Wool and silk, 348 × 540 cm. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, 18677 (photo: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire and Dewit Royal Manufacturers).

Fig. 53. Workshop of Hendrick Reydams after Giovanni Francesco Penni and Giulio Romano, *The Conference between Scipio and Hannibal* (*The Story of Scipio*), *c.*1660. Wool and silk, 471 × 842 cm. Lausanne, Fondation Toms Pauli, 27 (photo: Cédric Bregnard).

mentally demanding designs had begun to lose their appeal and Brussels' tapestry producers started to seek out alternatives to replace them.[19]

First, around the middle of the century, the city's *tapissiers* fell back more and more on the sixteenth-century cartoons that were still in their possession.[20] These old master designs were created by some of the most illustrious Italian painters and had already proven their success over the years. They included prestigious sets such as the *Acts of the Apostles* by Raphael (1483–1520), the *Story of Scipio* by Giovanni Francesco Penni (1488–1521) and Giulio Romano (1499–1546), and the *Story of Moses* attributed to Giovanni Battista Lodi da Cremona (1520–1612).[21] It seems likely that most of these series' timeworn cartoons were first retouched and/or (partly) reworked by local painters before they were put on the loom. For instance, after the tapestry producers Jan van Leefdael, Gerard van der Strecken, Hendrick Reydams, and Everard Leyniers had received a commission to co-produce an edition of the *Story of Scipio* in 1659, they hired David II Teniers and his eponymous son to touch up the old cartoons, paint new personalised borders, and design additional decorative pieces to complement the series (fig. 53).[22]

Second, around 1660, Brussels' tapestry producers began to weave contemporary French designs.[23] These series – created by Charles Poerson (1609–1667) and Charles le Brun (1616–1675) – diverged significantly from the work of Sallaert and his Brussels' colleagues.[24] They are characterised by well-balanced classicising compositions in which smaller-sized figures are harmoniously integrated into decorative

Fig. 54. Workshop of Jan Leyniers after Charles le Brun, *The Offering of the Boar's Head* (*The Story of Meleager and Atalanta*), *c.*1675. Wool and silk, 355 × 344.8 cm. Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago, 1941.93 (photo: The Art Institute of Chicago).

sceneries (fig. 54). Initially, the cartoons for these series were imported and distributed by French and Walloon entrepreneurs like Charles de la Fontaine, Adriaen Parent, and Jean Valdor. They were often based in Brussels and leased or sold their exclusive designs to only a select number of the highest bidders.[25] Later, tapestry producers also engaged local painters to copy widely distributed representations of French artists' designs. For example, the prints that Gerard Edelinck (1640–1707) and Gerard Audran (1640–1703) had produced after Le Brun's renowned series the *Story of Alexander* from 1672 to 1678 were enlarged several times into cartoons and were woven by no less than six different workshops in Brussels alone.[26]

The considerable commercial success of these foreign designs encouraged Brussels' tapestry designers to quickly emulate their stylistic features. The first impetus for this was given by David III Teniers.[27] He was granted privileges as a tapestry designer in 1674 and became a master painter in the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers one year later.[28] Unlike the work of his local predecessors, Teniers' designs – mainly allegorical series and armorial pieces – were no longer dominated by monumental protagonists; rather they consisted of classicising figures that were placed before airy sceneries or architectural structures

Fig. 55. Workshop of Jacob van der Borcht after Louis van Schoor and Lucas Achtschellinck, *Mercury Confiding the Infant Bacchus to the Nymphs of Nysa* (*Mythological scenes*), *c.*1695. Wool and silk, 346 × 464 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, KK T LXXIX (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History).

(fig. 8, p. 49). This more balanced vocabulary was further developed in Brussels by Louis van Schoor.[29] He was the son of the landscapist Willem van Schoor and was registered as a master in 1678.[30] Four years later, he received privileges as a tapestry designer and stated in his petition that he was painting cartoons after Le Brun's aforementioned *Alexander* series.[31] The influence of this French master can easily be traced in Van Schoor's own designs. They echo Le Brun's classicist and decorative manner and display graceful – often theatrical – figures against backdrops of wooded landscapes and imposing buildings (fig. 55).

Iconographically, Brussels' tapestry designers also began to rely more and more on contemporary French designs. They increasingly avoided heavy and erudite subjects from the Bible and ancient history that had been popular during the first half of the century in favour of more light-hearted and joyous depictions of acclaimed novels, mythology, and everyday life.[32] Especially series portraying the day-to-day activities of ordinary peasants or soldiers came into vogue.[33] Such sets were less dependent on a narrative sequence and allowed tapestry producers and buyers to compile tapestry editions more flexibly.[34] The earliest and most influential examples

Fig. 56. Workshops of Judocus de Vos after Lambert de Hondt and attributed to Lucas Achtschellinck, *Foraging Soldiers* (*Art of War*), *c.*1720. Wool and silk, 400 × 510 cm. Schleißhiem, Neues Schloss (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History).

Fig. 57. Attributed to the workshops of Jan-Frans or Jacob van der Borcht after Jan van Orley and Augustin Coppens, *Diana Resting* (*Triumphs of the Gods*), *c.*1625. Wool and silk, 335 × 610 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, BK-1955-101 (photo: Rijksmuseum).

were designed by David II Teniers – whose name even became synonymous with depictions of peasant life or *Boerkens* – and Lambert de Hondt (1642–1708) (fig. 56).[35] Both succeeded in converting the (relatively) small genre paintings for which they were known into large-scale compositions suitable for tapestries.[36]

During the last decades of the century, tapestry designers brought all of these trends together in designs that drew on the multifaceted pictorial traditions of their predecessors.[37] By far the most prolific during this period was Jan van Orley. He had been active for several years before he was registered as a master's son shortly after the death of his father and teacher Pieter in 1709.[38] Van Orley's early designs display his familiarity with the classicising tendencies in the work of Teniers III and Van Schoor, but he soon began to develop a new vocabulary that combined these foreign manners with the native monumentality of earlier colleagues (fig. 57).[39] A similar eclecticism can be found in the designs of Victor Janssens (1658–1736).[40] He had worked in Italy in the late 1670s and 1680s and became a master in Brussels after his return in 1689.[41] One year later he was granted privileges.[42] Like Van Orley, he designed refined cartoons in which the stylistic and iconographic tendencies of earlier tapestry designers seamlessly fused in light-hearted and decorative compositions (fig. 58). That both artists also painted *Boerkens* after Teniers emphasises their artistic versatility even more.[43] However, as the next part will show, neither they nor their contemporaries executed their tapestry designs alone.

6.3 Designing and Painting Tapestry Cartoons

At the end of the seventeenth century, designing and painting tapestry cartoons was very much a collaborative effort. Tapestry designers and cartoon painters decided on a series' subject matter along with *tapissiers*, worked together with one another to paint new sets, and retouched parts of each other's cartoons when they had worn out. By using archival data, this section will describe the different stages of a cartoon series' life and explore the different ways in which the artists involved collaborated.

6.3.1 Conceptualising New Cartoons

Tapestry designers worked closely together with *tapissiers* to conceptualise new cartoons. Often, the latter were the ones who commissioned these full-scale and pricey models and had an important – if not decisive – say in determining practical and artistic features such as dimensions, materials, and iconography. In seventeenth-century

Fig. 58. Leyniers workshop after Victor Janssens and Augustin Coppens, *The Offer of Aristides* (*Plutarch's Famous Men*), *c.*1740. Wool and silk, 379–408 cm. Bruchsal, Schloss Bruchsal, G 167 (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History).

Brussels, cartoons were usually painted in watercolour on paper or in oil on canvas. The materials used mainly depended on the patron's budget and the desired quality. Cartoons on paper were cheaper than those on canvas but were less durable.[44] Most cartoon painters presumably produced both variants and seemed more than willing to compromise on the quality of their work to meet a customer's wishes. In 1694, Louis van Schoor stressed this flexibility during a negotiation on his rates when he wrote to a potential client that 'since you have worked with painters a lot, you know that they have more than just one type of paintbrush'.[45]

More insight into the agreements made between tapestry producers and designers is provided by a small number of notarial deeds. For instance, in 1704, when the *tapissiers* Daniël III Leyniers (1669–1728) and Jan Baptist Grimberghs ordered an unspecified set from Victor Janssens and the Antwerp landscapist Pieter Rysbraeck (1655–1729), they clarified that both painters had to follow their directions regarding the height and length of the cartoons as well as the figures and subjects that were to be depicted on them.[46] Seven years later, the same Daniel and his brother Urbanus Leyniers (1674–1747) gave more detailed instructions when they commissioned a series of *Greek Histories* – now known as *Plutarch's Famous Men* – from the aforementioned Janssens (fig. 58). They stated that the painter's preparatory sketches, which they had

already approved, had to be faithfully enlarged into cartoons using only the 'best fijnste verven ende coloriten' (best and finest paints and colours) on canvas. Janssens had to copy the figures himself and had to hire Augustin Coppens to paint the landscapes. In addition, Janssens had to finish his sketches and hand them over to the brothers together with the cartoons.[47] These drawings served as examples when damaged cartoons had to be restored and could also be used to attract potential customers.[48]

A preserved correspondence between Louis van Schoor and the Oudenaarde tapestry producer Pieter van Verren shows that such practical and artistic decisions were not always as one-sided as in the cases above. On 11 September 1694, Van Verren reached out to the Brussels' painter to design six cartoons with small figures representing scenes from *Ovid's Metamorphoses*. For each piece, he indicated the desired number of figures and their dimensions but suggested that Van Schoor himself proposed the scenes.[49] A week later, the tapestry designer wrote back that he accepted the commission, and he presented a list of subjects that were both 'geestighs ende plaisant' (witty and fun) and would look good on a tapestry.[50] However, Van Verren was not convinced. He responded that he preferred 'blijde subjecten' (happy subjects) and added that the figures should not be too wild. Especially, the scene in which Daphnis was turned into stone by a nymph did not appeal to him.[51] Van Schoor replied that he enjoyed reading which scenes were not wanted, but that to fully satisfy the *tapissier*'s wishes he preferred to know which themes did appeal to him.[52] Van Verren concluded the discussion by writing that he could not give any specific subjects, but could only communicate his preference for joyous topics without dying protagonists.[53] While the following letters no longer returned to the subject, a later mention of a cartoon with *Jupiter and Mnemosyne* makes clear that Van Schoor changed at least one of the scenes initially proposed.[54]

6.3.2 Painting New Cartoons

After an agreement was reached on the design, tapestry designers often joined forces with one or more colleagues to paint the cartoons. These collaborations were similar to those described in Chapter 5.4.2 and often involved a figure painter who complemented a landscape painter's work or vice-versa.[55] Among others, Lucas Achtschellinck (1626–1699) painted sceneries for Jacob van der Heyden, Jan van Orley, and – above all – Louis van Schoor, and his fellow landscapist Augustin Coppens did the same for Jan de Reyff, Victor Janssens, and Jan van Orley.[56] The partnership between Coppens and Van Orley was by far the most prolific. They painted no less than seventeen different series together in which the latter's figures were harmoniously integrated into the former's landscapes.[57] Occasionally collaborations

between figure and landscape painters also included other specialists such as Adriaen de Gryef (1657–1722) and Egidius Numandts (1659–after 1705), who painted animals and flowers respectively.[58]

While these partnerships were often arranged by tapestry producers, the painters involved seemed to have largely organised the logistical aspects of their joint endeavours themselves.[59] This became most evident from a commission that Augustin Coppens received from the Oudenaarde tapestry producer Pieter van Verren in December 1694. On the advice of Louis van Schoor, the latter had asked Coppens to paint six landscape cartoons.[60] They were intended as a backdrop for Van Schoor's *Ovid's Metamorphoses* figures but also had to be woven with other staffage including several animals that Adriaen de Gryef was simultaneously working on. Van Verren clarified that the painters had to contact one another to coordinate the overall composition of their labour.[61] More than five months later, Coppens informed Van Verren that the first piece was finally completed and on its way. It had been delayed by the severe winter and by De Gryef, who was out of town while the landscapist still needed him for some final adjustments.[62] In addition, Coppens wrote that he had spent a lot of time fitting De Gryef's animals into his landscape and that he had marked three potential places for them on both the front (using red dots) and the back (using numbers) of his cartoon.[63]

Unfortunately, the following pieces were postponed even further when Brussels was startled by the most destructive event in its history. As described in the first chapter, on 13, 14, and 15 August 1695, French troops bombarded the city with blazing cannonballs that caused fires on impact and left one-third of the city's inhabitants – including Coppens – roofless.[64] In a letter dated only eleven days after the disaster, the painter wrote to Van Verren that the fire had devoured his home, workshop, and everything in it. This also included two of the cartoons that he still owed to the tapestry producer. They had almost been finished and had been stored in his basement together with De Gryef and Van Schoor's animal and figure pieces. Coppens added that he had resigned himself to his fate and had started working on the *tapissier*'s commission again.[65] A few days later, he also informed Van Verren that he had spoken to De Gryef and that he too would soon begin to repaint the lost staffage. However, he had not yet been able to encourage Van Schoor to do the same, as the painter had fled the city, and it was not known when he would be back.[66]

Later letters clarified that Van Schoor would not return to his hometown, but had settled in Antwerp indefinitely, 'mits Brussel soo in disorder is' (given that Brussels is in such disarray).[67] They also made clear that this new spatial distance between him and Coppens at least somewhat hampered their cooperation. Even though they had already determined the positions of Van Schoor's staffage, the figure painter now had to send all his finished pieces to his colleague who then had to adjust them to fit into his sceneries.[68] It was not until March 1696 that Coppens was able to send

the last landscape cartoons along with the accompanying figure and animal pieces to Van Verren.[69] After this, the collaborations between Coppens and Van Schoor seemed to have been rather limited and it is significant to note that Coppens introduced Victor Janssens to Van Verren only two years after the series was finished.[70]

Despite the tragic circumstances surrounding this collaboration, its well-documented process provides various insights into the co-production of new cartoons and the interrelationships between the artists involved. First, it shows that all painters worked on a different canvas or paper. This appears to have been a common practice around this time that allowed tapestry producers to easily and inexpensively weave different compositions with a limited number of patterns.[71] Cartoons painted in one piece, however, also occurred. For example, six of the seventeen series listed in the inventory of the Brussels' *tapissier* Urbanis Leyniers had no 'opleghsels' (overlays) to complement them.[72]

Second, the letters demonstrate that – at least sometimes – one of the painters was made responsible for leading the co-production. In this case, Coppens seemed to have fulfilled that role. He urged his colleagues to continue their work on the series and coordinated the incorporation of their staffage into the overall design. Other documents reveal that during some collaborations the *lead* painter was also in charge of hiring his fellows as subcontractors. For instance, in 1705, Jan van Orley paid four guilders to Egidius Numandts for adding flowers to a piece of the *Continents and Related Allegories* and seven years later Victor Janssens hired Augustin Coppens to paint landscapes in the aforementioned *Plutarch's Famous Men* series (fig. 58, p. 158).[73]

Finally, the correspondence also suggests that it was important for painters to be in spatial proximity to one another during joint commissions. De Gryef and Van Schoor had to visit Coppens' workshop repeatedly to guarantee the artistic unity of their work and after Van Schoor had fled Brussels, he and his colleagues almost immediately sought out other associates to collaborate with.[74] Of course, living close to a co-worker was even more important when a cartoon was painted in one piece. For example, in 1700, the Antwerp painter Gaspar Pieter Verbruggen (1664–1730) was paid for adding flowers on a cartoon 'ten huyse van van Schoor' (at the home of Van Schoor).[75]

6.3.3 Retouching and Reworking Used Cartoons

After cartoons were finished, painters were still needed to retouch and/or rework them regularly. They were utilitarian objects that quickly became worn out during the labour-intensive weaving process for which they were intended.[76] Tapestry weavers folded or cut them into strips and placed them on low-warp looms directly

Fig. 59. Workshop of Judocus de Vos after Lambert de Hondt, Lucas Achtschellinck, and Jan van Orley, *Naval Battle* (*Art of War*), after 1698. Wool and silk, 344 × 400 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, NG-415 (photo: Rijksmuseum).

underneath the warp threads. Then, during weaving, they repeatedly came into contact with various bobbins with coloured wefts that were used to faithfully copy the painted designs but also caused considerable damage over time.[77] In 1692, the Brussels' tapestry producer Albert Auwercx pointed out this rapid decline to a potential Italian client. He wrote that 'it must be noted that the first two or three editions woven after new cartoons are far more perfect than the following editions as the cartoons are severely damaged during the weaving'.[78]

A legal process brought by Jan van Orley against the Brussels' *tapissier* Judocus de Vos (1661–1734) in 1706, allows for a closer examination of the various adjustments that cartoons underwent after they were used. Its file contains a list of all the work the former had carried out for the latter, including several retouchings and reworks.[79] The first commission dates back to 1698. Van Orley was hired to rework two cartoons from the so-called *Art of War* series.[80] He enlarged one of them

Fig. 60. Workshop of Judocus de Vos after Jan van Orley, Augustin Coppens, and an anonymous French painter, *Fish Quay* (*Teniers*), after 1702. Wool and silk, 312 × 470 cm. Location unknown (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History).

depicting *Triumph of Noble Pleasures* with a 4.5 by 3 ell canvas and reworked the other one with a *Naval Battle* by altering and adding some of its figures (fig. 59).[81] The document added that he did this in collaboration with Lambert de Hondt 'ten huyse van sr achtscelinckx' (at the house of Mr. [Lucas] Achtschellinck) – two painters who were presumably involved in designing and painting the original cartoons.[82] In the same year, Van Orley also retouched an unspecified piece by Antoon van Opstal, a local painter who had died approximately 40 years earlier.[83]

In 1702, Van Orley re-used two of De Vos' older cartoons as the basis for a new set with scenes of peasant life or *Boerkens* after Teniers. The pieces were painted by an unnamed French artist and depicted a *Hunting Scene* and *Fish Quay*. The case file shows that the painter decided to completely overpaint the first piece but that 'een deel van den vorighen grondt is blijven dienen' (a part of the previous background continued to serve) in the second (fig. 60).[84] The landscapes were executed by Augustin Coppens.[85] Van Orley also retouched a *Saint Pieter* and the leg of a *Saulus* in two other cartoons. These figures most likely belonged to the renowned 29-piece *New Testament* series that was partly painted by the artists himself in about 1700.[86] Later entries make clear that Van Orley also reworked some figures in a *Falcon Hunt*, repainted a border, and restored an unspecified cartoon for the baron of Meerbeek.[87]

6.4 The Importance of Spatial Proximity

As mentioned briefly in the previous part, the spatial distance between artists played a role – in varying degrees – in the conception, production, and maintenance of tapestry cartoons. By using archival documents and the insights from Chapter 3.5, the following pages will examine to what extent it was important for painters to live and work in the vicinity of other painters and tapestry producers with whom they collaborated.

6.4.1 To Other Painters

Collaborations in which two or more artists painted or retouched a set of tapestry cartoons together benefited greatly if those involved lived in spatial proximity to one another. As the previous section demonstrated, painters who joined forces often had to gather in one of their workshops to coordinate the overall composition of their work and add their respective shares – directly or as separate pieces – to the main canvas or paper. It is therefore not surprising that Brussels' cartoon painters seem to have mainly collaborated with colleagues from within the city walls. Exceptionally, a foreign artist – such as the Antwerp landscapist Pieter Rysbraeck who painted a set with Victor Janssens in 1704 – came over to co-produce new cartoons, but the vast majority of partnerships appear to have been local.[88] This was especially evident from the numerous series to which Louis van Schoor contributed. The landscapes surrounding his figures were mostly provided by the Brussels' Lucas Achtschellinck and Augustin Coppens before his emigration to Antwerp in 1695 and by his new fellow-townsman Pieter Spierincx thereafter.[89]

Surprisingly, however, art historians did not always take the spatial distance between potential collaborators into account when attributing designs. A closer look at the *Continents and Related Allegories* series shows that this might be useful nonetheless. The set is currently attributed to Louis van Schoor – whose signature *L. VAN SCHOOR INV. ET PINX.* was woven in various editions – and Pieter Spierincx.[90] Both of their names appear in the *mémoires* of the Antwerp art dealer Nicolaes Naulaerts and can be linked to the set's 'nieuwen patroon' (new patterns) that are mentioned repeatedly from 1699 onwards.[91] Strikingly, the designs themselves seem to have been more than a decade older. The series' classicising female personifications exemplify Van Schoor's earlier manner, and several tapestries from different editions are known in which dates from the late 1680s and early 1690s have been woven (fig. 61).[92]

The discrepancy between the series' early dating and Naulaerts' later reference to his new cartoons has puzzled various tapestry scholars over the years. Koenraad

Fig. 61. Unknown workshop after Louis van Schoor, *America* (*Continents and Related Allegories*), 1690. Wool and silk, 260 × 450 cm. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga (photo: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History).

Fig. 62. Unknown workshop after Louis van Schoor, *America* (*Continents and Related Allegories*), *c.*1700. Wool and silk, 341 × 497 cm. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1950.6.1 (photo: National Gallery of Art).

Brosens suggested that the art dealer bought his patterns second-hand from an unknown tapestry producer who had previously commissioned and used them, and Ingrid de Meûter stated that the description 'new' was often interpreted broadly in documents from that time.[93] However, since Van Schoor did not actively collaborate with Spierincx until after his move to Antwerp in 1695, it seems more likely that the two painted a new set of cartoons after one of Van Schoor's older designs. This was not uncommon for popular – frequently woven – series like the *Continents*. In fact, several archival sources confirm that multiple copies of the pattern were in circulation. For example, Jan van Orley and Augustin Coppens painted an edition after the series for the tapestry producer Judocus de Vos in 1705 and the Antwerp *tapissier* Cornelis de Wael sold a copy by Jacob Herreyns (1643–1732) to his Amsterdam colleague Alexander Baert in 1714.[94] That Naulaerts himself wrote about 'the original patterns painted by Mr. Ludovicus van Schoor' in 1696 and that there are several editions known with dissimilar backgrounds, enlarges the possibility that Spierincx was only involved in a later version of the cartoons even more (fig. 62).[95]

6.4.2 To Tapestry Producers

At first sight, the spatial distance between tapestry producers and designers seems to have been less important. As the correspondence between Augustin Coppens and the Oudenaarde *tapissier* Pieter van Verren demonstrated, it was perfectly possible for painters to carry out commissions to produce new cartoons for out-of-town clients through written communication only.[96] Yet, living in the vicinity of tapestry workshops could still bring benefits to artists involved in the industry. Tapestry producers almost exclusively outsourced smaller tasks – like retouching and/or reworking used patterns – locally. They tried to keep the costs for these recurring repairs as low as possible and often settled for lesser-known or budding painters to execute them.[97] In addition, the spatial proximity of *tapissiers* also provided artists with the opportunity to easily access vast collections of old designs and cartoons that were created by some of their most renowned predecessors. For instance, in about 1725, Jan van Orley and Augustin Coppens executed copies of the aforementioned *Acts of the Apostles* designs by Raphael that were woven in Brussels until well into the eighteenth century.[98]

In the 1702 census of Brussels, described in Chapter 3.5.2, a total of nine tapestry producers were recorded. Eight of them were defined as *meester tapitsier*, the ninth – Jan Baptist de Clerc – as 'tapijthanger van t Hoff' (tapestry-hanger of the court).[99] Unlike the larger and more scattered group of painters, they lived and worked in three definable clusters. As shown in figure 63, most of them (four) were

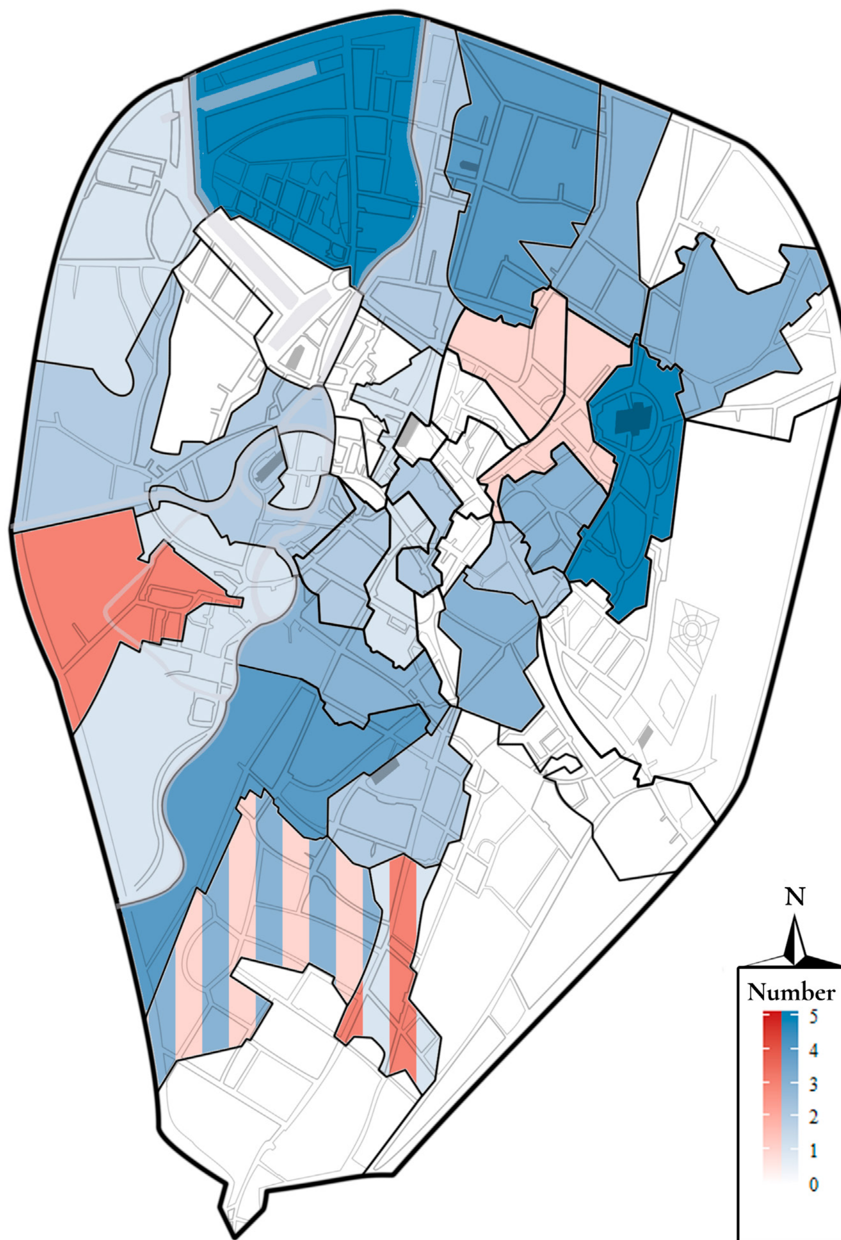


Fig. 63. The spatial distribution of painters (in blue) and tapestry producers (in red) per neighbourhood, 1702.

listed in two neighbourhoods in the southern Parish of Our Lady of the Chapel.[100] Three others were recorded on the west side of the city in a single neighbourhood within the Parish of Saint Gorik.[101] The last two lived more centrally and were documented in two adjacent neighbourhoods within the Parish of Saint Michael and Saint Gudula.[102] Remarkably, no painters were located in two of these three clusters. Only in the area near the Chapel Church did painters and *tapissiers* live together in the same neighbourhoods. However, as was nuanced above, this did not necessarily detract from the aforementioned benefits. The distances within the city walls were negligible and could easily be bridged on foot.[103]

6.5 Conclusion

Brussels' painters who designed and/or painted tapestry cartoons at the end of the seventeenth century rarely worked alone. First, they consulted extensively with their clients – often tapestry producers – about new projects. This was done in person or remotely and often showed the willingness of painters to adapt the style, iconography, and even quality of their art to suit their patrons' needs. Second, painters often complemented one another's cartoons according to their respective specialities. During such collaborations, they regularly came together in one of their workshops to ensure harmony between their individual contributions. In some cases, one of them was even put in charge to hire his coworkers and coordinate the project on behalf of their client. Third, painters often retouched and/or reworked used cartoons that had become worn out during the weaving process. Such adjustments varied from renovating a few minor details – such as a figure's leg – to almost entirely repainting an existing composition. Completely copying older successful designs – either their own or their colleagues – was also a common practice.

These direct and indirect forms of collaboration showed not only that the artists involved were both pragmatic and versatile, but also that the designs they created continuously evolved. Designs were enlarged into cartoons by various specialised painters, refurbished by other (cheaper) hands, and – if successful – copied and reworked by yet another group of artists. This collaborative process added additional layers of complexity to issues of authorship. Of course, in some cases, it is still possible to link an artist with certainty to the original designs and sometimes even to the cartoon used for an early woven edition. Often, however, the compositions have been retouched, reworked, and/or copied so many times that it is virtually impossible to attribute anything other than the design that had served as a starting point.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

This study explores the interplay between social structures and the artistic production of master painters in seventeenth-century Brussels. Scholarly interest in these artists – and art from the capital and court city of the Southern Netherlands in general – has grown strongly in recent decades, with previous studies focusing primarily on the artistic genius and works of some of the most celebrated individuals among them. By collecting, processing, and analysing serial data from membership and parish registers on *all* 353 Brussels' master painters, this study puts these contributions in a broader comparative perspective. It argues that for many of the city's painters it was not their individual talents alone that determined the course of their careers but also their involvement in local communities of family, colleagues, and others. In doing so, this study also aspires to demonstrate that the use of 'slow' quantitative digital methods can provide a valuable framework within which qualitative cases can be either identified or contextualised. The two-part structure of this study reflects this ambition.

The first part operationalises aggregates of data. It examines the collective biography of the entire population of Brussels' master painters in relation to the three places of living that were distinguished by the sociologist Ray Oldenburg. Chapter 1 explores the *first place* and zooms in on the painters' family lives by analysing baptism and marriage records from parishes in and around Brussels. Following the 'nuclear-hardship hypothesis', this chapter describes that the city's painters – like almost all of their contemporaries – generally had loosely knit kinship networks. Therefore, they had to seek different strategies to meet the social and economic needs unmet by their extended relatives. One of these strategies was to strengthen their nuclear households through strategic marriages, succession planning, and bonds of spiritual kinship. This study, however, reveals that the importance of these family-related approaches on the population of Brussels' master painters as a whole should not be overestimated. Only a third of the artists married within their professional circle; one in ten was succeeded by one of their children; and no more than 5 to 10 per cent entered into bonds of spiritual kinship with other painters or tapestry producers. Yet for those who did use these strategies, they often proved to be telling. For instance, occupational continuity in a Brussels' painter's household usually indicated the commercial success of the father's workshop and marriages or

bonds of spiritual kinship between artists and their families were often the result of previous collaborations or artistic cross-pollination.

Another strategy for Brussels' master painters to compensate for the lack of strong family ties was by banding together in corporate, religious, or social organisations outside of their households. Chapters 2 and 3 focus on this strategy. The former examines the *second place* and analyses the painters' working environment using the local Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers' membership register and ordinance. It argues that by imposing access restrictions and workshop-related regulations, the guild not only stipulated who was allowed to work in the city and how these people had to make their art, but also fostered confraternity, collective action, and mutual aid among its members. Although this study provides some examples of painters who benefited from these social and economic advantages, it also shows that not all of the guild's members knew or wanted to profit equally from their fellows' sense of community. No more than 10 per cent of all affiliated masters trained more than half of all apprentices and only about a quarter of all aspiring artists who started an apprenticeship eventually became masters. The opportunities within the guild seem to have been better for members with a pre-existing network within the organisation. For example, nearly 30 per cent of all the sons of masters became dean, while less than 8 per cent of their colleagues who hailed from outside Brussels succeeded in doing the same.

Chapter 3 focuses on *third places*. Using a wide array of notarial deeds, membership registers, and account books, this chapter identifies some of Brussels' most significant examples of such social hangouts and explores the master painters' involvement with them. For example, it confirms the suggestion of earlier studies that many artists were part of one of the city's three chambers of rhetoric and/or diverse confraternities. At least 20 master painters even held positions on one of the associations' governing boards. This chapter also shows that public houses had been important to painters as gathering places where they could socialise, gather news, and trade their goods. Unfortunately, however, written-down and preserved sources that can further illuminate these activities proved to be scarce. In addition, with regard to the painters' places of residence, chapter three demonstrates that – unlike other artistic centres such as Amsterdam or Antwerp – Brussels did not have a clear area in which painters clustered together. This may have influenced the number of chance encounters and artistic spillovers between these artists, although it must be nuanced that Brussels was not that big at the time and that the vast majority of painters lived relatively close together in only two of the city's seven parishes.

By examining the involvement of Brussels' master painters in the local guild, chambers of rhetoric, and confraternities throughout the whole seventeenth century, this study also reveals developments in the artists' stances towards these

institutionalised communities. Most notably, over the century, painters seem to have placed decreasing importance on them. Newly immigrated artists were less and less willing to submit themselves to the guild's rules and many of their colleagues began to evade the time-consuming and often expansive positions on the chambers and confraternities' governing boards. In about 1650, the reluctance of painters to comply with these organisations' basic conditions even became so great that to maintain their relevance several authorities felt compelled to intervene. For instance, the guild's deans increasingly accommodated outsiders by pragmatically easing their organisation's access restrictions and the chambers called on the city council to make clear that anyone who wanted to join them committed themselves for life and had to help bear all necessary duties at all times. Although the effects of these measures – certainly for the guild – turned out as desired, their necessity shows that individualism among the population of painters grew over the century and that the importance of 'surrogate families' such as the ones described above somewhat diminished.

The second part zooms in on the social strategies of a select number of master painters with remarkable profiles. In three distinct case studies it shows that, while certain patterns and tendencies can be disentangled on the level of the population as a whole, there were major differences between artists individually. Each painter had his own ambitions and aspirations and therefore adopted – consciously or not – different approaches to let his artistic talents pay off. Chapter 4, for example, shows that by following in one another's footsteps and making the right connections with some of the most distinguished artists and courtiers of their time, at least three members of the Noveliers family were able to obtain and hold privileged positions at the Archducal court at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In addition, it demonstrates that by presenting their family as a professional unit to the outside world, these painters also managed to establish and maintain a shared artistic identity that benefited not only themselves but also their less successful relatives with whom they shared both their occupation and surname.

In contrast, other painters did not use their networks to strengthen their own artistic identity, but rather to fuse it with those of their colleagues through a common style or collaborations. For instance, Chapter 5 shows that the painters who devoted themselves to producing landscapes of the Sonian Forest around the middle of the century formed a tightly knit group socially that allowed them to easily share information and adopt a homogeneous style artistically. In doing so, most of these painters subordinated their own name to the commercial success of their shared manner of painting, which was mainly expressed in the fact that only the group's two forerunners – Jacques d'Arthois (1613–1686) and Louis de Vadder (1605–1655) – chose to sign their works regularly. The painters who collaborated

to design, paint, and/or restore tapestry cartoons at the end of the seventeenth century did something similar as well. As Chapter 6 describes, they too proved willing to subject their own artistic identity to suit the needs of their professional network. When required, these painters easily adapted their style to their – sometimes long-dead – colleagues' old compositions or to that of their coworkers with whom they actively worked together to create new ones. Because the latter form of artistic fusion often involved physical encounters, the spatial distance between these collaborating artists was an important factor.

Of course, these social strategies were not mutually exclusive. As this study shows above all, seventeenth-century painters were versatile and able to adapt both artistically and socially to the various dynamics and contexts in which they operated. Other cases, therefore, will no doubt reveal yet other ways in which artists took advantage of or catered to the specific customs of a community to enrich or market their art. However, these are beyond the scope of this study, which is neither exhaustive nor intends to be. On the contrary, using both quantitative and qualitative methods, this study strives to maximise what little material is currently available on the social history of early modern Brussels' painting while acknowledging that most social interactions at that time were not committed to paper or that those that were have not all been preserved, found, or processed. In doing so, it also aims to provide a framework within which more Brussels' painters and their work can be examined monographically and offers scope for further comparative research that analyses the social patterns of the city's artists alongside those of their colleagues in Antwerp, Mechelen, or elsewhere in Europe. For now, however, the findings in this study leave little to no doubt that social structures had a major influence on the artistic production of seventeenth-century Brussels' master painters and that their city was indeed 'a major hub of artistic activity'.[1]

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. A Brief Introduction to the Cornelia Database and Digital Methods Used

This study is built on a foundation of serial archival materials. Throughout its chapters, I referred repeatedly to the membership registers of various Brussels' corporate and social organisations and examined baptism, marriage, and burial records from parishes all over the Southern Netherlands. As described in the introduction, the data derived from most of these sources are processed into the *Cornelia* database. This enabled me to easily retrieve information via MySQL queries and to present this data in visualisations via digital tools such as R and Gephi. In this appendix, I will further elaborate on this usually hidden process. I will do this by briefly introducing the relevant basics of *Cornelia*, MySQL, Gephi, and R using Antoon Sallaert's (1594–1650) master registration in the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers as an example (fig. A).[1]

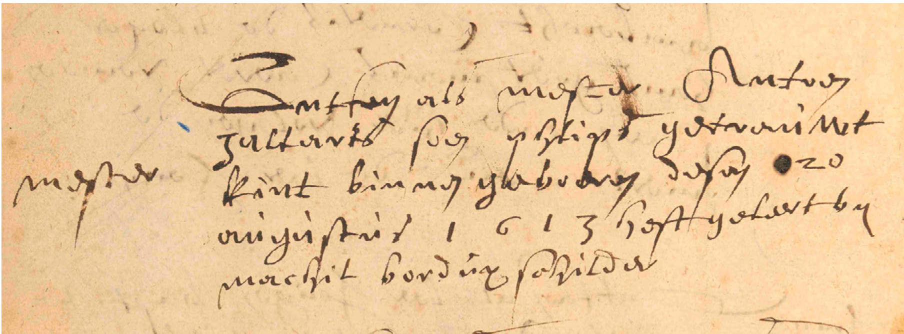


Fig A. Antoon Sallaert's master registration in the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers. BRA, GA 818.

Cornelia

Cornelia is a relational database specially made to efficiently store and arrange information from a wide array of archival sources.[2] It organises data into various tables that all consist of a fixed number of columns and infinite rows. Based on the information they store, three different types of tables can be distinguished. The first type contains metadata on the archival sources themselves. The main tables of this type are *Source* and *Source Entry*. Each row in the *Source* table represents a source and describes in which archive and archival set it is located, and via which call number it can be retrieved there. The *Source Entry* table breaks sources down into several entries and specifies what those specific parts of the document are about and when they were written down. For instance, in the case of Sallaert's registration, the *Source* table holds information on where the seventeenth-century membership register of the Brussels' guild can be found and the *Source Entry* table on the painter's specific entry in the register. Note that the identification of the guild's membership register in the *Source Entry* table is through its unique and automatically generated key (in this case source ID = 244) that is given to each row in each table.

SOURCE				
Source ID	Archive	Archival Set	Call Number	Reference
244	BR | Brussels Rijksarchief	GA	818	BRGA818

SOURCE ENTRY						
Source Entry ID	Source ID	Source Entry Type	Date Day	Date Month	Date Year	Reference
4489	244	membership	20	08	1613	20081613

The second type of tables represents the various entities such as actors, organisations, places, and roles mentioned in source entries. Each row in these tables embodies one instance of that entity and each column the values attributed to them. As Sallaert's registration shows, the number of entities in a single source entry can add up significantly. In the first place, of course, it refers to Antoon Sallaert as an actor and the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers as an organisation. In addition, it mentions the actors Philips Sallaert and Michiel de Bordeaux, the place Brussels, four different roles, including that of painter, and the master and *leermeester* (teacher) statuses. Again, all these entities are represented in their respective table as a row with a unique automatically generated ID.

ACTOR			
Actor ID	First Name	Surname	Gender
490	Antoon	Sallaert	male
6059	Michiel	De Bordeaux	male
6187	Philips	Sallaert	male

ORGANISATION		
Organisation ID	Name	Place
1	guild of painters, goldbeaters and stained-glass makers	149

PLACE				
Place ID	Country	City	Parish	Street
149		Brussels		

ROLE ORGANISATION	
Role Organisation ID	Name
119	painter

ROLE PERSONAL	
Role Personal ID	Name
22	child
48	father

ROLE PLACE	
Role Place ID	Name
5	neonate

STATUS	
Status ID	Name
3	master
14	leermeester

Although these first two types of tables are not very informative in themselves, they form the basis for the third type that relates them to one another and thus gives them meaning. Starting from a source entry and using the numerous rows' unique IDs, the rows in these tables connect actors to specific roles, places, and organisations. For the sake of clarity, a distinction is made in the database between more professional roles in the *Actor Role* table, personal roles in the *Actor Actor* table, and place-related roles in the *Actor Place* table.[3] In other words, the information derived from source entries ends up in different tables as – at first sight – unreadable rows

of numbers.[4] To illustrate, the registrations of Sallaert (actor ID = 490) as a new (phase = start) master (status ID = 3) painter (role organisation ID = 119) and De Bordaeux (actor ID = 6059) as his former (phase = former) teacher (status ID = 14) in the membership register (source entry ID = 4489) of the Brussels' guild (organisation ID = 1) are stored in the *Actor Role* table as:

ACTOR ROLE						
Actor Role ID	Source Entry ID	Actor ID	Role Organisation ID	Organisation ID	Phase	Status ID
10074	4489	490	119	1	start	3
10075	4489	6059	119	1	former	14

Similar rows filled with unique IDs also appear in the *Actor Actor* and *Actor Place* tables. For example, the references of Philips (actor ID = 6187) and Antoon Sallaert as father (role personal ID = 48) and child (role personal ID = 22), and Brussels (place ID = 149) as Sallaert's place of birth (role place ID = 5) are stored as:

ACTOR ACTOR			
Actor Actor ID	Source Entry ID	Actor ID	Role Personal ID
11186	4489	490	22
11187	4489	6187	48

ACTOR PLACE				
Actor Place ID	Source Entry ID	Actor ID	Role Place ID	Place ID
1390	4489	490	5	149

MySQL

Any information stored in the *Cornelia* database in this way can be searched and retrieved in a readable form via MySQL queries. MySQL is an open-source relational database management system that is used to create, modify, and extract data from relational databases.[5] Its most used type of query – also in this study – are SELECT statements. These queries select data from one or more tables and return it in so-called result sets. Generally, they consist of at least one SELECT, FROM, and WHERE clause. The SELECT clause specifies which columns to return in the result set by listing them as table_name.column_name separated by commas. The FROM clause then indicates in which tables the wanted columns and information can be found. This clause usually uses an INNER JOIN to combine the various tables listed but can – when needed – also use other types of JOINs such as the LEFT, RIGHT, or FULL JOIN. Finally, the WHERE clause limits the number of rows

retrieved from each column by filtering them against one or more conditions combined with AND, OR, and NOT comparators. If desired, other frequently used clauses such as ORDER BY and GROUP BY can also be added to order the results or group them around particular values.

To make this more concrete, I can, for example, retrieve a table in which Sallaert's full name is shown next to the date he became master and the name of the organisation in which. First, I specify the three columns I want in the result set in the SELECT clause. One with Sallaert's name derived from the *First Name* and *Surname* columns in the *Actor* table; one with the date of his master registration from the *Date* columns in the *Source Entry* table; and one with the organisation's name from the *Name* column in the *Organisation* table. In doing so, I use the CONCAT() function to concatenate values from different columns into one and the AS command to rename the retrieved columns with aliases.

```
SELECT
   CONCAT(actor.first_name, ' ', actor.surname) AS 'Name',
   CONCAT(source_entry.date_day, '/', source_entry.date_month, '/',
          source_entry.date_year) AS 'Date',
   organisation.name AS 'Organisation'
```

Second, I use the FROM clause to list the tables from which to select the data wanted. In this case, the different tables – *Actor*, *Actor Role*, *Organisation*, *Role Organisation*, *Status*, and *Source Entry* – are separated by commas. These are equivalent to JOIN operators in MySQL. Also note that I am not only querying the three tables that are used in the SELECT clause, but also some that will return in the WHERE clause.

```
FROM
   actor,
   actor_role,
   organisation,
   role_organisation,
   status,
   source_entry
```

Third, in the WHERE clause, I define the specific conditions that the data must meet to be included in the result set. Most of these conditions relate a column in one table to that in another. This reduces the number of returned values by considering only those that are present in both but also links up tables that are not related to one another otherwise. For example, I connect the *Actor* and *Source Entry* tables via their unique IDs in the *Actor Role* table by specifying that actor.id must be equal to actor_role.actor_id and that actor_role.source_entry_id must be the

same as source_entry.id. Other conditions state what a specific value should be. For example, I stipulate that the actor's first name should be equal to 'Antoon' and that his last name should be 'Sallaert'.

```
WHERE
   actor.id = actor_role.actor_id AND
      actor.first_name = 'Antoon' AND
         actor.surname = 'Sallaert' AND
   actor_role.source_entry_id = source_entry.id AND
   actor_role.organisation_id = organisation.id AND
   actor_role.role_organisation_id = role_organisation.id AND
   actor_role.status_id = status.id AND
      status.name = 'master' AND
   actor_role.phase = 'start'
```

Because there is only one Antoon Sallaert in the *Cornelia* database who was registered as a master, the three different clauses result in the following table:

NAME	DATE	ORGANISATION
Antoon Sallaert	20/08/1613	guild of painters, goldbeaters and stained-glass makers

I can also use a SELECT statement to retrieve relationships between actors. As can be seen from the above description of *Cornelia*'s data model, actors are never directly connected in the same row, but indirectly via source entries. For example, that Philips Sallaert was described as Antoon's father in the latter's membership registration is stored in the database in two rows in the *Actor Actor* table – one stating that Philips was mentioned as a father in that particular source entry and one stating that in the same entry Antoon was described as a child. So, to clarify the father–son relationship between the two actors, I have to request a row in the SELECT clause containing both their names and the roles they played.

```
SELECT
   CONCAT(a1.first_name, ' ', a1.surname) AS 'Source',
   CONCAT(a2.first_name, ' ', a2.surname) AS 'Target',
   CONCAT(rp1.name, '-', rp2.name) AS 'Label',
```

I cannot use the same *Actor* table twice for this. After all, if I specify that the actor's name must be 'Antoon Sallaert', this name cannot possibly also be 'Philips Sallaert'. Therefore, it is necessary to list the same table twice under a different alias via the AS feature in the FROM clause. For example, in this case, I clarify that I want one *Actor*

table with alias *a1* and one with alias *a2*. I do the same for the *Actor Actor* and *Role Personal* tables, but not for the *Source Entry* one. I only need one of those to make sure that all the information requested from the other duplicated tables comes from one and the same source.

```
FROM
   actor AS a1,
   actor AS a2,
   actor_actor AS aa1,
   actor_actor AS aa2,
   role_personal AS rp1,
   role_personal AS rp2,
   source_entry
```

Then in the WHERE clause, I connect all the requested tables under their aliases to the source entry with the unique ID 4489 that represents Sallaert's master registration and specify the conditions that one of the actors must be called 'Antoon Sallaert' and the other cannot be equal to the first. For this last condition, I use the != (not equal to) operator instead of the usual = (equal to). Note here that I am not clarifying which roles the actors should have or who actor two should be. This means that if there were other personal relationships in the specified source entry (that is, between Sallaert and his mother, uncle, or brother, among others), they would also appear in the result set.

```
WHERE
   a1.id = aa1.actor_id AND
      a1.first_name = 'Antoon' AND
      a1.surname = 'Sallaert' AND
   a2.id = aa2.actor_id AND
      a2.id != a1.id AND
   aa1.role_personal_id = rp1.id AND
   aa2.role_personal_id = rp2.id AND
   aa1.source_entry_id = source_entry.id AND
   aa2.source_entry_id = source_entry.id AND
      source_entry.id = '4489'
```

Because this is not the case, the resulting table only consists of one row containing Antoon and Philips Sallaert's full names and the child–father relationship between them.

SOURCE	TARGET	LABEL
Antoon Sallaert	Philips Sallaert	child-father

The relationship between Sallaert and his former teacher De Bordaeux can be retrieved in the same way. The SELECT statement to do this is almost identical to the previous one with the main difference that the information wanted is not stored in the *Actor Actor* table but the *Actor Role* one. In addition, using the UNION operator it is easy to combine the results of this SELECT statements with those of the one above.

```
UNION
SELECT
   CONCAT(a1.first_name, ' ', a1.surname) AS 'Source',
   CONCAT(a2.first_name, ' ', a2.surname) AS 'Target',
   CONCAT(s1.name, '-', s2.name) AS 'Label'

FROM
   actor AS a1,
   actor AS a2,
   actor_role AS ar1,
   actor_role AS ar2,
   status AS s1,
   status AS s2,
   source_entry

WHERE
   a1.id = ar1.actor_id AND
      a1.first_name = 'Antoon' AND
      a1.surname = 'Sallaert' AND
   a2.id = ar2.actor_id AND
      a2.id != a1.id AND
   ar1.status_id = s1.id AND
   ar2.status_id = s2.id AND
   ar1.source_entry_id = source_entry.id AND
   ar2.source_entry_id = source_entry.id AND
      source_entry.id = '4489'
```

The resulting set now contains a row for both relationships mentioned in Sallaert's master registration. The UNION operator only works if both statements – as in this example – have the same number of columns and similar data types.

SOURCE	TARGET	LABEL
Antoon Sallaert	Philips Sallaert	child-father
Antoon Sallaert	Michiel De Bordeaux	master-leermeester

Gephi

By saving and exporting the query results as CSV files, the retrieved data can also be analysed and visualised in other digital tools. For this study, I mainly used Gephi and R. Gephi is an open-source software for network visualisation and analysis that is widely used in the digital humanities.[6] The software's user interface is fairly intuitive and consists of three panels: *Overview*, *Data Laboratory*, and *Preview*. To start a new project, CSV files with network data can be easily imported by clicking 'Import Spreadsheet' in the *Data Laboratory* panel. Gephi makes a distinction between node and edge tables. The former should have a column named *Id* to distinguish different nodes and the latter two columns named *Source* and *Target* that represent the various relationships. Other attributes of the nodes and edges – such as a label that can be shown in the final visualisation – can be added through extra columns. For example, to visualise the relationships in Sallaert's master registration, I can import the result of the above MySQL query as an undirected edge table with a source, target, and label. Because in this case all nodes included in the *Source* and *Target* columns are unique, I don't have to import a separate node table but can ask Gephi to create one automatically by ticking on the 'Create missing nodes' box in the import window.

After the data has been imported, Gephi immediately produces a representation of the network in the *Overview* panel. The position of the nodes is initially random and often unreadable, but can be modified via various force-directed algorithms in the *Layout* module. I generally opt for a combination of the *Fruchterman Reingold* and *Force Atlas 2* algorithms to first untangle the random layout and later spatialise the network by dispersing groups. The *Overview* panel also offers a *Statistics* module in which the various metrics of the network – including its degree distribution, density, and average path length – can be calculated.[7] These calculations generate a result not only for the network as a whole but also for the individual nodes. For example, if I calculate the average degree for Sallaert's network, Gephi gives me the mean of 1.33, but also an extra column *Degree* in the node table with a value of two for Sallaert and of one for the painter's father and teacher. These individual metrics can then be used as parameters to adjust the nodes and edges' colours and sizes in the *Appearance* module. In this case, for example, I use Sallaert's higher ranking in the *Degree* column to represent him as a slightly larger shaped node.

Finally, the *Preview* panel offers the possibility to see what the visualisation will look like and make some final changes. Unlike the previous steps, the changes in this panel are purely cosmetic and have no further impact on the structure of the network. For instance, the preview settings allow to easily adjust the opacity of nodes and edges or to show and format their labels. The finalised graph can then

be exported as an SVG, PDF, or PNG file. To illustrate, the network data from Sallaert's registration can be visualised as follows:

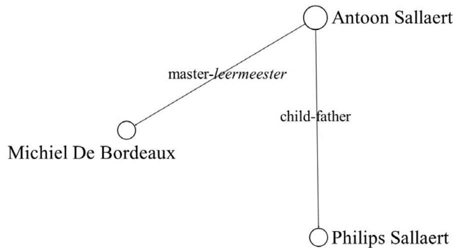


Fig. B. A visualisation of the relationships between the actors in Antoon Sallaert's master registration.

R

R is a widely used programming language for statistical computing and graphics. It is less intuitive than Gephi but offers almost infinite possibilities for customisation due to the many user-created packages that provide specialised functionalities and are easy to add. There are various ways to interface with R. I use the open-source option RStudio.[8] The codes written in R are usually stored and organised in so-called scripts. The purpose and complexity of these scripts can vary enormously, but the ones I wrote generally follow a fairly simple and fixed order. The first few lines list and load the necessary packages with the library() function. In almost all the following cases, this list contains the *readr* and *ggplot2* packages. The second group of lines import the data into R with the *readr* function read_delim(). This is followed by a third group that visualises the imported data in a layered fashion with the *ggplot2* function ggplot(). Finally, the last line exports the visualisation as a PNG file with the *ggplot2* function ggsave(). Occasionally, I also used the *plyr* and *gridExtra* packages to mutate the data in a specific column after the second group of lines or to combine several plots into one visualisation after the third.

For instance, to build on the example of Sallaert's registration, I can plot the painter's age at the time he became a master on a seventeenth-century timeline. All I need for this is a table with Sallaert's name, age, and the year of his master registration. For convenience, I saved this information in a tabled named Sallaert.csv:

SALLAERT.CSV		
Name	Age	Date
Antoon Sallaert	18	1613

I start the script by loading the packages *readr* and *ggplot2*. If a package has not yet been installed, this can be done via the install.packages() function. This only needs to be done once per computer, but the packages must be reloaded using the library() function each time they are required.

```
library(readr)
library(ggplot2)
```

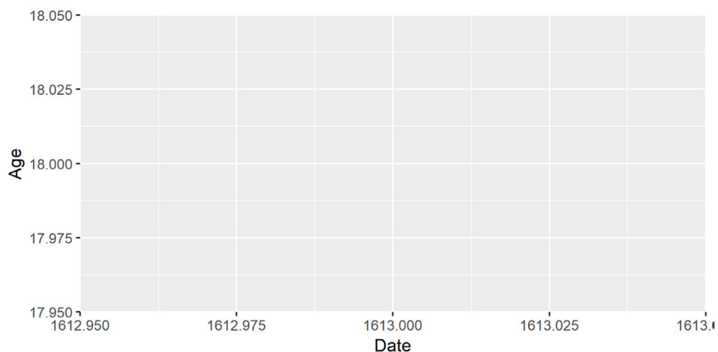
Next, I import the data frame into R via the *readr* function read_delim(). This function takes two mandatory arguments. The first links to the file to be imported, in this case, Sallaert.csv. The second specifies which delimiter is used to separate the values in the data file, in this case, a semicolon. In addition, I add two arguments to clarify that the file does not use escape quotes by doubling them and that all leading and trailing whitespaces should be trimmed from each field. With the assignment operator <-, I then store the imported data in a variable named *Var_1* so that it can be easily manipulated by R.

```
Var_1 <- read_delim("Sallaert.csv", ";", escape_double = FALSE,
trim_ws = TRUE)
```

After the data has been imported, I can plot it step-by-step using the *ggplot2* function ggplot().[9] The first step usually defines the data and lists the aesthetic mappings such as the axes that will be used for the plot. In this case, the data frame is *Var_1*, the *x*-axis is the column *Data*, and the *y*-axis the column *Age*.

```
ggplot(Var_1, aes(x = Date, y = Age))
```

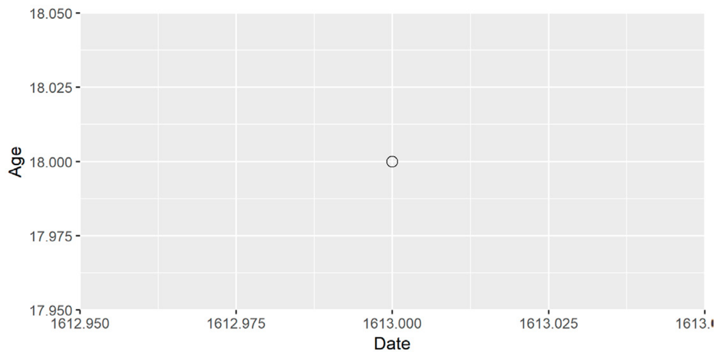
Running this line produces an empty plot. This is the framework of the visualisation that I will build upon by adding layers.



The next layer defines how the data should be displayed via one of the geom_ function. For example, the geom_bar() function shapes data as a bar chart, geom_boxplot() as a boxplot, and geom_line() a line diagram. For this example, I will use geom_point() to make a scatterplot. I add the shape and size arguments to change the appearance of the points.

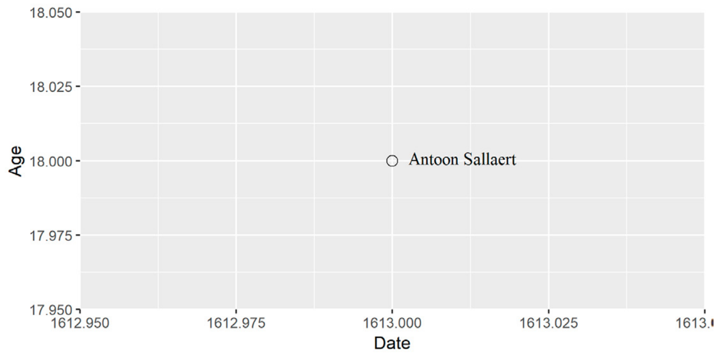
```
ggplot(Var_1, aes(Date, Age)) +
   geom_point(shape = 1, size = 3)
```

This extra line thus adds the information from the data frame to the plot in the desired shape. In this case, it only adds one point with Sallaert's age at the time he was registered as a master.



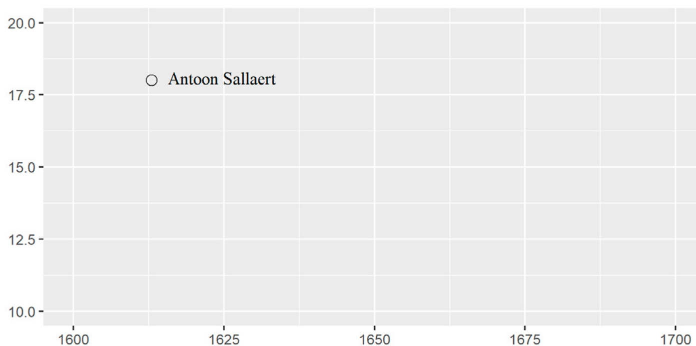
The different geom_ functions can also be combined by adding another layer. This offers many possibilities. For example, you can enrich a boxplot by placing a scatterplot over it or clarify a bar chart with a trendline. I will complement Sallaert's point with a label via geom_text(). I specify that the label can be found in the *Name* column, use the family argument to change the font, and control the horizontal and vertical justification of the label with the hjust and vjust arguments.

```
ggplot(Var_1, aes(x = Date, y = Age)) +
   geom_point(shape = 1, size = 3) +
   geom_text(aes(label = Name), family = 'serif', hjust = -0.15,
   vjust = 0.3)
```



In the next layers, I format the axes. First, I set their lower and upper scale limits via the xlim() and ylim() functions. In this case, I want to plot Sallaert's master registration on a seventeenth-century timeline, so I set the *x*-axis limits from 1600 to 1700. For Sallaert's age, I set the *y*-axis limits from 10 to 20. Second, I add the argument NULL to the xlab() and ylab() functions to remove the axes' default labels.

```
ggplot(Var_1, aes(x = Date, y = Age)) +
   geom_point(shape = 1, size = 3) +
   geom_text(aes(label = Name), family = 'serif', hjust = -0.15,
   vjust = 0.3) +
   xlim(1600, 1700) + ylim(10, 20) +
   xlab(NULL) + ylab(NULL)
```



In the last layer, I customise the non-data components of the plot. For this, I use a slightly tweaked version of one of the standard themes available in *ggplot2*: theme_light(). This theme uses light grey lines and axes to direct more attention towards the data. I modified it by changing the font and font size via the text argument in

the theme() function. Note that I also added the <- operator to assign the plot to a vector named Plot_1.

```
Plot_1 <- ggplot(Var_1, aes(x = Date, y = Age)) +
   geom_point(shape = 1, size = 3) +
   geom_text(aes(label = Name), family = 'serif', hjust = -0.15,
   vjust = 0.3) +
   xlim(1600, 1700) + ylim(10, 20) +
   ylab(NULL) + xlab(NULL) +
   theme_light() +
   theme(text = element_text(family = 'serif', size = 11))
```

Finally, I export the visualisation to the assigned working directory on my computer via the *ggplot2* function ggsave(). The arguments within this function allow me to set the name and type of the file, which plot I want to save, the plot's size in units, and its resolution.

```
ggsave(file = 'Fig_C.png', Plot_1, width = 16, height = 16, units =
'cm', dpi = 300)
```

The result is a scatter plot with Sallaert's age at the time of his master registration as the only point on a seventeenth-century timeline.

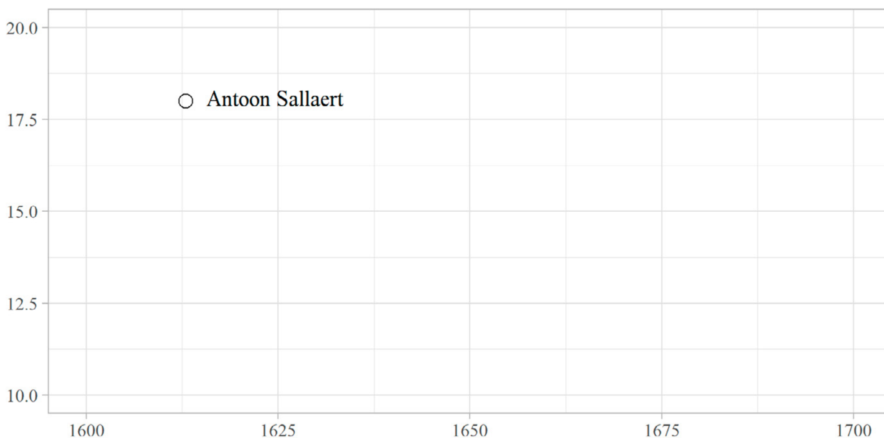


Fig. C. Antoon Sallaert's age at the time of his master registration on a seventeenth-century timeline.

Appendix 2. Alphabetical List of Master Painters (n = 353) Registered as Apprentices, Masters, and Deans in the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers, 1599–1706

NAME	APPRENTICE	MASTER	DEAN
Abbe, Hendrick		1676 (master)	
Achtschellinck, Lucas	1639	1657 (master)	1687
Achtschellinck, Pieter	1643	1651 (master)	
Allaert, Godfried	1610	1624 (master)	
Allaert, Michiel		1677 (master's son)	1685
Artois, Jacques	1625	1634 (master)	
Artois, Jan Baptist		1657 (master's son)	
Artois, Nicolaes		1640 (master)	
Arys, Jan	1631	1644 (master)	1660
Barbiers, Antoon		1703 (*reconue*)	
Basavechia, Egidius		1693 (master)	1734, 1735, 1736
Bedet, Boudewyn		1650 (master)	
Benoot, Michiel	1606	1614 (master)	
Berckay, Adriaen	1604	1607 (master)	
Bertreyn, Nicolaes	1616	1640 (master)	
Besoete, Hans	1605	1614 (master)	
Bettens, Pieter		1698 (master)	
Boelie, Francois		1698 (*reconue*)	
Boerman, Jan		1613 (master)	
Bonnecroy, Jan Baptist		1665 (*cortosie*)	
Boot, Antoon	1612	1622 (master)	
Boudewyns, Adriaen Francois	1665	1665 (master)	1682
Bouillon, Jan		1606 (master)	
Boulengier, Willem	1615	1622 (master)	
Bout, Pieter Jan		1671 (master)	
Breughel, Hieronymus		1695 (master)	
Breughel, Paulus		1699 (master)	
Britseels, Antoon		1649 (master's son)	
Britseels, Philips	1599	1607 (master)	
Broeckmans, Andries	1678	1685 (master)	
Busset, Pieter		1624 (master)	
Carega, Pieter Francois	1630	1641 (master)	

NAME	APPRENTICE	MASTER	DEAN
Casier, Laurys	1688	1694 (master)	
Caussens, Nicolaes	1606	1613 (master)	
Claerbodts, Jan	1608	1631 (master)	1631, 1636, 1640, 1649, 1656, 1660
Claessens, Gillis		1601 (master)	
Claessens, Jan Baptist		1651 (master's son)	
Colyns, Ferdinand	1673	1689 (master)	
Coppens, Augustyn		1698 (master)	1707, 1708, 1709, 1710, 1729, 1730, 1731, 1732, 1733
Coppens, Francois		1650 (master's son)	
Coppens, Jan Francois		1678 (master's son)	
Coppens, Pieter	1603	1611 (master)	1635, 1641, 1642
Cortvrindt, Jan		1662 (master)	
Cousin, Louis	1617	1661 (*cortosie*)	
Dandelot, Robert	1632	1648 (master)	
De Backer, Egidius		1666 (master's son)	
De Backer, Johannes Baptist		1671 (master's son)	
De Backer, Philips	1608	1614 (master)	
De Backer, Pieter		1643 (master)	
De Bargas, Francois		1692 (master)	1698, 1702, 1703
De Beet, Daniel		1661 (master)	
De Bie, Adriaen		1696 (*reconue*)	
De Bie, Ignatius		1696 (*reconue*)	
De Blondel, Lambert		1651 (master)	
De Bois, Francois		1616 (master)	
De Bontridder, Hendrick	1616	1636 (master)	
De Bruyn, Gabriel		1663 (master's son)	
De Bruyn, Jacob		1681 (master's son)	
De Bruyn, Jan Baptist		1616 (master)	
De Caron, Adriaen	1692	1696 (master)	1713, 1715, 1716, 1722, 1723, 1724
De Champaigne, Jan Baptist		1670 (master)	
De Clerck, Angelus		1619 (master)	
De Coninck, David		1701 (*reconue*)	
De Crayer, Gaspar		1607 (master)	1614, 1615
De Groete, Maximiliaen		1600 (master's son)	
De Gruyter, Francois	1613	1620 (master)	
De Gyn, Willem	1653	1667 (*cortosie*)	

NAME	APPRENTICE	MASTER	DEAN
De Haese, Jan	1634	1650 (master)	
De Haese, Michiel	1601	1610 (master)	
De Hemelaer, Hendrick	1657	1657 (master)	
De Hondt, Ignatius		1699 (*reconue*)	
De Hondt, Lambert		1678 (master)	
De Kegel, Severyn	1613	1617 (master)	
De la Court, Maerten		1673 (*reconue*)	
De Mediena, Jan Baptist		1681 (*reconue*)	
De Meester, Jacques Antoon	1627	1645 (master)	1655, 1656
De Moralis, Jan		1611 (master)	
De Moy, Willem	1611	1619 (master)	
De Nef, Francois		1699 (*reconue*)	
De Noye, Michiel		1605 (master)	
De Paege, Jan		1613 (master's son)	1623, 1630
De Peuter, Jacob	1645	1657 (master)	
De Peuter, Jan		1663 (master's son)	
De Potter, Jan	1614	1632 (master)	
De Prins, Lambert		1636 (master)	
De Prins, Michiel		1663 (master's son)	
De Prins, Willem		1624 (master)	
De Roy, Jan	1610	1620 (master)	
De Sainneville, Michiel	1636	1639 (master)	
De Smedt, Francois	1640	1653 (master)	
De Smedt, Nicolaes	1637	1645 (master)	
De Vadder, Louis		1628 (master)	
De Vadder, Philips	1606	1613 (master)	
De Vleeshouwer, Louis	1643	1651 (master)	
De Vocht, Pieter		1682 (*reconue*)	
De Vos, Jan		1616 (master)	
De Vos, Jan	1602	1625 (master)	
De Vreese, Americus	1602	1613 (master)	
De Vreese, Philips		1614 (master)	
De Vries, Hendrick		1602 (master)	
De Wemer, Laurys	1640	1651 (master)	
Demens, Jan		1666 (master)	
Deschamps, Jan Baptist	1651	1660 (master)	
Dierdone, Bernard	1607	1614 (master)	
Diertyts, Severyn	1615	1624 (master)	1636, 1643, 1652

NAME	APPRENTICE	MASTER	DEAN
Ditman, Adam	1609	1621 (master)	
Doms, Jan	1613	1625 (master)	
Donckerwolck, Gillis	1652	1662 (master)	
Donckerwolck, Joris		1600 (master)	
Du Bael, [NN]		1678 (master)	
Duchatel, Simon		1657 (*cortosie*)	
Eyckens, Francois		1666 (master)	
Eyckens, Pieter		1705 (*reconue*)	
Floris, Cornelis		1620 (master)	
Floris, Francois		1607 (master's son)	
Foarge, Jan		1698 (*reconue*)	
Fortuyn, Michiel	1659	1667 (master)	
Foucquier, Jacques		1616 (master)	
Fremont, Jan	1610	1614 (master)	
Galle, Hieronymus		1681 (*reconue*)	
Goddaert, Hans	1602	1609 (master)	
Goddyn, Paulus		1617 (master)	
Goffin, Christoffel		1647 (master)	1654, 1670, 1671
Grondone, Jan Baptist	1603	1604 (master)	
Habaert, Gelaude	1606	1620 (master)	
Habaert, Gelaude		1666 (master's son)	
Hanebal, Jacob		1611 (master's son)	
Happrons, Jacob		1699 (master)	
Hardies, Michiel		1606 (master)	
Hellinck, Pieter	1653	1657 (master)	1676, 1677, 1679, 1680
Heretibaudt, Hendrick		1690 (master)	1702
Herrebos, Pieter		1673 (master)	
Herssel, Carel	1610	1614 (master)	
Heunis, Maerten	1608	1613 (master)	1617, 1623, 1628, 1629
Huysmans, Cornelis		1675 (master)	
Huysmans, Jacob		1681 (*reconue*), 1693 (master)	
Jacobs, Carel		1705 (master)	
Jacobs, Lanceloot	1604	1619 (master)	
Jacqmin, Francois		1700 (*reconue*)	
Janssens, Nicolaes	1609	1619 (master)	
Janssens, Pieter		1701 (*reconue*)	
Janssens, Victor	1675	1689 (master)	1699

NAME	APPRENTICE	MASTER	DEAN
Janssens, Wouter	1606	1610 (master)	
Juwet, Pieter	1632	1638 (master)	
Kerckjans, Cornelis	1614	1627 (master)	1652, 1661, 1662
La Court, Pieter	1653	1698 (*reconue*)	
Laboureur, Joseph	1691	1705 (master)	
Lamberto, Judocus	1670	1680 (master)	
Lambillot, Maerten		1618 (master)	
Lambillot, Maerten		1641 (master's son)	
Lambillot, Pieter		1684 (master's son)	
Lambillot, Willem		1657 (master)	
Lauwers, Willem	1630	1641 (master)	
Le Bron, Pieter		1698 (*reconue*)	
Le Fils, Johannes Francois		1682 (master)	
Le Fils, Pieter		1694 (master)	
Le Moen, Denys		1705 (*reconue*)	
Le Post, Thomas	1626	1636 (master)	
Leermans, Pieter		1676 (master)	
Lefebure, Lanceloot		1609 (master)	
Lemmens, Simon	1639	1644 (master)	
Leonardi, Jan		1673 (master)	
Leshayeer, Balthasar	1638	1664 (*cortosie*)	
Letaer, Nicolaes	1631	1638 (master)	
Levens, Alexander	1608	1615 (master)	
Leyniers, Daniel		1645 (master)	1653, 1659
Leyniers, Gillis		1618 (master)	1619, 1624, 1637, 1648
Luppens, Passchier	1606	1613 (master)	
Maheu, Willem		1611 (master)	1621
Marco, Jan	1608	1610 (master)	
Marines, Jan	1665	1690 (master)	
Marius, Nicolaes	1605	1614 (master)	
Martini, Francisco	1642	1650 (master)	
Matthysens, Francois		1622 (master's son)	
Meerts, Pieter	1629	1640 (master)	
Merlin, Christoffel		1647 (master)	
Merlin, Jan		1672 (master's son)	
Mertens, Jan		1599 (master's son)	
Mertens, Michiel		1601 (master's son)	
Meysens, Gerard	1653	1655 (master)	

NAME	APPRENTICE	MASTER	DEAN
Meysens, Jan	1629	1634 (master)	
Michau, Theobald	1686	1698, 1699 (*reconue*)	
Morels, Jan Baptist		1700 (*reconue*)	
Morren, Francois	1643	1646 (master)	
Mossens, Francois		1618 (master)	
Mossens, Francois		1644 (master's son)	
Mossens, Joos		1679 (master's son)	
Mottemont, Sebastiaen		1680 (*reconue*)	
Noveliers, David		1610 (master's son)	
Noveliers, Jan	1605	1614 (master)	1644, 1645, 1650, 1651
Noveliers, Salomon		1614 (master's son)	
Noveliers, Salomon		1645 (master's son)	
Numandts, Egidius		1690 (master)	
Nyts, Jacques	1631	1640 (master)	1646, 1647, 1655, 1656
Pilemans, Herman		1702 (*reconue*)	
Pins, Thomas	1661	1670 (master)	1689, 1698
Planchon, Daniel Louis		1706 (master)	
Pletinckx, Johannes		1692 (master)	
Quebout, Francois		1702 (*reconue*)	
Raymon, Antoon Wenceslas		1699 (*reconue*)	
Regaets, Jacques		1610 (master)	1614
Reps, Francois	1673	1682 (master)	1690, 1725, 1726
Reysbracht, [NN]		1703 (*reconue*)	
Roemart, [NN]		1698 (*reconue*)	
Rogaerts, Godfried		1611 (master's son)	
Rombouts, Matthys		1694 (master)	
Rossinol, Jan Baptist	1654	1676 (master)	
Rurinckx, Everard	1611	1631 (master)	
Sallaert, Antoon	1606	1613 (master)	1633, 1646, 1647
Sallaert, Jan Baptist	1629	1644 (master)	1653, 1657, 1658
Sallaert, Melchior	1621	1631 (master)	1665, 1666, 1672
Sapien, Antoon	1633	1636 (master)	
Schinckels, Nicolaes	1630	1640 (master)	
Schoevaert, Francois		1704 (master)	
Schoevaert, Matthys	1682	1690 (master)	1692, 1693, 1696
Schuyle, Pieter		1626 (master)	
Seghers, Dominicus	1602	1604 (master)	1624
Seghers, Pieter		1646 (master's son)	

NAME	APPRENTICE	MASTER	DEAN
Seldron, Elisabeth		1702 (*reconue*)	
Sergos, Philips		1607 (master's son)	
Snayers, Pieter		1628 (master)	
Snellinckx, Gerard		1603 (master)	
Snyders, Pieter		1705 (*reconue*)	
Spierinckx, Carel Philips	1612	1622 (master)	
Steck, Coryn	1615	1622 (master)	
Storm, Joris	1600	1607 (master)	
Symons, Quinten	1613	1614 (master)	1632
Tassaert, Nicolaes	1611	1614 (master)	
Teniers, David		1675 (master)	
Thielemans, Adriaen	1688	1690 (master)	
Thielen, Francois		1680 (master)	
Toussaint, Francois	1656	1673 (master)	
Trippaert, Jan		1600 (master)	1608, 1616, 1620
Van Achter, Lieven Illewardus	1686	1698 (*reconue*)	
Van Auwerkerck, Gillis	1660	1676 (master)	
Van Avont, Alexander	1640	1653 (master)	
Van Avont, Jan	1673	1675 (master)	
Van Baeckegom, Carolus	1676	1685 (master)	1691
Van Beckberghe, Pieter		1628 (master's son)	
Van Bellinghen, Nicolaes	1613	1624 (master)	
Van Bemel, Gerard		1662 (master)	
Van Bentem, Hans		1599 (master's son)	
Van Berenbroeck, Antoon	1611	1623 (master)	
Van Beyeren, Willem	1610	1640 (master)	
Van Blayenbergh, Gillis	1622	1633 (master)	1640
Van Bremt, Francois		1698 (*reconue*)	
Van Bremt, Jan Carel		1663 (master)	
Van Craesbeeck, Joos		1651 (master)	
Van Cutsem, Michiel	1692	1699 (master)	1711, 1712
Van Daele, Hendrick Carel	1662	1675 (master)	
Van Daele, Jan	1621	1640 (master)	
Van Daele, Jan	1645	1658 (master)	1700, 1701
Van Dapels, Philips	1654	1669 (master)	
Van den Bemde, Gaspar		1654 (master)	
Van den Broeck, Adriaen	1631	1648 (master)	
Van den Dries, Jacob	1640	1657 (master)	

NAME	APPRENTICE	MASTER	DEAN
Van den Eynde, Hans	1608	1611 (master)	
Van den Houten, Hendrick		1699 (master)	1704, 1705, 1706
Van den Pleyne, Louis	1603	1604 (master)	
Van den Winckel, Joos	1620	1631 (master)	
Van den Winckel, Pieter		1654 (master's son)	1667, 1668, 1673, 1675
Van der Baeren, Philips	1640	1649 (master)	
Van der Borcht, Francois	1620	1639 (master)	
Van der Borcht, Pieter	1604	1625 (master)	1639
Van der Bought, Jacob		1699 (master)	
Van der Bruggen, Jan	1662	1673 (master)	
Van der Cappen, Francois		1701 (*reconue*)	
Van der Elst, Andries		1700 (master)	
Van der Elst, Brixius	1609	1614 (master)	
Van der Elst, Maximiliaen	1612	1620 (master)	1625, 1638
Van der Elst, Philips	1620	1625 (master)	1637, 1644, 1645
Van der Heyden, Jacob		1679 (master)	
Van der Heyden, Jacob		1700 (master)	
Van der Laemen, Jacques		1616 (master)	
Van der Marcken, [NN]		1702 (*reconue*)	
Van der Meren, Antoon		1599 (master's son)	1610, 1618
Van der Meulen, Adam Francois	1646	1651 (master)	
Van der Plancken, Andries		1685 (master)	1686
Van der Plas, Francois	1610	1619 (master)	
Van der Plas, Pieter		1636 (master)	
Van der Sanden, Jan	1632	1644 (master)	
Van der Stock, Ignatius	1653	1660 (master)	
Van der Venne, Jan		1616 (master)	
Van der Venne, Maerten		1619 (master)	
Van der Venne, Maerten		1650 (master's son)	
Van der Vinne, Jan		1654 (master)	
Van der Vinne, Nicolaes	1632	1640 (master)	
Van Diest, Johannes Baptist	1675	1694 (master)	
Van Divoer, Adam		1701 (master)	
Van Dynen, Jan Carel		1701 (*reconue*)	
Van Eeverenbroot, Cornelis	1610	1613 (master)	
Van Eeverenbroot, Michiel	1621	1628 (master)	1650, 1651
Van Empel, Cornelis	1643	1662 (*cortosie*)	
Van Eyck, Gaspar		1657 (master)	

NAME	APPRENTICE	MASTER	DEAN
Van Froonhoven, Francois	1640	1657 (master)	
Van Geel, Carel		1694 (master)	
Van Geel, Carel Alexander	1635	1645 (master)	
Van Geel, Jan Baptist		1669 (master's son)	
Van Geel, Nicolaes		1677 (master)	
Van Gindertaelen, Pieter	1636	1641 (master)	
Van Gindertaelen, Pieter	1627	1645 (master)	
Van Greuls, Thomas		1682 (*reconue*)	
Van Heil, Daniel		1627 (master's son)	1648, 1654
Van Heil, Jan Baptist		1643 (master's son)	
Van Heil, Leo		1600 (master)	
Van Heil, Leo		1627 (master's son)	1643
Van Heil, Theodoor		1668 (master's son)	1683, 1684
Van Helmont, Jan		1705 (*reconue*)	
Van Helmont, Matthys		1674 (master)	
Van Hersen, Alexander		1658 (master's son)	
Van Hoochstadt, Gerard	1604	1609 (master)	1620, 1630, 1641, 1642
Van Nerve, Michiel	1660	1660 (master)	
Van Niverseel, Francois	1644	1653 (master)	
Van Nuvel, Quireyn		1680 (master)	1694, 1695, 1697
Van Obberghen, Francois	1613	1623 (master)	1625
Van Opstal, Antoon	1606	1616 (master)	1626, 1635, 1639
Van Opstal, Jan		1650 (master's son)	1657, 1658
Van Orley, Francois		1635 (master's son)	
Van Orley, Hieronymus		1624 (master's son)	
Van Orley, Pieter		1661 (master's son)	1678, 1688
Van Orley, Richard		1638 (master)	
Van Potteloy, Pieter		1609 (master's son)	
Van Rampelbergh, Bernard	1614	1628 (master)	
Van Reykel, Gerard Antoon		1680 (*reconue*)	
Van Rillaert, Willem		1666 (master's son)	1681
Van Schelle, Antoon		1599 (master)	
Van Schoor, Daniel		1643 (master's son)	
Van Schoor, Francois		1700 (master)	
Van Schoor, Louis		1678 (master)	
Van Schoor, Willem	1637	1644 (master)	
Van Seulper, Jacob		1626 (master)	
Van Stichel, Catharina		1702 (*reconue*)	

NAME	APPRENTICE	MASTER	DEAN
Van Tilborgh, Gillis		1654 (master)	1663, 1664
Van Veen, Otto		1620 (master)	
Van Velthoven, Jan		1610 (master)	1649
Van Vichel, Hans	1604	1628 (master)	
Van Werckhoven, Michiel		1615 (master)	
Van Worms, Jacques		1610 (master's son)	
Van Yperseel, Willem		1624 (master)	
Van Zeunen, Nicolaes	1599	1618 (master)	
Verberghen, Jacob		1614 (master)	
Verbruggen, Lenard	1609	1620 (master)	
Verheul, Jacob		1705 (*reconue*)	
Verschuren, Jan	1657	1657 (master)	
Vogelsanck, Francois		1660 (*cortosie*)	
Volders, Lanceloot	1650	1657 (master)	
Volsom, Jan		1664 (master)	
Waeykarts, Lucas	1608	1623 (master)	
Wautier, Charles		1651 (master)	
Wauwermans, David		1658 (master)	
Wauwermans, Hendrick		1628 (master's son)	
Willemont, [NN]		1691 (master)	
Zerckenis, Nicolaes		1614 (master)	

All data in this table is derived from the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries registers of the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers (BRA, GA 818 and 819).

Appendix 3. Alphabetical List of Master Painters (n = 353) and the Years and Parishes of their Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials

NAME	BAPTISM	MARRIAGE	SPOUSE'S NAME	BURIAL
Abbe, Hendrick	1639 (A, OL South)	1675 (B, SM and SG)	Anna Catharina Waterloos	
Achtschellinck, Lucas	1626 (B, SM and SG)	1674 (B, OL of Finistère)	Anna Parys	1699 (B, SM and SG)
Achtschellinck, Pieter	1628 (B, SM and SG)			1683 (B, SM and SG)
Allaert, Godfried		1623 (B, SM and SG)	Susanna De Vers	
Allaert, Michiel	1651 (B, SM and SG)	1676 (B, SM and SG)	Eleonora Seghers	
Artois, Jacques	1613 (B, SM and SG)	1632 (B, OL of the Chapel)	Maria Sammels	1686 (B, SM and SG)
Artois, Jan Baptist	1638 (B, SM and SG)	1662 (B, SN)	Elisabeth Van der Dorp	1662 (B, SM and SG)
Artois, Nicolaes	1617 (B, SM and SG)	1637 (B, SM and SG) 1637 (B, SC)	Anna Van Conincxloo Anna Van Conincxloo	
Arys, Jan	1617 (B, SG)	1639 (B, SN)	Maria Goedenaer	
Barbiers, Antoon	1666 (B, SG)			
Basavechia, Egidius	1678 (B, OL of the Chapel)	1708 (B, SN)	Francisca Bruez	
Bedet, Boudewyn		1649 (B, SN)	Maria Van Scherrebroeck	
Benoot, Michiel	1593 (B, SM and SG)			
Berckay, Adriaen				
Bertreyn, Nicolaes	1597 (B, SM and SG)			
Besoete, Hans		1614 (B, OL of the Chapel)	Janneke Robolus	
Bettens, Pieter				
Boelie, Francois		1692 (B, SM and SG)	Johanna Agnes Compas	
Boerman, Jan	1592 (B, SM and SG)			

NAME	BAPTISM	MARRIAGE	SPOUSE'S NAME	BURIAL
Bonnecroy, Jan Baptist	1618 (A, OL North)			
Boot, Antoon	1600 (B, SM and SG)			
Boudewyns, Adriaen Francois	1644 (B, SN)	1664 (B, SG) 1678 (B, SG)	Ludovica De Ceul Elisabeth Remacle	1719 (B, OL of the Chapel)
Bouillon, Jan				
Boulengier, Willem				
Bout, Pieter Jan		1667 (B, SM and SG) 1667 (B, OL of the Chapel)	Johanna Garneveldt Johanna Garneveldt	1689 (OH, SN)
Breughel, Hieronymus	1665 (B, SM and SG)	1690 (B, SM and SG)	Catharina Waude	
Breughel, Paulus	1669 (B, SM and SG)	1696 (B, SC)	Catharina Van Lack	1738 (B, OL of Finistère)
Britseels, Antoon	1622 (B, OL of the Chapel)			
Britseels, Philips				
Broeckmans, Andries	1666 (B, OL of the Chapel)			
Busset, Pieter				
Carega, Pieter Francois	1617 (B, SM and SG)			
Casier, Laurys	1674 (B, OL of the Chapel)			
Caussens, Nicolaes	1592 (B, SM and SG)	1620 (B, SJ on the Coudenberg)	Johanna De Meulder	
Claerbodts, Jan				
Claessens, Gillis		1600 (B, SM and SG)	Catharina Waleyns de Hasseleer	
Claessens, Jan Baptist	1607 (B, SM and SG)			
Colyns, Ferdinand		1684 (B, OL of Finistère)	Johanna Maria Adriani	1709 (B, SC)
Coppens, Augustyn	1668 (B, SM and SG)			1740 (B, SM and SG)
Coppens, Francois	1628 (B, SM and SG)	1656 (B, SM and SG)	Anna Maria Hermans	1685 (B, SM and SG)

NAME	BAPTISM	MARRIAGE	SPOUSE'S NAME	BURIAL
Coppens, Jan Francois	1657 (B, SM and SG)	1678 (B, SM and SG)	Elisabeth Van Viane	1687 (B, SC)
Coppens, Pieter		1613 (B, SG)	Mechtilde Van Hasselt	1647 (B, SM and SG)
Cortvrindt, Jan		1655 (B, SN)	Maria Gotti	
Cousin, Louis				
Dandelot, Robert	1622 (B, SJ on the Coudenberg)			
De Backer, Egidius				
De Backer, Johannes Baptist		1670 (B, SN)	Johanna Meskens	
De Backer, Philips	1594 (B, SM and SG)	1620 (B, OL of the Chapel)	Maria Noveliers	
De Backer, Pieter	1615 (B, SM and SG)			
De Bargas, Francois		1689 (B, SN) 1705 (B, SG) 1722 (B, SG)	Maria Anna Van der Bruggen Barbara Theresia De Vos Anna Maria Van den Velde	1723 (B, SM and SG)
De Beet, Daniel				
De Bie, Adriaen	1667 (L, SGU)	1699 (B, SM and SG)	Dorothea Van Turnhout	
De Bie, Ignatius	1675 (L, SGU)			
De Blondel, Lambert	1631 (B, OL of the Chapel)	1651 (B, SJ on the Coudenberg)	Anna Matthysens	
De Bois, Francois		1623 (B, SM and SG)	Barbara Drousaert	
De Bontridder, Hendrick	1601 (B, SM and SG)	1636 (B, SC)	Catharina Claessens	
De Bruyn, Gabriel	1610 (B, SM and SG)	1636 (B, SC)	Francisca Schoevaert	
De Bruyn, Jacob	1647 (B, SN)			
De Bruyn, Jan Baptist				
De Caron, Adriaen	1672 (B, OL of the Chapel)			
De Champaigne, Jan Baptist	1631 (B, SJ on the Coudenberg)			

NAME	BAPTISM	MARRIAGE	SPOUSE'S NAME	BURIAL
De Clerck, Angelus	1599 (B, OL of the Chapel)			
De Coninck, David	1643 (A, OL North)			1703 (B, SG)
De Crayer, Gaspar	1584 (A, OL)	1613 (B, SM and SG)	Catharina Janssens	1669 (G, DM)
De Groete, Maximiliaen		1599 (B, OL of the Chapel)	Maaike Van Vilvoorde	
De Gruyter, Francois	1597 (B, SM and SG)			
De Gyn, Willem	1639 (B, OL of the Chapel)			
De Haese, Jan	1616 (B, SM and SG)			
De Haese, Michiel	1588 (B, OL of the Chapel)	1611 (B, OL of the Chapel) 1611 (B, SM and SG)	Maria Halfhuys Maria Halfhuys	
De Hemelaer, Hendrick	1625 (M, SK)			
De Hondt, Ignatius	1680 (B, SJ on the Coudenberg)			1710 (B, SG)
De Hondt, Lambert	1642 (M, SK)	1673 (M, SP and P)	Magdalena Mourissens	1708 (B, SG)
De Kegel, Severyn	1598 (B, SC)			
De la Court, Maerten		1664 (B, SM and SG)	Anna Van Oppy	
De Mediena, Jan Baptist				
De Meester, Jacques Antoon	1613 (B, OL of the Chapel)			
De Moralis, Jan				
De Moy, Willem	1596 (B, SM and SG)			
De Nef, Francois				
De Noye, Michiel				
De Paege, Jan				
De Peuter, Jacob	1628 (B, SM and SG)			

NAME	BAPTISM	MARRIAGE	SPOUSE'S NAME	BURIAL
De Peuter, Jan		1659 (B, SC) 1659 B, SM and SG) 1661 (B, SN)	Clara Allaert Clara Allaert Elisabeth Aerts	
De Potter, Jan		1627 (B, SM and SG)	Cathelyne Halfhuys	
De Prins, Lambert		1647 (B, SG)	Barbara De Lange	
De Prins, Michiel	1647 (B, SG)			
De Prins, Willem				
De Roy, Jan				
De Sainneville, Michiel	1619 (B, SN)			
De Smedt, Francois	1624 (B, SM and SG)			
De Smedt, Nicolaes	1621 (B, SM and SG)			
De Vadder, Louis	1605 (B, OL of the Chapel)	1626 (B, SM and SG) 1627 (B, OL of the Chapel)	Susanna Tack Susanna Tack	1655 (B, SM and SG)
De Vadder, Philips	1590 (B, SM and SG)			
De Vleeshouwer, Louis	1630 (B, SM and SG)			
De Vocht, Pieter				
De Vos, Jan				
De Vos, Jan		1624 (B, SM and SG)	Anna De Cassenaer	
De Vreese, Americus				
De Vreese, Philips		1614 (B, OL of the Chapel)	Barbara Clinaert	
De Vries, Hendrick		1602 (B, SM and SG)	Catharina Marschalck	
De Wemer, Laurys	1627 (B, SN)	1654 (B, SN)	Maria Mersman	
Demens, Jan				
Deschamps, Jan Baptist	1635 (B, SM and SG)			

NAME	BAPTISM	MARRIAGE	SPOUSE'S NAME	BURIAL
Dierdone, Bernard				
Diertyts, Severyn	1600 (B, SM and SG)	1634 (B, SM and SG)	Catharina Junniez	1656 (B, SM and SG)
Ditman, Adam	1596 (B, SM and SG)			
Doms, Jan	1596 (B, SM and SG)			
Donckerwolck, Gillis	1636 (B, SG)			
Donckerwolck, Joris				
Du Bael, [NN]				
Duchatel, Simon				
Eyckens, Francois	1601 (A, Sint-Walburgis)	1635 (A, OL South)	Catharina Flocquet	
Eyckens, Pieter				
Floris, Cornelis	1595 (A, OL)	1624 (B, SN)	Jacoba Timmermans	
Floris, Francois	1587 (B, SM and SG)			
Foarge, Jan				
Fortuyn, Michiel	1645 (B, SM and SG)			
Foucquier, Jacques	1590 (A, OL)			
Fremont, Jan	1591 (B, SM and SG)			
Galle, Hieronymus	1625 (A, OL South)			
Goddaert, Hans				
Goddyn, Paulus	1590 (B, SM and SG)	1617 (B, SM and SG)	Apollonia Tassaert	
Goffin, Christoffel	1620 (B, OL of the Chapel)	1644 (B, OL of the Chapel)	Cornelia Van den Brand	
Grondone, Jan Baptist	1586 (B, SM and SG)			
Habaert, Gelaude	1591 (B, SM and SG)	1623 (B, SM and SG)	Johanna Nole	
Habaert, Gelaude	1629 (B, SM and SG)	1678 (B, SN)	Anna Van der Bruggen	

NAME	BAPTISM	MARRIAGE	SPOUSE'S NAME	BURIAL
Hanebal, Jacob				
Happrons, Jacob				
Hardies, Michiel				
Hellinck, Pieter	1637 (B, SN)			
Heretibaudt, Hendrick	1661 (B, SG)	1686 (B, SM and SG)	Anna Helena Danckaert	
Herrebos, Pieter	1645 (B, SC)	1676 (B, SG)	Catharina Van der Schuren	
Herssel, Carel	1596 (B, SM and SG)			
Heunis, Maerten		1614 (B, SM and SG)	Agnes De Loy	
Huysmans, Cornelis	1648 (A, OL South)	1683 (M, OL across the river Dijle)	Anna Maria Scheppers	1727 (M, SJO)
Huysmans, Jacob				
Jacobs, Carel				
Jacobs, Lanceloot				
Jacqmin, Francois				
Janssens, Nicolaes		1612 (B, SG)	Francisca Goens	
Janssens, Pieter				
Janssens, Victor	1658 (B, SM and SG)	1690 (B, SG)	Jacoba Van Dyck	1736 (B, SG)
Janssens, Wouter		1605 (B, OL of the Chapel)	Maria De Vos	
Juwet, Pieter	1613 (B, SM and SG)			
Kerckjans, Cornelis	1599 (B, SG)			
La Court, Pieter				
Laboureur, Joseph				
Lamberto, Judocus				

NAME	BAPTISM	MARRIAGE	SPOUSE'S NAME	BURIAL
Lambillot, Maerten		1615 (B, SM and SG) 1615 (B, SC)	Anna Van der Vinne Anna Van der Vinne	
Lambillot, Maerten	1617 (B, SC)	1646 (B, SN)	Barbara Huysmans	
Lambillot, Pieter	1652 (B, SM and SG)			
Lambillot, Willem	1635 (B, SC)			
Lauwers, Willem	1617 (B, SC)	1644 (B, SM and SG) 1644 (B, SC)	Anna De Schampeler Anna De Schampeler	
Le Bron, Pieter				
Le Fils, Johannes Francois	1666 (B, SM and SG)			
Le Fils, Pieter Joseph	1670 (B, OL of the Chapel)			
Le Moen, Denys				
Le Post, Thomas	1611 (B, SM and SG)			
Leermans, Pieter		1685 (B, SJ on the Coudenberg)	Elisabeth Van den Velde	1710 (B, SG)
Lefebure, Lanceloot		1608 (B, SG) 1608 (B, OL of the Chapel) 1637 (B, SG)	Esther Van der Balen Esther Van der Balen Johanna Herinckx	
Lemmens, Simon	1621 (B, SN)	1644 (B, SC)	Anna Van Dyck	
Leonardi, Jan				
Leshayeer, Balthasar				
Letaer, Nicolaes	1615 (B, SM and SG)			
Levens, Alexander		1615 (B, SM and SG)	Margareta Micheli	
Leyniers, Daniel	1618 (B, SG)	1648 (B, SG) 1676 (B, SM and SG) 1684 (B, SM and SG)	Maria Du Bree Jacoba Wets Elisabeth De Byter	1688 (B, SG)
Leyniers, Gillis		1617 (B, SG)	Magdalena Willems	

NAME	BAPTISM	MARRIAGE	SPOUSE'S NAME	BURIAL
Luppens, Passchier		1614 (B, OL of the Chapel) 1614 (B, SM and SG)	Anna De Haese Anna De Haese	
Maheu, Willem	1587 (B, SM and SG)	1620 (B, OL of the Chapel)	Maria De Gruyter	
Marco, Jan	1590 (B, SM and SG)			
Marines, Jan				
Marius, Nicolaes				
Martini, Francisco	1626 (B, SJ on the Coudenberg)	1658 (B, SN)	Johanna Asbroeck	
Matthysens, Francois				
Meerts, Pieter	1618 (B, SC)			1669 (B, SN)
Merlin, Christoffel				
Merlin, Jan	1649 (B, SM and SG)			
Mertens, Jan	1578 (B, SM and SG)			
Mertens, Michiel		1602 (B, SM and SG)	Magdalena Van Euwenbergh	
Meysens, Gerard	1632 (B, SG)	1662 (B, SM and SG)	Anna Blanx	
Meysens, Jan	1612 (B, SM and SG)	1634 (B, SG)	Anna Jacobs	
Michau, Theobald				
Morels, Jan Baptist				
Morren, Francois				
Mossens, Francois				
Mossens, Francois	1622 (B, OL of the Chapel)	1657 (B, SN) 1657 (B, SC)	Margareta De Neve Margareta De Neve	
Mossens, Joos	1654 (B, OL of the Chapel)	1678 (B, SG)	Clara Bastin	

NAME	BAPTISM	MARRIAGE	SPOUSE'S NAME	BURIAL
Mottemont, Sebastiaen				
Noveliers, David		1608 (B, SM and SG)	Sara Waleyns de Hasseleer	
Noveliers, Jan	1589 (B, SM and SG)	1619 (B, SM and SG)	Catharina Van den Hove	1679 (B, PC)
Noveliers, Salomon		1620 (B, OL of the Chapel)	Catharina Gibels	1660 (B, PC)
Noveliers, Salomon	1613 (B, OL of the Chapel)			1652 (B, OL of the Chapel)
Numandts, Egidius	1659 (B, OL of the Chapel)			
Nyts, Jacques		1643 (B, SG)	Maria Van den Velde	
Pilemans, Herman				
Pins, Thomas	1648 (B, SG)	1671 (B, SN)	Elisabeth Broeckmans	
Planchon, Daniel Louis	1678 (B, SJ on the Coudenberg)	1710 (B, OL of the Chapel)	Ludovica Pelagia De Camps	
Pletinckx, Johannes		1689 (B, SN)	Magdalena Van der Elst	
Quebout, Francois				
Raymon, Antoon Wenceslas		1706 (B, SC)	Susanna Cola	1742 (B, OL of Finistère)
Regaets, Jacques				
Reps, Francois	1660 (B, SG)	1685 (B, SG) 1709 (B, SN)	Jacoba Bassecour Anna Grimbergh	1717 (B, SC)
Reysbracht, [NN]				
Roemart, [NN]				
Rogaerts, Godfried		1611 (B, OL of the Chapel)	Maria Noveliers	
Rombouts, Matthys		1692 (B, OL of Finistère)	Johanna Blommaert	
Rossinol, Jan Baptist	1635 (B, SJ on the Coudenberg)			
Rurinckx, Everard		1644 (B, SG)	Johanna Steenberghe	
Sallaert, Antoon	1594 (B, OL of the Chapel)			1650 (B, OL of the Chapel)

NAME	BAPTISM	MARRIAGE	SPOUSE'S NAME	BURIAL
Sallaert, Jan Baptist	1612 (B, OL of the Chapel)	1644 (B, SN)	Monica Du Bois	
Sallaert, Melchior	1606 (B, OL of the Chapel)	1637 (B, OL of the Chapel)	Francisca Balleir	
Sapien, Antoon		1637 (B, OL of the Chapel)	Catharina Kints	
Schinckels, Nicolaes				
Schoevaert, Francois	1673 (B, SM and SG)	1709 (B, OL of the Chapel)	Maria Schelthiens	
Schoevaert, Matthys	1664 (B, SN)			
Schuyle, Pieter				
Seghers, Dominicus				
Seghers, Pieter	1618 (B, SM and SG)			
Seldron, Elisabeth		1749 (B, SG)	Ludovicus d'Ours	1761 (B, SC)
Sergos, Philips				
Snayers, Pieter	1592 (A, OL)	1618 (A, OL South)	Anna Schut	1667 (B, SM and SG)
Snellinckx, Gerard	1577 (A, OL)			
Snyders, Pieter	1681 (A, Sint-Jacob)	1726 (A, Sint-Joris)	Maria Catharina Van der Boven	
Spierinckx, Carel Philips	1598 (B, OL of the Chapel)			
Steck, Coryn	1602 (B, SG)			
Storm, Joris				
Symons, Quinten	1592 (B, SM and SG)			
Tassaert, Nicolaes				
Teniers, David	1638 (A, SJ)	1671 (D, OL)	Anna Maria Bonnarens	1685 (B, OL of the Chapel)
Thielemans, Adriaen	1666 (B, SN)	1691 (B, SN)	Charitas Van Oncen	
Thielen, Francois				

NAME	BAPTISM	MARRIAGE	SPOUSE'S NAME	BURIAL
Toussaint, Francois		1671 (B, SM and SG)	Anna Maria Bosmans	
Trippaert, Jan				
Van Achter, Lieven Illewardus				
Van Auwerkerck, Gillis	1645 (B, SM and SG)	1681 (B, OL of Finistère)	Maria Van den Velde	
Van Avont, Alexander	1624 (B, SM and SG)	1652 (B, SM and SG)	Maria Van Guerbeeck	
Van Avont, Jan				
Van Baeckegom, Carolus	1663 (B, SM and SG)	1692 (B, SG)	Fransisca Van der Noot	
Van Beckberghe, Pieter	1603 (B, SM and SG)	1627 (B, SG)	Virginea De Bordeaux	
Van Bellinghen, Nicolaes	1598 (B, SM and SG)	1629 (B, SN)	Elisabeth Parmentiers	
Van Bemel, Gerard				
Van Bentem, Hans				
Van Berenbroeck, Antoon	1601 (B, SG)			
Van Beyeren, Willem	1594 (B, SM and SG)	1637 (B, SM and SG)	Anna De Kerck	
Van Blayenbergh, Gillis	1606 (B, SG)			
Van Bremt, Francois		1697 (B, SC)	Elisabeth De Erfschutter	
Van Bremt, Jan Carel				
Van Craesbeeck, Joos		1631 (A, SF del Castilla)	Johanna Thielens	
Van Cutsem, Michiel				
Van Daele, Hendrick Carel				
Van Daele, Jan				
Van Daele, Jan		1659 (B, SN)	Judoca Meeus	
Van Dapels, Philips	1635 (B, SC)			
Van den Bemde, Gaspar				

NAME	BAPTISM	MARRIAGE	SPOUSE'S NAME	BURIAL
Van den Broeck, Adriaen	1614 (B, SM and SG)			
Van den Dries, Jacob	1625 (B, SM and SG)			
Van den Eynde, Hans				
Van den Houten, Hendrick				
Van den Pleyne, Louis				
Van den Winckel, Joos	1601 (B, SG)			
Van den Winckel, Pieter	1621 (B, SM and SG)			
Van der Baeren, Philips	1624 (B, SM and SG)	1652 (B, OL of the Chapel) 1652 (B, SM and SG)	Paulina Van Haren Paulina Van Haren	1664 (B, SM and SG)
Van der Borcht, Francois				
Van der Borcht, Pieter	1591 (B, SG)			
Van der Bought, Jacob				
Van der Bruggen, Jan				
Van der Cappen, Francois				
Van der Elst, Andries				
Van der Elst, Brixius	1597 (B, SC)			
Van der Elst, Maximiliaen	1597 (B, SM and SG)			
Van der Elst, Philips	1604 (B, SM and SG)			
Van der Heyden, Jacob		1679 (B, SC)	Anna Berot	
Van der Heyden, Jacob				
Van der Laemen, Jacques				
Van der Marcken, [NN]				
Van der Meren, Antoon				

NAME	BAPTISM	MARRIAGE	SPOUSE'S NAME	BURIAL
Van der Meulen, Adam Francois	1632 (B, SN)			
Van der Plancken, Andries				
Van der Plas, Francois		1625 (B, OL of the Chapel)	Maria Imbrechts	
Van der Plas, Pieter				
Van der Sanden, Jan	1616 (B, SM and SG)	1645 (B, SC)	Anna Pardoens	
Van der Stock, Ignatius	1636 (B, SM and SG)	1658 (B, SM and SG)	Barbara Achtschellinck	1668 (B, SM and SG)
Van der Venne, Jan				
Van der Venne, Maerten		1613 (M, SR)	Maria Van Rysegem	
Van der Venne, Maerten	1620 (B, OL of the Chapel)			
Van der Vinne, Jan				
Van der Vinne, Nicolaes				
Van Diest, Johannes Baptist		1681 (B, SM and SG)	Johanna De Wals	
Van Divoer, Adam				
Van Dynen, Jan Carel	1654 (B, SN)			
Van Eeverenbroot, Cornelis				
Van Eeverenbroot, Michiel				
Van Empel, Cornelis	1624 (M, SR)	1663 (B, SC)	Catharina De Lodron	
Van Eyck, Gaspar	1613 (A, OL)			1674 (B, SC)
Van Froonhoven, Francois				
Van Geel, Carel	1674 (B, SM and SG)	1695 (B, SM and SG)	Isabella Van Bremt	
Van Geel, Carel Alexander	1620 (B, SJ on the Coudenberg)	1645 (B, SM and SG)	Margareta Le Gele	
Van Geel, Jan Baptist	1646 (B, SM and SG)	1671 (B, SM and SG)	Anna Smoors	1723 (B, SM and SG)
Van Geel, Nicolaes	1650 (B, SM and SG)	1677 (B, SJ on the Coudenberg)	Johanna Van Stabel	

NAME	BAPTISM	MARRIAGE	SPOUSE'S NAME	BURIAL
Van Gindertaelen, Pieter	1615 (B, OL of the Chapel)			
Van Gindertaelen, Pieter	1609 (B, SM and SG)			
Van Greuls, Thomas				
Van Heil, Daniel	1604 (B, SM and SG)	1636 (B, SN)	Maria 't Serraerts	
Van Heil, Jan Baptist	1609 (B, SM and SG)			
Van Heil, Leo		1602 (B, SM and SG)	Maria De Waeyer	
Van Heil, Leo	1605 (B, SM and SG)	1633 (B, SM and SG)	Anna 't Serraerts	1668 (B, SG)
Van Heil, Theodoor	1638 (B, SN)	1676 (B, SC)	Johanna Maria Van Eeverenbroot	1721 (B, OL of Finistère)
Van Helmont, Jan	1650 (A, OL South)			
Van Helmont, Matthys	1623 (A, OL South)	1649 (A, OL South)	Margareta Verstockt	
Van Hersen, Alexander				
Van Hoochstadt, Gerard	1591 (B, SM and SG)			
Van Nerve, Michiel		1660 (B, SM and SG)	Maria Marchant	
Van Niverseel, Francois	1627 (B, SN)	1651 (B, SN)	Barbara Kempeneers	
Van Nuvel, Quireyn		1678 (B, SG) 1690 (B, SC)	Maria Elisabeth Willems Maria Minners	
Van Obberghen, Francois		1623 (B, SG)	Catharina Coppens	
Van Opstal, Antoon	1592 (B, SG)	1626 (B, SG)	Johanna De Namur	
Van Opstal, Jan	1627 (B, SM and SG)	1650 (B, SN) 1650 (B, OL of the Chapel)	Maria Van der Kelen Maria Van der Kelen	
Van Orley, Francois		1635 (B, SM and SG)	Barbara Van Cauwelaert	
Van Orley, Hieronymus	1600 (B, SM and SG)			
Van Orley, Pieter	1638 (B, OL of the Chapel)	1662 (B, SN)	Susanna Erickx	1709 (B, SG)

NAME	BAPTISM	MARRIAGE	SPOUSE'S NAME	BURIAL
Van Orley, Richard	1616 (B, OL of the Chapel)	1638 (B, SM and SG)	Catharina Denens	
Van Potteloy, Pieter				
Van Rampelbergh, Bernard	1600 (B, SM and SG)			
Van Reykel, Gerard Antoon				
Van Rillaert, Willem	1643 (B, OL of the Chapel)	1668 (B, SG) 1679 (B, SG)	Catharina Walravens Catharina Van Achter	
Van Schelle, Antoon				
Van Schoor, Daniel	1617 (B, SG)	1643 (B, OL of the Chapel)	Barbara Goels	
Van Schoor, Francois				
Van Schoor, Louis	1650 (B, OL of the Chapel)			1702 (A, SJ)
Van Schoor, Willem	1617 (B, OL of the Chapel)	1642 (B, OL of the Chapel)	Maria Seremel	
Van Seulper, Jacob				
Van Stichel, Catharina	1674 (B, SG)			
Van Tilborgh, Gillis	1632 (B, SM and SG)	1654 (B, SM and SG)	Maria Goddin	
Van Veen, Otto				
Van Velthoven, Jan		1610 (B, OL of the Chapel)	Margareta Heussewiel	
Van Vichel, Hans				
Van Werckhoven, Michiel		1613 (B, SG)	Anna Van Veen	
Van Worms, Jacques				
Van Yperseel, Willem	1601 (B, OL of the Chapel)			
Van Zeunen, Nicolaes		1608 (B, SM and SG)	Aelsken Bartholomeus	
Verberghen, Jacob				
Verbruggen, Lenard	1598 (B, SM and SG)			
Verheul, Jacob				

NAME	BAPTISM	MARRIAGE	SPOUSE'S NAME	BURIAL
Verschuren, Jan	1636 (M, SR)			
Vogelsanck, Francois				
Volders, Lanceloot	1636 (B, OL of the Chapel)	1663 (B, SM and SG)	Catharina Toussaint	1723 (B, SM and SG)
Volsom, Jan				
Waeykarts, Lucas	1593 (B, SC)	1620 (B, SC) 1620 (B, SN)	Adriana De Bruyn Adriana De Bruyn	
Wautier, Charles	1609 (MS, SN in Havré)			
Wauwermans, David	1616 (B, SC)	1654 (B, SC)	Clara De Vos	
Wauwermans, Hendrick	1604 (B, OL of the Chapel)	1627 (B, SN) 1627 (B, SC)	Francisca Bremloos Francisca Bremloos	
Willemont, [NN]				
Zerckenis, Nicolaes				

All data in this table is derived from Brussels and other Southern-Netherlandish cities' parish records (AFA, PR 8–16, 33, 50, 54, 71, 167, 196–198, 260, 298; BERA, PR 285; BSA, PR 18, 75, 77–89, 91–97, 129–140, 154–159, 161, 164, 177–179, 210–215, 217–219, 229, 231–232, 234, 240, 246, 248–250, 252–253, 255–256, 274–280, 286–288, 298, 300–302, 306, 316, 318–319, 329–330, 332–335, 337–339, 341–343, 346, 348, 350–351, 384–389, 392, 397, 416, 428, 447, 455–456, 460–463, 476–477, 482, 508; GSA, PR 329; LSA, PR 461–462; MSA, PR 528, 547, 603, 630, 639–640, 677; MSSA, PR 1878).

The abbreviations used are: A = Antwerp, B = Brussels, D = Dendermonde, DM = Dominican Monastery, G = Ghent, L = Lier, M = Mechelen, MS = Mons, OH = Over-Heembeek, OL = Our Lady, PC = Predikheren Church, SC = Saint Catherine, SF = San Felipe, SG = Saint Gorik, SGU = Saint Gummarus, SJ = Saint Jacques, SJO = Saint John, SM and SG = Saint Michael and Saint Gudula, SN = Saint Nicholas, SR = Saint Rumbold.

Appendix 4. The Readopted Ordinance of the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers, 11 October 1647

Gezien by Myne Heeren Jannen Van Locquenghien Riddere Here van Coeckelberge, Berchem etc. Amptman, Borgemeesteren, Schepenen, Rentmeesteren ende Raedt der Stadt Brussele sekere requeste aen hen gepresenteert by de gesworene ouders ende gemeyne gesellen van de Schilders, Goutslaegers ende gelaesemaeckers ambachte in de voors. stadt Brussele, inhoudende hoe dat sy tot chirate van de voors. stadt hadden doen maecken een schoon ende costelyck gewrocht huys op de groote merckt, daer mede sy ‘t voor genoemde ambacht grootelycx hadden ten achteren gestelt ende om ‘t voors. ambacht eenichsints te voeren te stellen, ende ‘t selve oock in goeden regel ende policie te brengen, sy voor hen genomen hadden te doen vernieuwen ende onderhouden die oude statuyten, privilegien ende rechten des voors. ambachts, die welcke by niet observantie ende andersints verconckert waeren, ende nochtans wel dienden onderhouden te worden tot ter eeren, voordeele ende prouffyte van den voors. ambachte ende den goeden heeren ende andere luyden die heurlieder wercken versuecken ende begeeren by dynen de zelve heeren ende goede luyden, observerende de voors. regten, statuyten ende privilegien beter ende gedueriger werck souden hebben in heurlieder schilderyen ende gelaesen dan sy anderssints en doen; maer want sommige van de voors. privilegien by onnachsaemheyt oft anderssints waeren verdonckert ofte verloren, sulcx dat men die overtreders van de selve uut crachte van dyen niet en conste gecorrigeren; dat oock sommige andere privilegien, statuyten ende ordonnantien by de gene die de selve overtreden weder ende gerepugneert worden, overmidts dat die selve in lange tyden nyet en waeren onderhouden geweest, soo en consten de gesworene de voors. oude ordonnantien nyet vervoirderen ende doen onderhouden, noch de voors. boeten opgelichten: alle tot grooten ongerieve van de goede heeren ende luyden, die daeren binnen crygen ongedurich ende ongetrouwe wercke, in plaetse van goeden, vasten ende getrouwen wercke; seggen oock dat deur d’ niet onderhouden van de voors. ordonnantien diversche luden van buyten, meesters, cnapen ende cooplieden binnen deser stadt hanteerden ende exerceerden t voors. ambacht, aen welcke buyten luden oft huerlieden werck, als tot geender policie, weth, correctie noch ordonnantie staende, d’ meeste gebreck bevonden wordt; waer deur d’ werck van deser stadt grootelycx worde geblameert ende verstooten, ende de gemeyn gesellen van den voors. ambachte oock grootelycx beschaedigt ende onteert, die welcke oock nauwelyck corragie, moet noch sin en hadden heurlieder ingenie, conste ende arbeydt te employeren om goet, constich ende getrouw werck te maecken, overmidts de voors.

buyten luyden hen heurlieden wercken ondercropen ende die contrefeyrend, soo goeden coop leverden dat die supplianten hen 't selve nyet en souden connen gevolgen, by dyen dat de voors. buyten lieden wercken met lichte ende crancke stoffe, daer de supplianten nyet en mogen met wercken, achtervolgenden voors. ouden rechten, ende dat deselve buyten lieden de schilderyen niet en geven heure behoorelycke gronden diewelcke de supplianten theuren grooten coste, aerbeydt ende occupatie van tyden geven moeten, waermede sy grootelycx waeren verdruckende de voorgenoemde supplianten en hunne neiringhe, proffyte ende eere van heuren wercke soo verseyt is; welcke supplianten in der stadt moeten betaelen accysen, maelgeldt, schouwgeldt, thienste ende twintighste penningen, fortificatie geldt, imposten voor de stadt, voor de watervaert, etc., alle andere oncosten van ruyteren, knechten ende hoffvolck te logeren; de guldens ambachten, retorycken, wycken, bruederschappen ende andersint, te dienen, ende die pollicie oft accysen vermeerderen, 't welck de voors. buyten luyden geen van allen en deden, maer quaemen alleenelyck 't geldt vuytter stadt haelen als t' hoff in der stadt waere, oft andersints daer iet te winnen waeren, ende gingen t' selve buyten vertheiren, die welcke oock ten tyde als sy in de stadt waeren, heure spyse soo van buyten brachten, logerende opeen camere oft twee, ende en droncken nauwelyck eenen pot biers s' daeghs; soo dat een huysgesin van de supplianten de pollicie deser stadt meer verbeterde dan allen de voors. buyten luyden; welcken aengemerckt, ende om 't voors. ambacht binnen deser stadt te vermeerdere ende in eere te houdene, gelyck 't selve oock een van de meeste ende outste ambachten waeren deser stadt, ende apparent waere veel meerder te wordene, bysondere midts hebbende ende onderhoudende goede statuyen, rechten, ordonnantien ende privilegien, overmidts menighvuldiheyt van den edeldom die in deser stadt verkeerde, die welcke heurlieder ambacht meest behoeffden ofte te wercke stelden, soo hebben de voors. supplianten gebeden in alder oitmoedt dat den voors. heeren believen wilde hen te consenteren, verleenen ende statueren de poincten ende articulen hier naer volgende, blyvende de oude statuyten, rechten ende privilegien, van den voors. ambachte, by desen nyet verandert wesende, in huer vigeur ende machte d' welck doende, etc.

Ende naer dat de voors. heeren amptman, wethouderen ende rentmeesteren de voors. requeste in t' lange hadden gehoort ende oversien, met oock de oude privilegien ende rekeninghe des voors. ambachts, ende gehoort het rapport van sekere commissarissen uitter voors. weth, die op de voors. ambachts camere hebben, ende gemeyne gesellen daer op verhoort hebben, ende op al geleth, soo hebben deselve heeren amtman, borghemeesteren, schepenen, rentmeesteren ende raedt der voors. stadt van Brussele de voors. supplianten geaccordeert, gewillecort ende geconsenteert de poincten ende articulen hier naer volgende, om die van hen ende naermael

in t' voors. ambacht onderhouden ende geobserveert te worden als een generael recht ende statuyt, behoudelyck in allen desen den amtman, wethouderen ende rentmeesteren deser stadt, ten tyde synde heurlieder vwederroepen, interpreteren, ende veranderen, soo hen naer gelegentheyt des tydts, goetduncken ende gelieven sal

1

In den eersten dat niemandt binnen deser stadt van Brusselle noch heuren vryheyt hem en sal mogen generen metter voors. ambachte noch het wercken toucherende der hanteringhen van de schilderyen, goudtslagheryen oft gelaesemakeryen 't sy by eenighen meesters van den voors. ambachte oft yemande anders hy en hadde het ambacht geleert by eenen vryen meester in een vry stadt ende den selven meesters ende 't ambacht recht leeren betaelt ende voldiendt ofte ten blycke by synen wercke dat hy des ambachte weerdich sy ten seggene oft interpretatie van de wethouderen deser stadt ten tyde synde in welcken gevalle sal hy moegen wercken op de conditien hier naer beschreven en anders nyet op te pene wie contrarie doet t' elcker rysen daer aen te verbeurene een pondt groote Brabants te bekeerene in dryen d' een deel den heere tweeste der stadt ende 't derde halft den voors. aenbringere ende halff den gesworene van den ambachte ten eynde dat sy de selve ende oock de naerbeschreven boeten souden te badt gadeslaen van welcker leste helft dan knape van den voors. ambachte hebben sal het sevenste deel

2

Item wie hem wilt stellen aen het schilders, goutslagers oft gelaesemaeckers ambacht om dat te leeren die sal tot des voors. ambachts behoeff moeten betaelen sesse rinsguldenen 't stuck te twintich stuyvers brabants gerekent voor d' leergelt den gesworen van den ambachte t' saemen twee gelten rinsen wyn in gelde gelyck als dan den voors. wyn gemeynelyck te Brussel gelden sal ende den knape van den voors. ambachte een waelpot wyns ten pryse voors. wel verstaende dat de jongers sullen mogen drye maenden proeven sonder in het leergelt gehouden te syne ende continueren sy meer dan de voors.drye maenden ende nyet totten jaere soo sullen sy geven halff leergeldt ende continueren sy een geheel jaer oft meer soo sullen sy gehouden syn te betaelen 't volle leergeldt daer uytgesloten arme schamele jongers die by de caritate oft andere goede lieden om godts wille opgevoert oft onderhouden worden welcke schamele jongers nyet geven en sullen totter tydt toe dat sy t' selve kunnen gevuechelyck sullen cunnen betaelen ter interpretatie van de wethouderen deser stadt ten tyde synde

3
Item dat alle meesters heuren getrouden kinderen die sy vercregen hebben ofte vercrygen sullen binnen dat sy meesters geworden syn in ’t voors. ambacht ende anders gheene sullen moghen leeren ’t voors. Ambachte sonder de selve ambachte daer aff leergeldt te derven betaelen

4
Item dat geen meesters van den voors. ambachte eenigen knecht oft jonge en sal mogen aenveerden noch laeten by hem comen om te leeren conterfeyten oft andersints ’t voors. ambacht te leeren hy en sal terstont oft ten lancxsten dry daegen naer dat de voors. leerknecht by hem gecommen sal syn ‘t selve den gesworene moeten adverteren ten eynde dat de selve gesworene sullen besorgen dat ‘t leergeldt ende den wyn daer toe behoorende betaelt worde naer de declaratien gedaen in den tweesten articule hier voore op te pene wie van de voors. meesters contrarie doet ofte gebrekelyck daer inne bevonden wordt t’ elcker reyse daer aenne te verbeurene een pont groote brabants te bekeeren als voore; wel verstaende dat de jongers oft de gesellen van de borduerwerckers beltsnyders gelycke neiringhen wel sullen by heurlieden meesters oft elders mogen leeren conterfeyten om in heur lieden neiringen hem te dienen sonder in dit ambacht leergeldt te betaelen soo verre sy het selve nyet en leeren met oft by eenen meestere van desen ambachte sonder argelist

5
Item soo wat meestere van voors. ambachte eenen kneght aenveert om schildersambacht te leeren het sy om te leeren contrefeyten, schilderen, goudtslagen oft gelasemake weder de voors. knecht hem metter voors. ambacht behulpen wilt oft nyet die moet besorgen dat d’leergelt van den selven knecht metten voors. wyn aen de gesworene betaelt sy binnen den tyde ende naer den onderscheede geschreven hier boven int tweeste articule oft by gebrecke van dyen sal de voors. meestere schuldich syn aen de voors. gesworene selve te betaelen t’ voors. leergelt metten den wyn voorschreven ten lanxsten binnen drye weken naer de expiratie van tyde begrepen in ’t voors. tweeste articele

6
Item dat egeen schilder noch ander persoon eenigen knecht oft meyssen en sal mogen laeten wercken binnen deser stadt oft heurer vryheyt eenich werck den voors. ambachte aengaende den voors. knecht oft meysen en hebben ’t voors. ambacht geleert by eenen vryen meestere in een vry stadt ende bevonden geweest der ambachts weerdich te syne soo hier voren in ‘t ierste article verclaert es op pene van seven schellingen Brabants te bekeeren als voors. t’ elcker reyse te verbeuren soo wel

by den genen die sulcke knecht ofte meysen sal te werck gestelt hebben als by den selven knecht oft meysen die in contrarie van desen gewraecht sal hebben behalven dat de knaepe oft maerten van de schilders wel sullen mogen verven vryven op den steen ende anders niet

7
Item dat elck meestere oft meesteresse van den voors. ambachte maer eenen leerknape ten maele en sal mogen hebben de welcke leerknaepe voorgenoempde ambacht van de schilderen, goutslaen ofte gelaesmaecken sal moeten leeren vier jaerlanck malcanderen vervolgende behoudelyck dat de voors. meestere oft meesteresse in 't vierde jaer van de voors. leeringe sal mogen noch eenen leerknape aenveerden ende soo wat meestere oft meesteresse des voors. ambacht doet contratie van desen die sal verbeuren soo dikwils als dat gebeurt twintigh schellinghen Brabants te betalen al voore

8
Item dat geen meestere oft meesteresse meer leerknapen en sal mogen aenveerden ende op hem laeten schryven dan die hy selve leere wilt ende naervolgende de selve ordonnancie leeren mach sonder eenigen leerknape te mogen aenveerden om andere meesters die geenen leerknape en hebben over te laetene ende wie contratie doet sal verbeuren t' elcken als t' gebeurt thien schellingen Brabants te bekeeren als voore

9
Item wie als meestere in ‘t voorschreven ambacht ontfangen begeert worde ‘t sy als schildere goudtslagere oft gelaesemaeckere die moet eerst poirter syn deser stadt ende doen den eedt daertoe staende ende betaelen de rechten naer beschreven ende hy moet ‘t selve ambacht by eenen vryen meestere oft meesteresse in een vrye stadt geleert hebben ten minsten vier jaeren lanck oft anderssints beweysen met syn werck dat hy weert is in 't voors. ambacht t ontfanghen te worden ten seggen ofte interpretatie van de wethouderen deser stadt ten tyde synde

10
Item es de voors. persoon eens vrye meesters oft meestersse sone van den ambamchte voors. geboren binnen de vryheydt van Brussele naer dat syn vader meester van den voors. ambachte was soo sal hy den voors. ambachte betaelen elff rinsguldenen elff stuyvers ende acht myten den gesworene elck een gelte ende den knape vanden voors. ambachte eenen pot rinsch wyns ten pryse voorschreven

11
Item es sulcke persoon geen meesters sone naer de declaratien voors. ende heeft hy 't voors. ambacht geleert binnen deser stadt ende d'leergelt aldaer betaelt soo sal hy de ambachte voor syn innecomen betaelen × iiii rinsguldens eens 't stuck als voore gerekent ende den geswoorene ende knape heurlider wyn als terstont voire

12
Item oft de voors. persoon t voorgenoempde ambacht binnen deser stadt nyet en heeft geleert maer in een ander stadt naerder declaratien voors. soo sal hy den voors. ambachte voor syn innecomen moeten betaelen twintigh rins guldens eens 't stuck als vooree gerekent ende den gesworene ende andere van den voors. ambachte heurlieder wyn lest voorgenoempt

13
Item want men tot hier toe geuseert heeft t' ontfanghen sekere persoonen in 't halff ambacht van de voors. schilders te wetene degenen die hen geneerden met verlichten welcke verlichters maer en mochten wercken stucken van eenen voete groot in 't viercante ende dat nu tertydt die voors. verlichters versocht worden meerder stucken te verlichtene ende om de neeringhe daer aff te voideren sonder prejudicien nochtans van de gemeyne gesellen vanden voors. ambachte ende om allen twist daer uytspruytende neder te leggen es ten versuecke van de voors. supplianten ende by consente van de verlichters nu binnen deser stadt woonende geordineert dat alle degene die hun nu tertyd generen ende naermals sullen willen generen met verlichten sullen schuldich syn te commen in 't geheele schilders ambacht ende betaelen de geheele rechten daer toe staende dyes sullen sy mogen soo groote stucken verlichten als hen gelieven sal ende voorts allessints mogen doen dat den geheele ambachte aengaet in dyen hen belieft ende sy hem des verstaen dies sullen sy en heurlieder leerjongers hen allessints moeten reguleren gelyck d'ander meesters ende leerjongers van den voors. ambachte

14
Item dat binnen deser stadt ende heur vryehydt nyemandt hem en sal mogen ondervinden oft exerceren 't voors. ambacht van de schilders, gautslaegers noch gelaesmaeckers noch voor iemanden dyen aengaende mogen wercken noch van iemanden mogen bevrydt worden te werckene ten waere dat hy in 't voorgenoempde ambacht gecommen waere ende den rechten van den selven ambachte betaelt ende anderssints voldaen hadde opte pene wie contrarie doet daer aen te verbeuren t' elcken reyse eent pont groot Brabants te bekeeren als voore behalven alleenelyck dat onse genaedige heere den hertoghe van Brabandt oft den gouverneur van den lande

sal mogen bevryen eenen synen schilders die hy besigen sal tot synen wercken ende nyet meer noch anders nyet

15
Item dat geen meestere noch meesteresse van den voors. ambachte en sal mogen eenigen knape te wercke stellen buyten synen winckel noch op synen naeme op andere winckels oft plaetsen vryhouden dan alleenelyck op synen winckel op te pene van t' elcker reyse daer aene te verbeuren de boete xx schellinghen Brabants te bekeeren als boven behalven dat hier uyt gesloten syn de onberuerlycke ofte ongedraegelycke wercken die welcke sy by heuren voors. knechten wel sullen mogen doen wercken daer die staen ende andersints niet

16
Item dat geen meestere oft meesteresse van den voors. ambachte en sal op synen naem mogen bevryden noch op synen winckele mogen houden werckende eenighe meesters oft knechten int voors. ambacht nyet wesende naer den onder begrepen in 't naervolgende article die contrarie doet die sullen verbeuren soo dickwils als men 't selve bevint te wetene de voors. gevryde meesters twee ponden Brabants ende die voorgenoempde vrempde meesters oft knechten die onder den naem ende decksels van den gevryde meestere binnen deser stadt oft heurer vryhydt het onderwint des voors. ambachts een pont Brabants te bekeeren als voren

17
Item oft de geswoorene hoorden iemanden contratie den lest voors. articele gedaen te hebbende ende dat hy hem 't selve loochende soo sullen de selve gesworene sulcke persoonen voor hem mogen ontbieden met eenen gesworene sergeant des amptsmans ende deser stadt ende hem daer aff in synen handen onder eedt doen expurgeren om de waerheydt daer aff te wetene ende ingevalle sulcke persoon weygerde den voors. eedt ende expurgatie te doene soo sal hy t' elcker reysen daer aene verbeuren de boete van thien schellinghen Brabants te bekere als vore wel verstaende dat den selven persoon gevraeght synde oft de welck daer men hem aff spreken sal es syn eygen wercken by hem aenveert tot syn profyt oft schaede ende oft hy een anderen daer aff alleenelyck betaelt synen loon oft huere als knecht ende hy antwoordt jae ende men dan contratie bevindt soo sal sulcke persoon boven de lest voors. boete van thien schellinghen Brabants oock verbeuren de boete begrepen in 't leste voorgaende article

18
Item in dyen eenich persoon ‘t sy man knecht oft meyssen in ’t voors. ambacht niet wesende hem onderwint te wercken met pincheele, borstelen oft olie verve water verve vergulden oft anderssints yet den voors. ambacht aengaende oft dat men bevindt dat sulcke persoon sonder consent van de wethouderen deser stadt ten tyde synde yet oft gevrocht oft gemaeckt heeft den selve ambachte aenclevende om gelt oft eenigh ander gewin baete ofte profyte oft op hope van yet daer voere te crygen ofte profiteren die sal t’ elcker als ‘t metter waerheydt bevonden wordt daer aene verbeuren de boete van twintigh schellinghen Brabants te bekeeren als boven ende vernemen de gesworene dat iemandt hier tegens gedaen sal hebben dyen sullen sy met eenen gesworene dienaere daer aff mogen doen expurgeren alsoo ende op te pene gelyck inde twee leste voorgaende articulen verclaert staet

19
Item wat meester oft messtersse des voors. ambacht eenigerhande werck maeckt van fynen goude verguldt die en sal daerby niet mogen vertinten noch oock vertinte foelle setten noch eenich partyt vergullen op de pene van elcker reysen als bevonden word daer aene te verbeurene drye ponden grooten Brabants te bekeeren als boven

20
Item dat de schilders deser stadt die eenigh steenwerck aenveerden om van olie verwe te doene de selve nyet en sullen moghen ierstmael lymen maer sullen die moeten dootverwen van olie verwe dat oock de voors. schilders nyet en sullen moghen eenigh werck de welck sy aenveert hebben olie verwe te doen als staketten deuren schutselen ende dyergelycke ierstmael lymen maer sullen den iersten gront moeten leggen van olie verwe en dat sy de plaeten schilderyen als taffereelen autaer taeffelen en diergelycke die sy aenverden van olie verwe te doen sullen moeten heuren iersten gront van elcken coleure dootverwen alsoo sy ter opwercken willen op te pene wie tegen eenige van dese poincten doet t’ elcker reyse daer aene te verbeuren een pont groot Brabandts te bekeeren als voore ende te vercrygene den moet van partye geintereseerde ter taxatien van de voors. gesworene

21
Item dat nyemandt binnen deser stadt oft heurer vryheyt en sal mogen geslaegen gout partyt oft silvere vercoopen dan die int voors. ambacht syn sal ende ‘t selve geleert sal hebben op te pene van t‘elcker reysen daer aene te verbeurene thien schellinghen Brabants te bekeeren als voore hier uyt geslooten de cremers deser stadt die welcken desen aengaende blyven by heurlieden rechten ende oock de coopluyden

die op den vrydagh en de twee jaermerckten binnen deser stadt hen goet al hier te coop bringen naer de interpretatie gedaen hier naer int xxx article

22
Item om te schouwen den onvertalligen cost dier valt als men de wercken buyten deser stadt moet visiteren es geordoneert ende gestatueert dat geen meestere vanden voors. ambachte eenich werck van schilderye en sal mogen leveren noch laeten vuere draegen buyten deser stadt aleer 't selve behoorelyck gevisiteert sal syn de bestaden des wercks daer af te vreden sy sonder visitatien waer aff de werckman sal schuldigh syn den gesworenen ten tyde synde goet bescheet van de bestaedere te bringen aleer hy 't voors. werck uyt de voors. stadt sal laten draegen oft vueren op te pene wie contrarie van dyen doet oft laet geschieden t' elcker reysen daer aen te verbeuren thien schellingen groote Brabants te bekeren als boven ten waere dat aen 't selve werck maer bestaet en waere acht stuyvers oft daer onder welcke cleyne wercken onder dit article niet en sullen begrepen syn

23
Item want eenighe hem voirderen allen t' gelaes dat binnen deser stadt comt op te coopen ende den dieren coop daer inne te maeckene sulcks dat de gelaesemaeckers binnen deser stadt 't selve aen hen moeten haelen tot sulcken dieren pryse alst hen belieft dwelck keert tot groote schaede van de ingesetene des van doen hebbende ende oock van de gelaesemakers soo es geordineert dat nyemandt binnen deser stadt en sal mogen eenich gelas coopen om voorts te vercoopen 't selve gelas en hebbe dry uren binnen deser stadt geweest in de gemeyne herberghe oft in 't Corenhuys deser stadt ende daer ontrent daer de buyten cooplieden gewoonelyck syn heurlieder gelas te bringene ende te vercoopene ten eynde dat de gelaesemaeckers deser stadt 't selve gelas mogen daer enbinnen coopen in dyen hen belieft op te pene wie contrarie doet t' elcker reyse daer aen te verbeuren twee ponden grooten Brabants te bekeeren als boven

24
Item soo wanneer eenich gelaesemaecker binnen de voors. drye uren oft ander coopman naer de selve drye uren eenigh gelas coopen sal binnen deser stadt oft heuren vryheyt dat d' ander gelaesemaeckers oft cooplieden daer by staende sullen mogen met hem deylen in de commerschap soo veele als hem believe sal mits betaelende gereet geldt dies sal d'ierste coopman schuldich syn den buyten man oft vercooper alleene te betaelene ende die portien van syne mede deylers van hen t'ontfangen ten eynde dat de selve buyten man oft ierste vercooper nyet en worde verachtert van syne betaelinghe

25

Item dat geen gelaesemaecker en sal moghen commen oft van synen wegen senden in eenige wercken daer een ander meestere in es oft commerschap affgemaeckt heeft om den selven syn werck t' ondergaen ende achter deel oft schade te doene op te pene van t' elcker reysen daer aene te verbeurene een pont Brabants te bekeeren als boven behalven dat in den iersten werckman geen gebreck en sy van syn werck te leveren ende behoorelyck te voldoen ten besproeckene tyde ende soo verre daer aff eenigh gebreck viele sullen de bestaeders heurlieder werck aen andere mogen bestaeden oft by andere doen continueren ende volmaecken naer heuren believen

26

Item oft gebeurde dat eenigh leerknape binnen synder leeringen oft eenigh ander werck geselle van synen meestere scheyde sonder hy synen tyd ende dienst voldaen hebben die sal daer aen verbeuren t' elcker reyse alst gebeurt sesse schellinghen Brabants ende die meester die sulckdanighen knecht opstelt oft werck geeft aleer hy synen voorgaenden meester voldaen heeft die sal t' elcker reysen daer aene verbeuren vyffthien schellinghen Brabants te bekeeren de voors. boeten als boven nochtans sal de ierste meester geheel blyven in syne actie tegen de voors. knecht om hem te doen voldoenen oft andersints syn schaeden ende interesten te doen betaelen soo synen raedt gedraegen sal

27

Item dat nyemandt wie hy sy hem en sal mogen onderwinden eenich werck den schilderyen aengaende t aenveerden om dat te maecken oft te doen maecken buyten noch binnen deser stadt noch 't selve eenichsints binnen deser stadt oft heurer vryheyt te vercoopen doen noch laeten maecken om vercoopen ten sy dat hy es int voorgenoempde ambacht op de boete van een pont Brabants te bekeerene als voore behoudelyck dat de meerschluyden sullen mogen coopen ende vercoopen quaertspelen cleyne taeffelreelkens tintvellen ende andere cleyne dinghen groot eenen voet int viercant ende daer onder maer niet meerder gelyck sy tot hier toe gehanteert hebben sonder meer op te verbeurte van de selve taeffereelen oft schilderyen ende tot dyen van elcken stucke de boete van thien schellinghen Brabrants te bekeeren als boven

28

Item soo wie eenich werck aenveerdt tot sekere besprokenden daege te leveren ende nyet en voldoet maer den dagh laet deurgaen soo sal de selve bestaeder hem daer aff mogen beclaegen aen de voors. gesworene die welcke den werckman metten ambachts knape voor hem sullen ontbieden ende sullen hem bevelen 't selve werck te

voldoen datter geen clachten meer aff en commen ende hooren sy daer naer noch eenighe clachten ende bevinden sy dat de voors. werckman daer en binnen eenich ander werck heeft gedaen soo sal de selve werckman t' elcker als dat bevinden sal worden verbeuren de boete van thien schellinghen Brabants te bekeeren als vore

29
Item dat geen beltsnyders noch metselryssnyders en sullen mogen aenveerden eenighe wercken te stofferen van schilderyen pourtrecturen oft diergelycke desen ambachte eenichsints aengaende op te pene van t' elcker reysen daer aen te verbeuren twintich schellingen Brabants te bekeeren als voore

30
Item dat nyemandt en sal mogen binnen deser stadt ofte heurer vryhydt vercoopen noch bringen om vercoopen eenighe schilderyen dan alleenlyck binnen de twee jaer merckten ende op den vryen merckt dach van der weken deser stadt te wetene des vrydaghs maer terstont naer de voors. jaer merckten ende binnen de voors. vrydage sullen de voors. cooplieden van schildereyen deselve schildereyen moeten draegen oft vueren buyten de vryheydt van de stadt ende niet wederbringen dan op eenen anderen vrydach ofte jaermerckt sonder de voors. schilderyen buyten den voors. merckt daegen oft jaermerckten binnen deser stadt oft heurer vryheydt te laeten opte verbeurte van de selve schilderyen ten proffyte als boven

31
Item dat niemandt wye hy sy geestelyck oft werelyck in eeniger manieren binnen deser stadt oft heurer vryheydt en sal moghen in syn huys oft onder syn dack herbergen bewaeren oft verbergen de voors. schilderyen noch aldaer gedooghen geherberght bewaert oft verborgen te worden by andere onder syn protectie staende op te pene van t' elcker reysen daer aene te verbeuren twintich schellingen Brabants te bekerene als boven behoudelyck dat in dese twee articulen nyet begrepen en es 't hoff van den hertoge van Brabant binnen den tyde dat de voors. hertoghe de gouverneur van den lande oft heurlieden raet ende hoff aldaer wesen sal

32
Item dat de gesellen die buyten deser stadt geleert hebben inder selver stadt noch heurer vryheydt niet en sullen mogen wercken yet den voors. ambachte aengaende sy en sullen 't eerst aende armbusmeesters van den selven ambachte moeten versuecken die welcke hen 't selve sullen moeten consenteren viertien dagen lanck om teergelt te winnen ende daer met voorts te reysen over lant ende willen sy langer in der stadt wercken soo sullen de selve gesellen alle halve jaeren elck moeten geven

drye stuyvers totter siecke busse ende Godsdienste behoeff te betaelene de selve drye stuyver terstont als 't halff jaer beginnen sal naer de ierste voors. vierthien daegen ende soo voorts van halven jaere tot halffven jaere t' elcker drye stuyvers ende anders en sullen de voors. gesellen binnen deser stadt noch heurer vryhydt niet en mogen wercken op te pene van ses schellingen Brabants te verbeurene soo wel by den geselle die contrarie deser gewrocht sal hebben als by den genen die den selven in contrarie van dese sal te wercke gestelt hebben te bekeeren als boven ende voor de voors. drye stuyvers alle halve jaere sal de meestere van de voors. gesellen moeten innestaen ende voldoen sonder de voors. gesellen aen syn meesters gelt wint ende soo verre de voors. meestere den voorgenoempden sieckmeesters daer aff iet verswege soo sal hy t' elcker reyse daer aen verbeuren een boete van vyfthien schellinghen Brabants te bekeere als vooren

33
Item dat niemandt op der voors. ambachte camere in eenighe vergaederinghe oft maeltyden yemanden van de gesworene en sal mogen injureren noch diffameren noch andersints daer twist maecken op te pene van t' elcker reysen daer aene te verbeuren thien schellinghen Brabants te bekeeren als voren

34
Item dat nyemandt geen vilynicheyt op de voors. camere en sal mogen spreeken noch iemanden van synen mede brueders eenighe cleynigheydt nae seggen noch daer tegen twisten op te pene van t' elcker reysen daer aene te verbeurene eenen schellinck Brabants te bekeeren als vore

35
Item oft iemandt van den ambachte tegen de gesworene oft gesellen eenigen twist naemen oft eenighe injurie oft cleynigheydt seyde oft eenich gewelt gebruyckte die sal daer aene verbeuren t' elcken vyffthien schellinghen Brabants te bekeeren als boven

36
Item dat de gesellen van den voors. ambachte sullen moeten by de voors. gesworene commen als sy hen sullen ontbieden om eenighe saecken den hertogh van Brabant deser stadt den ambachte ende heurer wercke aengaende op de pene van vier grooten Brabants voor de ierste reyse ende voor de tweede ende derde reyse op sulcken pene als de gesworene ordineren sullen te bekeeren als voore Aldus gedaen gestatueert ende geordineert op diversche daeghen ende finalyck gesloten op den vierthiensten dagh van meert anno XV ende negen en vyfftich naer styl van Brabant ende was

onderteeckent F. Boschvercken Aldus gedaen ende ter grooter puyen aff van dese stadthuyse gepubliceert ter pretentie van Myne Heern die amptman, borghemeesteren, schepenen, tresoriers, rentmeesteren ende raedt der stadt van Brussele op den elffsten octobre XVI seven en veertich onderstont by my ende was onderteekent T. van Heymbeke

---

This transcription of the ordinance is based on the version in the Archives of the City of Brussels: BSA, PB 1318, fol. 314v–330r. Two other versions of the same text are kept in the Brussels State Archives: BRA, GA 1158, 1163. A third version was transcribed and published by Louis Galesloot in 1867: Galesloot 1867a, pp. 488–505.

NOTES

Introduction

1. MSA, PR 630, 11 April 1673.
2. Van der Stighelen, Kelchtermans, and Brosens 2013. For the court's patronage, see: Soenen 1991; Van Sprang 2005; Vlieghe 2005; Del Torre Scheuch and Gruber 2018. For the consumption of art and luxury in Brussels, see: De Laet 2011; De Laet 2013. For seventeenth-century Brussels' tapestry, see: Delmarcel 1999; Brosens 2004a; Brosens 2007b; Campbell 2007b; Delmarcel 2007.
3. In 1689, De Hondt stated that he 'twelff jaeren lanck by [...] Theniers als synen dissipel heeft ghewoont ende leeren schilderen' (had lived and learned to paint with Teniers as a disciple for twelve years). Nica 2020, pp. 566–567, 3549–3551. See also: Descamps 1754, p. 158; Vlieghe 2011, p. 74. De Hondt's paintings were sold to the Oudenaarde tapestry producer and art dealer Pieter van Verren in 1675. Van Lerberghe and Van Ronsse 1854, pp. 256–257; Vlieghe 2011, p. 92.
4. BSA, PR 305, 30 April 1674; BSA, PR 306, 13 June 1676. In addition, in 1680, David II's daughter Cornelia became godmother to De Hondt's fourth child. BSA, PR 306, 12 April 1680.
5. BRA, GA 818, fol. 258.
6. BRA, GA 818, fols. 258, 291; BRA, GA 819, fol. 7. For the 'Art of war' series, see: Hefford 1975; Delmarcel 1999, pp. 342–351; Brosens 2006–2007; Brosens 2007c; Brosens and Slegten 2017.
7. Brosens 2004a, p. 277; Delmarcel, García Calvo, and Brosens 2010, p. 288; Vlieghe 2011, p. 86. For the success of Teniers and De Hondt's tapestry designs, see: Brosens 2006–2007.
8. For the renewed interest in seventeenth-century Brussels painters, see the next section.
9. For recent overviews of approaches in the social history of art and/or sociology of art, see: Alexander 2003; Tanner 2003; Quemin 2017; Burke 2019.
10. For Marxist approaches to art history, see: Hemingway 2006.
11. Burke 2019, p. 32. The ambition to establish a 'Kunstgeschichte ohne Name' comes from the preface to Heinrich Wölfflin's (1864–1945) first edition of 'Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe'. Unlike the rest of the book, it has never been translated into English. Wölfflin 1915; Brown 1982, p. 382.
12. Antal 1947; Hauser 1951. For Schapiro's contributions to this approach, see: Hemingway 1994.

13. Hauser 1951, pp. 456–475.
14. Gombrich 1953, p. 80. For detailed accounts on Gombrich and other art historians' critiques on Hauser and his approach, see: Orwicz 1985; Gelfert 2012; Berryman 2017.
15. Gombrich 1953, pp. 79–80.
16. Gombrich 1953. In later work Gombrich continued to point to the creative autonomy of artists. In 1979 he stated that they 'modified and adjusted their work to new situations but maintained their own momentum'. Gombrich 1979, p. 142; cited by Berryman 2017, p. 496.
17. Haskell 1963, p. xviii. See also Gombrich's essay on the patronage of the early Medici, published three years earlier: Gombrich 1960.
18. Baxandall 1972, p. 1.
19. Baxandall 1972, p. 2. Baxandall continued to develop this empiricist approach in later studies, see: Baxandall 1980; Baxandall 1985.
20. The difference between Baxandall's work and that of Clark was pointed out by the latter scholar himself. He admired aspects of Baxandall's approach, but criticised him for omitting issues of ideology and class. Langdale 1998, pp. 491–492.
21. Clark 1973a, p. 13. Clark 1973a; Clark 1973b. In 1976, Clark also founded the 'M.A. in the Social History of Art' at the University of Leeds and participated in the foundation of the 'Caucus for Marxism and Art' within the College Art Association. Wright 2011, p. 334; Burke 2019, p. 39.
22. Alpers 1977. For a critical introduction to this 'new art history', see: Harris 2001.
23. Becker 1982, pp. 34–35. To illustrate his argument, Becker repeatedly draws on Baxandall's 'Painting and Experience'. For Baxandall's influence on the sociology of art, see: Langdale 1998; Tanner 2010.
24. Baxandall 1972, p. 1.
25. Goldthwaite 1982; Montias 1982; Montias 1987; Alpers 1988; Montias 1990a; Montias 1990b; Goldthwaite 1993.
26. Montias 1990b, pp. 50–51. For a full list of Montias' art-historical publications, see: Golahny, Mochizuki, and Vergara 2006, pp. 23–28. Montias' seminal work invigorated many other scholars – including Marten Jan Bok, David Freedberg, Jan de Vries, Eric Jan Sluijter, and Ad van der Woude – to study art in the Dutch Republic from an economic perspective as well. Freedberg and De Vries 1991; Van der Woude 1991; Bok 1994; Sluijter 1999. For a recent overview of research on the economics of seventeenth-century Dutch art, see: Rasterhoff 2016.
27. Campbell 1976.
28. These early contributions include the work of Jean C. Wilson, Lynn F. Jacobs, Stephen H. Goddard, and Hans J. van Miegroet. They investigated, among other things, the participation of Bruges artists in the 'pandt' market and the different standardisation strategies that painters and sculptors developed to reduce the costs of their production. Wilson 1983; Goddard 1985; Van Miegroet 1987; Jacobs 1989; Wilson 1990. See also Maximiliaan P. J. Martens' later study

on the origins and functioning of Bruges' art market in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: Martens 1998.

29. Studies on the Antwerp art market are numerous and diverse. Filip Vermeylen's 2003 *Painting for the Market: Commercialization of Art in Antwerp's Golden Age* is still considered one of the most comprehensive surveys on the subject: Vermeylen 2003. Other scholars focused on more specific socio-economic aspects of Antwerp's art production and consumption, including the number of active painters in the city: Martens and Peeters 2006b; Brosens and De Prekel 2021, workshop practices and guild regulations: Van der Stighelen 1990; Honig 1995; Honig 1998; Van der Stighelen and Vermeylen 2006; Peeters 2009; Van der Linden 2015, the integration of Mechelen as a satellite production centre: De Marchi and Van Miegroet 2006; Van Miegroet 2015, the local demand for paintings: Blondé 2002; Martens and Peeters 2006a; Blondé and De Laet 2006; Blondé and Van Damme 2010; De Marchi, Van Ginhoven, and Van Miegroet 2014, and the export of Antwerp pictures to cities across Europe and the Spanish New World: De Marchi and Van Miegroet 1998; Vermeylen 1999; De Marchi and Van Miegroet 1999; Szanto 2002; Szanto 2006; De Marchi and Van Miegroet 2009; Van Ginhoven 2011; Di Lenardo 2013; Cecchini 2014; Gozzano 2014; Rasterhof and Vermeylen 2014; Raux 2014; Van Ginhoven 2017; Raux 2018.
30. De Marchi, Van Ginhoven, and Van Miegroet 2014. De Marchi and Van Miegroet published about fifteen articles and book chapters on the history of art markets together; see among others: De Marchi and Van Miegroet 1994; De Marchi and Van Miegroet 1998; De Marchi and Van Miegroet 1999; De Marchi and Van Miegroet 2006; De Marchi and Van Miegroet 2009.
31. Brosens 2004a; De Laet 2011; Brosens 2012a; Roobaert 2012; De Laet 2013; Roobaert 2015.
32. Van der Stighelen, Kelchtermans, and Brosens 2013, p. 5; Brosens, Beerens, Cardoso, et al. 2019.
33. De Clippel 2006; Vlieghe 2011; Kelchtermans 2013a; Van Sprang 2014; Yeager-Crasselt 2015; Van Cauteren 2016; Kelchtermans 2018; Van der Stighelen 2018a.
34. Kelchtermans 2013a; Van Sprang 2014.
35. Yeager-Crasselt 2015.
36. Van der Stighelen 2018a; Howell 2018; Van Elk 2018.
37. For the opportunities that digital methods offer to the social history of art, see: Jaskot 2019; Jaskot 2020.
38. After Johanna Drucker in 2013 famously posed the question, 'Is There a "Digital" Art History?', numerous contributions have appeared that defined and debated what this young field could be, already is, or should become. See among others: Drucker 2013; Rodríguez-Ortega 2013; Fisher and Swartz 2014; Bentkowska-Kafel 2015; Drucker, Helmreich, Lincoln, et al. 2015; Fletcher 2015; Klinke and Surkemper 2015; Dressen 2017; Lozano 2017; Manovich 2017; Langmead, Berg-Fulton, Lombardi, et al. 2018; Rodríguez-Ortega 2019; Klinke 2020; Greenwald 2021; Helmreich 2021.

39. For a recent overview of the developments in digital art history, see: Brey 2021.
40. Joyeux-Prunel 2012; Klinke and Surkemper 2015.
41. Baca and Helmreich 2013; Baca, Helmreich, and Gill 2019. See also: Kohle 2016; Keramidas and Prokop 2018; Rasterhoff and Van Ginhoven 2020.
42. Brown 2020. See also: Johnson and Sethares 2017; Kuroczyński, Bell, and Dieckmann 2018; Effinger, Hoppe, Klinke, et al. 2019.
43. Jascot 2019, p. 26.
44. Marx 2012; Brosens 2012a. For the use of network analysis in the humanities, see: Ahnert, Ahnert, Coleman, et al. 2020.
45. Fletcher and Helmreich 2012.
46. Schich 2013; Lincoln 2016; Alen 2017; Lincoln 2017; Rice 2017; Schich, Huemer, Adamczyk, et al. 2017; Van Ginhoven 2017. See also: Kienle 2017; Lincoln 2020.
47. Lincoln 2016; Lincoln 2017; Van Ginhoven 2017.
48. Bishop 2018, p. 126.
49. Bishop 2018, pp. 125, 127. See also Bishop's conversation with Johanna Drucker about the meaning and value of digital art history: Drucker and Bishop 2017.
50. Porras 2017.
51. For Project Cornelia and its genesis, see: Brosens, Aerts, Alen, et al. 2019. See also: Porras 2017, p. 48.
52. For the Cornelia database, see: Brosens, Alen, Slegten, et al. 2016. See also: Appendix 1.
53. Alen 2017.
54. Deceulaer 2013, pp. 37–38. For the 1695 Bombardment of Brussels, see: Culot, Demanet, Hennaut, et al. 1992.
55. Several art historians interested in seventeenth-century Brussels have already pointed to the lack of empirical evidence for the city, often linking it to the adverse effects of the 1695 bombardment. See among others: Brosens 2004a, pp. 17–18; De Laet 2011, p. 91; Yeager-Crasselt 2015, p. 133.
56. BRA, GA 818. As early as the 1870s, the archivist Alexandre Pinchart partially transcribed and published the register. Pinchart 1877; Pinchart 1878b; Pinchart 1879.
57. To clarify, it's important to note that not every painter active in Brussels during the seventeenth century was registered as an apprentice or master in the guild. This study primarily focuses on painters within the guild's framework and does not systematically address those operating outside of it. However, several examples of the latter group will be mentioned throughout the text, along with insights into the various reasons why their names do not appear in the guild's registers.
58. No new deans were listed in the years 1622, 1627, 1634, and 1674.
59. Exceptionally, apprentices and masters were divided into two separate groups and listed chronologically within the appropriate group. This was the case, for example, in the years 1637–1638, 1644–1645, and 1645–1646.

60. Almost all 353 artists in the population could be identified as painters through an analysis of the guild register. Seven artists were described as both painters and gilders: Andries Broeckmans, Adriaen de Caron, Francois Reps, Carolus van Baeckegom, Michiel van Cutsem, Jan van Daele (the one who became a master in 1658), and Carel Alexander van Geel; four others were described only as gilders: Laurys Casier, Jan Cortvrindt, Pieter Lambillot, and Adriaen Thielemans; and 35 artists were not described anywhere in the register as painters, but could be identified as such through other sources. For example, the register in no way makes clear what Daniel Leyniers' (1618–1688) occupation was, while in another source – from a year before his master registration – he is described as a painter. The other painters identified through other sources are: Boudewijn Bedet, Michiel Benoot, Jan Baptist Bonnecroy, Francois de Bois, Hendrick de Bontridder, Jan Baptist de Bruyn, Lambert de Prins, Willem de Prins, Francois de Smedt, Nicolaes de Smedt, Philips de Vreese, Jacques Foucquier, Christoffel Goffin, Christoffel Merlin, Michiel Mertens, Francois Morren, Godfried Rogaerts, Antoon Sapien, Gerard Snellinckx, Pieter van Beckberghe, Nicolaes van Bellinghen, Pieter van den Winckel, Philips van der Barren, Jacques van der Laemen, Andries van der Planken, Pieter van der Plas, Jan van der Venne, Maerten van der Venne, Maerten van der Venne, Jan van der Vinne, Francois van Orley, Hieronymus van Orley, Bernard van Rampelbergh, and Daniel van Schoor. For the document describing Leyniers as a painter, see: BSA, RT 1293, fol. 315v–316v. For a more detailed description of the register and the methodological challenges and pitfalls it poses, see: Brosens, Beerens, Cardoso, et al. 2019.
61. For the seven parishes in Brussels, see: Chapter 3.5.1.
62. The baptism and marriage registers of all Brussels parishes – which are kept in the Archives of the City of Brussels – have been preserved for almost the entire seventeenth century. There are only two minor gaps. For the Parish of Saint Catherine there are no baptism records from 1684 to 1687 and for the Parish of Our Lady of the Chapel there are no marriage records from January 1652 to May 1653.
63. Unlike the baptism and marriage registers, the burial registers of the Brussels parishes – which are also kept in the Archives of the City – are far from complete. For example, no burial records are preserved for the Parish of Our Lady of the Chapel before 1635 and the Parish of Saint Gorik before 1668, and pieces from the other parishes – who generally kept their burial records collectively – are missing from the years 1611 to 1623, 1625 to 1628, and 1628 to 1631.
64. For an example of exactly how the information from an entry was converted into usable data, see: Appendix 1.
65. BAO, B 1337–1411; BRA, CA 6914; BSA, HA 3413; KBR, MS 21377; KBR, MS G. 219. For more detailed descriptions of these sources, see: Chapter 3.3 and Chapter 3.4.
66. For MySQL, see: Widenius and Axmark 2002. See also: Appendix 1.
67. For Gephi and R, see: Ihaka and Gentleman 1996; Bastian, Heymann, and Jacomy 2009; Grandjean 2015; RStudio Team 2016; Wickham 2016. See also: Appendix 1.

68. BSA, PB 1318, fol. 314v–330r.
69. The State Archives in Brussels keeps more than two kilometres of archives of hundreds of notaries active between the sixteenth century and the middle of the twentieth century. Although most of these sources have not yet been catalogued, the decades-long indexing work of de Jonghe d'Ardoye allows some of this material to be searched. State Archives of Belgium 2015. For the past few decades, Nica has been working on a similar index. He recently made the result available in the State Archives in Brussels. Nica 2020. See also: State Archives of Belgium 2020.
70. Oldenburg 1989.

Chapter 1. The First Place

1. For recent state of the arts with extensive references, see: Stone 1981; Baud 1994; Barbagli and Kertzer 2001; Bengtsson and Mineau 2008.
2. Laslett 1965; Laslett and Wall 1972; Laslett 1977 (especially the first chapter).
3. Hajnal 1965; Hajnal 1982. For an overview of similar notions of a distinct European marriage pattern before Hajnal, see: Fertig 2005.
4. Hajnal 1965; Hajnal 1982.
5. Baud 1994, pp. 11–12. For instance, the historians Pierre Goubert and David Kertzer pointed out the presence of more complex family compositions in rural France and central Italy, and their colleague Jack Goody found significant contrasts between families in northern Europe and the Meditaraniean area. Goubert 1977; Goody 1983; Kertzer 1984.
6. Laslett 1988; Lynch and Lee 1997–1999; Fauve-Chamoux 2001; Hendrickx 2005. For marriage patterns and family structures in the early modern Southern Netherlands, see: Vandenbroeke 1981; Bruneel 2006; De Moor and Van Zanden 2009; Verberckmoes 2015.
7. Anderson 1971; Medick and Sabean 1984; Laslett 1988; Lynch 2003. Michel Verdon, on the contrary, assumed that the weaker family ties between relatives who did not live together led to more harmony and consequently support. Verdon 1998, pp. 134–135.
8. Lynch 2003, pp. 61–67; De Vries 2008, pp. 15–19.
9. For the Brueghel family, see among others: Merten 1979; Silver 1999; Van den Brink 2001; Michel and Charles 2007; Peeters 2008; Gaddi 2012; Op de Beeck 2020.
10. For the Francken family, see among others: Peeters 1999a; Peeters 1999b; Peeters 2012. For the Van Steenwyck family, see among others: Howarth 2009; Howarth 2012.
11. Brosens, Kelchtermans, and Van der Stighelen 2012; Vlieghe 2012.
12. De Marchi and Van Miegroet 2012, pp. 69–70. See also: Groenendijk 2008.
13. Ekkart 2012, p. 77; Rasterhoff 2017, p. 233. Neither Ekkart nor Rasterhoff provided any sources or data to supplement their statements about the family relations of 'thousands of painters working in the Northern Netherlands'. Ekkart 2012, p. 77.
14. De Munck 2007, pp. 188–189.

15. De Munck 2007, pp. 185–192; Burm and De Munck 2010, pp. 151–156. According to the historian Josef Ehmer, occupational continuity was more of a nineteenth-century phenomenon that emerged as a result of industrialisation and the increasing concentration of capital in certain sectors. Ehmer 1984, pp. 202–205; Ehmer 2001, p. 189.
16. For an overview, see: Alfani 2009; and below. See also Joseph H. Lynch's pioneering work: Lynch 1986.
17. Alfani, Gourdon, and Vitali 2012, p. 501.
18. Alfani and Gourdon 2006; Alfani and Gourdon 2012a; Alfani and Gourdon 2012b.
19. Vaccaro 2007, p. 368.
20. Brosens 2004a, pp. 62–76; Brosens and De Laet 2009, pp. 360–361, 367; Brosens 2010, pp. 24–28; Brosens 2012b, pp. 186–187. See also: Brosens 2012; Brosens 2014; Brosens, Alen, Slegten, et al. 2016.
21. Vanwelden 2006; Vanwelden 2016; Alen 2017; Beerens 2019.
22. De Marchi and Van Miegroet 2012, p. 71.
23. Vanhamme 1968, p. 159. Three years earlier, in 1596, Albert had already settled in the city to assume the post of Governor-General. Duerloo 2012, pp. 41–47. For an extensive but slightly outdated history of Brussels, see: Henne and Wauters 1845.
24. Brussels itself had returned to Spanish control on 10 March 1585 after the city had capitulated to Alexander Farnese (1545–1592) and his troops. As in other reclaimed territories, the people of Brussels were given the choice between converting to Catholicism or emigrating within the reasonable period of about four years. Sutton 1993, p. 114; De Ridder 2005, pp. 30–31. For a brief overview of the unrest at the end of the sixteenth century, see: Marnef 2004.
25. Thomas 1998, pp. 2–7; Raeymaekers 2013, p. 93.
26. For a recent volume on the Twelve Years' Truce and the events that led up to this agreement, see: Lesaffer 2014.
27. Lanoye 1998; Raeymaekers 2013, pp. 100–111; Raeymaekers 2019. For the Archdukes' restauration of the Coudenberg Palace and other residences of the court, see: Demeester 1978–1981; Vanrie 1991; De Jonge 1998; De Jonge 1999; Hortal Muñoz 2013.
28. Vanhamme 1968, pp. 166–169; Sutton 1993, p. 115. Before 1633, 14 other 'Bergen van Barmhartigheid' were opened in other cities in the Southern Netherlands. For the 'Bergen', see: Soetaert 1986.
29. Sutton 1993, p. 120.
30. Freedberg 1988; Arblaster 1998; Pat 1998. For the Archdukes' artistic patronage, see among others: De Maeyer 1955; Freedberg 1993; and Chapter 4.
31. Duerloo 2012, pp. 511–520.
32. De Mooij 2004, p. 371.
33. Parker 1975, pp. 254–258; De Mooij 2004, pp. 371–374.
34. Jeanmougin 2005, pp. 11–20. Janssens 2014, pp. 230–237.

35. Vermeir 2001, pp. 63–78; Janssens 2014, pp. 229–230.
36. For the Treaty of Münster, see: Poelhekke 1948; Manzano Baena 2007.
37. Vermeir 2006.
38. Lynn 1999; Jeanmougin 2005.
39. Wallerstein 1983, pp. 142, 303–304; Klep 1988, p. 283; Janssens 2014, pp. 250–251. For food shortages in the Southern Netherlands, see: Montanari 1994, pp. 121–122 and 143–144; Curtis, Dijkman, Lambrecht, et al. 2017, pp. 133–137.
40. The bombardment destroyed about 3820 houses and 16 churches and monasteries. On top of this, it severely damaged another 460 houses. The number of casualties, on the other hand, was relatively low. Most people had time to take refuge. Vanhamme 1968, p. 176. For the Bombardment of Brussels, see: Culot, Demanet, Hennaut, et al. 1992.
41. Klep 1981, pp. 344–346; De Peuter 1999, pp. 24 and 26. Frank Daelemans stated that the estimate of about 50,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the century was too high. According to him, by 1615, no more than between 29,500 and 36,000 people must have lived in Brussels. He did, however, adopt the estimate of 82,000 inhabitants in 1693. Daelemans 1989.
42. For Archduke Leopold-Wilhelm's patronage, see: Vlieghe 2005; Del Torre Scheuch and Gruber 2018. For more general contributions on Archduke Leopold-Wilhelm's reign, see also: Mertens and Aumann 2003.
43. De Laet 2011, p. 233; De Laet 2013, pp. 11–20.
44. De Peuter 1999, pp. 52–53; Aerts 2004, pp. 421–443.
45. For Brussels' military defences, see: Dickstein-Bernard 1995–1996; Lelarge 2001.
46. 'As a result of the continual wars, we would like to come to live in the city to work there in greater peace.' Cited and translated by Sutton 1993, p. 115.
47. To illustrate, when nine tapestry producers applied for privileges in 1613, they claimed to have ordered more than 30,000 guilders worth of new cartoons in the previous six years alone. Wauters 1878, pp. 207–209. For Brussels' tapestry in the seventeenth century, see: Delmarcel 1999; Brosens 2004; Brosens 2007b; Campbell 2007b; Delmarcel 2007. See also Chapter 6 for the collaboration between the city's painters and tapestry producers.
48. Brosens 2007b, pp. 441–444.
49. For seventeenth-century marriage rituals in the Southern Netherlands, see: Marinus 1995, pp. 226–231; Cloet and Storme 2000.
50. Fauve-Chamoux 2001, pp. 229–233.
51. De Vries 2008, p. 15.
52. Kok 1994, p. 103.
53. The ceremonies mainly took place in parishes in or around Brussels. Exceptionally, painters also married in other cities including Antwerp, Dendermonde, Mechelen, and Paris.
54. To measure the relation between these painters' marriages and the year in which they started their own workshops, I calculated the sample Pearson correlation coefficients using their age on both events as follows:

$$r=\frac{1}{(n-1)}\sum_{i=1}^{n}\left(\frac{xi-\bar{x}}{Sx}\right)*\left(\frac{yi-\bar{y}}{Sy}\right)$$

The calculation of r is based on the standard scores of every variable and always ranges from –1 to 1. A value of $r = 1$ implies a perfect positive correlation and a value of $r = -1$ a perfect negative correlation. In this case $r= 0.382$.

55. For the conditions required to become a master, see: Chapter 2.4.
56. The few outliers in figure 4 can be explained by migration. They concerned painters such as Francois Eyckens, Joos van Craesbeeck, and Matthys van Helmont who joined the guild only after they had settled in Brussels at an older age. For the migration of painters to Brussels, see: Chapter 2.3.
57. Jacobs 1997, pp. 28–30; Kloek 1998, pp. 12, 17–18; Waltmans 1998, pp. 100–103. For the legal status of women in urban economies, see: Van Aert 2005, pp. 22–42; Overlaet 2011, pp. 16–21.
58. Kloek 2009, p. 112; Kelchtermans 2013b, pp. 180–186; Howell 2018.
59. Storme 1992, pp. 306–309; Cloet and Storme 2000, pp. 18–21.
60. Van den Heuvel and Van Nederveen Meerkerk 2008, p. 214.
61. BSA, PR 133, 28 November 1637; BSA, PR 211, 28 November 1637. For the Van Coninxloo family, see among others: Miedema 2012; Miedema 2014.
62. BSA, PR 135, 12 September 1658.
63. Richefort 2004, pp. 23–24.
64. He must have returned before 1677, as he was present at the baptism of his nephew and godson Adriaen Boudewyns in Brussels on 4 June of that year. BSA, PR 306, 4 June 1677.
65. BSA, PR 133, 10 September 1633; BSA, PR 476, 1 October 1636.
66. For the 't Serraerts family, see: Wauters 1878, pp. 202, 207–209, 289, 296.
67. BSA, PR 390, 13 June 1660; BSA, PR 216, 19 March 1681. Anna Van Heil is known to have actively participated in Cordys' business. For example, four years after their wedding Van Heil travelled to Antwerp to sign a contract to produce tapestries. AFA, NO 160, 3 July 1685; Brosens, Alen, Sleghten, et al. 2016, p. 322.
68. For the close relationship between Brussels painters and their city's tapestry industry, see: Chapter 6.
69. Fauve-Chamoux 2001, p. 224; De Bie 2014, pp. 1–5.
70. Thoen 2007, pp. 98–99.
71. Cloet and Storme 2000, pp. 18–21.
72. Alen 2017, p. 331.
73. BRA, NO 4465, 7 July 1682.
74. For Daniel Leyniers, see: Brosens 2018. For the Leyniers dynasty, see: Brosens 2004a.
75. BSA, RT 1293, fol. 315v–316v; Wauters 1878, pp. 252–253; Brosens 2018, p. 25.
76. BRA, GA 818, fols. 180, 203, and 221.
77. He became a master on 15 March 1682. BRA, GA 818, vol. 265.

78. 'verscheyde oorsaecken', BRA, NO 4465, 7 July 1682.
79. BSA, PR 275, 2 January 1648; BSA, PR 137, 16 February 1676.
80. BRA, NO 4465, 7 July 1682.
81. The family business is a relatively well-studied concept. Most studies, however, focus on contemporary organisations. For a general introduction, see: Gersick, Davis, McCollom Hampton, et al. 1997; Pourziouris, Smyrnios, and Klein 2006.
82. Brosens, Kelchtermans, and Van der Stighelen 2012; De Marchi and Van Miegroet 2012, pp. 69–70; Ekkart 2012, p. 77; Howarth 2012, p. 154; Rasterhoff 2017, p. 233. See also: Chapter 1.1.
83. BSA, PB 1318, fol. 314v–330r.
84. For instance, Natasja Peeters described how a lack of necessary talent in later generations of painters spelled the end of the Antwerp Francken dynasty around the middle of the seventeenth century. Peeters 2012, pp. 111–113.
85. De Munck 2007, pp. 210–214; De Munck 2010b, p. 10.
86. Ekkart 2012, p. 77.
87. De Laet 2011, p. 233; De Laet 2013, pp. 11–20.
88. For the Noverliers family, see: Chapter 4. For Van Geel's children, see: BSA, PR 304, 13 February 1654 and 11 July 1659.
89. For the Van Heil family, see: Wauters 1878, pp. 264–266.
90. BRA, GA 818, fol. 4.
91. BSA, PR 129, 27 January 1602.
92. BRA, GA 818, fol. 121.
93. BRA, GA 818, fol. 174.
94. De Bie 1662, pp. 292–294. Daniel van Heil's son Theodoor also became a painter in the Brussels guild. He was registered as a master in 1668 and painted landscapes in the manner of his father. BRA, GA 818, fol. 237.
95. De Bie 1662, pp. 526–527.
96. De Bie 1662, pp. 342–343.
97. BSA, PR 85, 12 October 1613; BSA, PR 86, 4 May 1617.
98. BRA, GA 818, fol. 128. Jan Baptist Sallaert's father was also called Antoon. This has caused much confusion among scholars who incorrectly labelled the apprentice as his uncle's son. Van der Vennet 1960, p. 190; Van der Vennet 1974–1980, p. 183; Donckerwolcke 1997, p. 15.
99. BRA, GA 818, fol. 180.
100. For Pieter Bout, see: Nica 1994; Nica 2020, pp. 97–111.
101. Van der Stighelen 2005; Van der Stighelen 2018a.
102. Van der Stighelen 2018b, pp. 22–27.
103. Van der Stighelen 2018c, pp. 135–153.
104. Van der Stighelen 2005.
105. Theys 1952; Theys 1960, pp. 390–399; Donckerwolcke 1997.

106. For female members in the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers, see: Chapter 2.3.
107. Vaccaro 2007, p. 368; Alfani 2012, p. 47; Alen 2017, p. 341.
108. Alfani and Gourdon 2009. For baptism and marriage rituals in the early modern Southern Netherlands, see: Marinus 1995, pp. 222–224, 226–231; Cloet 1996; Cloet and Storme 2000.
109. Alfani and Gourdon 2012a, pp. 1006, 1009.
110. Cloet and Storme 2000, p. 28; Verberckmoes 2015, pp. 123, 129.
111. Cloet 1996, pp. 80–81.
112. Appointing more than two godparents was not allowed. Alfani 2009, p. 58.
113. Alfani, Gourdon, and Vatali 2012, p. 486.
114. BSA, PR 342, 6 April 1654; BSA, PR 305, 1 July 1674.
115. Eleven other painters became godparent to the child of a related painter.
116. BSA, PR 340, 1 October 1643.
117. Brosens and De Laet 2009, pp. 366–367.
118. BSA, PR 91, 18 May 1646.
119. For d'Artois and De Vadder, see: Chapter 5.
120. BSA, PR 257, 29 March 1675; BSA, PR 350, 8 June 1680.
121. BSA, PR 255, 17 June 1660; BSA, PR 256, 8 March 1671.
122. BSA, PR 255, 23 April 1663; BSA, PR 255, 20 May 1665.
123. For Teniers' activities as a tapestry designer, see: Vlieghe 1959–1960. For father and son Van Schoor's activities as tapestry designers, see: Wauters 1878, pp. 262, 270–271; Brosens 2004a, pp. 91–97. For Cousin's activity as a tapestry designer, see: BSA, RT 1298, 23 November 1662; Delmarcel, García Calvo, and Brosens 2010. For Verschuren's activity as a tapestry designer, see: BRA, NO 4449, 12 December 1667; Brosens and De Laet 2009, p. 362.
124. Brosens 2008, pp. 183–186.
125. Cloet and Storme 2000, p. 24; Sperling 2004, pp. 70–71.
126. Alen 2017, p. 308.
127. Presumably the many marriages without recorded witnesses were double registrations in the parish of the groom. Marriages traditionally took place in the parish of the bride, but in some cases the union was recorded in that of her spouse as well. For instance, at least 14 marriages of Brussels master painters were documented in both.
128. Thirteen other painters were a witness at a related painter's wedding.
129. BSA, PR 476, 15 February 1659.
130. BRA, GA 818, fol. 219.
131. BSA, PR 136, 15 March 1663.
132. BRA, GA 818, fol. 215.
133. BSA, PR 17, 1 June 1670.

Chapter 2. The Second Place

1. For an extensive bibliographic list with studies on guilds in the Southern Netherlands until 1999, see: Jacobs and Vanbellinghen 1999. See also: Stabel 2004; Lis and Soly 2006; Berlin 2008; De Munck 2010a.
2. The historian Henri Pirenne (1862–1935) even argued that guild egalitarianism had paved the way for the establishment of urban democracies in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Pirenne 1910. In the 1930s, these idealising ideas about guilds were also very popular among fascist ideologists, see: Luyten 1993.
3. Des Marez 1904; Pirenne 1922, pp. 28–74, 435–438. These negative evaluations of guilds were strongly inspired by the works of early economic thinkers such as Adam Smith (1723–1790), who famously declared them to be 'a conspiracy against the public'. Smith 1776, p. 137.
4. These early contributions include the work of Jan Craeybeckx, Félicien Favresse, Jean-Pierre Sosson, and Raymond van Uytven. See among others: Favresse 1961; Craeybeckx 1962; Sosson 1962; Van Uytven 1962; Sosson 1966; Sosson 1970.
5. For the 'economic rehabilitation' of guilds, see: Lucassen, De Moor, and Van Zanden 2008. See also the contributions of Stephen R. Epstein, James R. Farr, and Ulrich Pfister on the economic advantages of guilds outside of the Southern Netherlands: Farr 1997; Epstein 1998; Pfister 1998; Farr 2000; Epstein and Prak 2008. For Epstein's considerable influence on the guild debate, see: Prak 2008a.
6. According to the Dutch historian Maarten Prak, Lis and Soly's research on guilds in the Southern Netherlands 'helped the region become, with regard to guilds, one of the most closely investigated in the whole world', Prak 2014, p. 285. See among others: Lis and Soly 1994; Lis and Soly 1997; Lis and Soly 2006. For Lis and Soly's complete bibliography, see: Willems 2011.
7. See among others: Martens 1998; De Marchi and Van Miegroet 2000; Vermeylen 2003 (especially the fourth chapter); Martens and Peeters 2006a; Martens and Peeters 2006b; Stabel 2006; Van der Stighelen and Vermeylen 2006; Peeters 2007; Peeters 2009. See also Maarten Prak's studies of painters' guilds in the Northern Netherlands: Prak 2003; Prak 2008b.
8. Van der Stighelen and Vermeylen 2006, p. 206 (emphasis in original).
9. In this regard, historians began to question once again the over-positive view of the economic benefits provided by guilds. This led to heated discussions among scholars. Especially the one between Stephen R. Epstein and Sheilagh Ogilvie stands out, see: Ogilvie 2004a; Epstein 2008; Ogilvie 2008.
10. De Moor 2008, pp. 207–208.
11. For the mutual aid provided by guilds, see also: Bos 2006; De Munck 2009.
12. De Moor 2008; De Moor 2010. For similar statements about guilds outside the Southern Netherlands, see: Black 1984; Lynch 2003; Mitterauer 2004; Ogilvie 2004b.

13. De Munck 2010a, p. 92.
14. De Munck 2001; De Munck 2007; De Munck and Soly 2007; De Munck 2010a; De Munck 2010b; De Munck 2011; De Munck 2018 (especially chapter 5).
15. Stabel 2004, pp. 210–211; Stabel 2007, pp. 174–175. See also: De Munck 2011, pp. 239–242; Prak, Crowston, De Munck, et al. 2018.
16. Dambruyne 1998, pp. 72–73; Stabel 2007, p. 175.
17. Granovetter 1973; Granovetter 1985; Uzzi 1996; Uzzi 1997; Smith-Doerr and Powell 2005; Uzzi and Spiro 2005; Padgett and Powell 2012.
18. Uzzi and Spiro studied a group of artists who created original Broadway musicals from 1945 to 1989. Uzzi and Spiro 2005.
19. There are some exceptions. Particularly, in his contribution on the Ghent Guild of Saint Luke, Tim de Doncker discussed in detail the social importance of the guild and the social mobility of the artists within it. Additionally, Géraldine Patigny provided more insight into the Brussels Guild of the Four Crowned Saints, which included sculptors and stonecutters, in her detailed studies on the Duquesnoy workshop. De Doncker 2007; Patigny 2014.
20. Pinchart 1877; Pinchart 1878b; Pinchart 1879.
21. Kervyn de Meerendré 1973.
22. Brosens, Beerens, Cardoso, et al. 2019. In 2021, this study was supplemented with a comparative piece on the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke; see: Brosens and De Prekel 2021.
23. The rest of this chapter contains slightly modified parts of Brosens, Beerens, Cardoso, et al. 2019.
24. Des Marez 1904, pp. 13–14, 27.
25. As the renowned economist George Akerlof demonstrated in his influential 1970 paper 'The Market for "Lemons"', any doubts regarding quality – justifiable or not – could render a market non-functional. Akerlof 1970.
26. Mathieu 1953, p. 225.
27. In addition to the Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers, the Nation of Saint John consisted of blacksmiths, tinsmiths, farriers, pan smiths, cutlers, locksmiths and watchmakers, saddlers and harness makers, turners, plasterers and stuccadores, and thatchers and basket weavers. Graffart 1980, pp. 270–271. See also: Wauthier 1989; Jacobs 2004, pp. 105–107.
28. Des Marez 1904, pp. 441–443; Roobaert 2015, p. 105.
29. Farr 2000, p. 226; Vermeylen 2003, p. 130.
30. BRA, GA 818. For a detailed description of this sources, see: Brosens, Beerens, Cardoso, et al. 2019 and the Methods and Sources section of this study's introduction.
31. The number of masters includes the registrations of all independent artists: that is, masters, masters sons, and those admitted for gratitude, 'cortosie', and 'reconue'. The latter tree variants of artists will be explained in more detail in the next section.

32. An obvious model that is followed by most, if not all, art historians when approaching trends of this kind, see for example: Kervyn de Meerendré 1973, p. 151; Sosson 1970, p. 100; Van Miegroet and De Marchi 1999, p. 83; Vermeylen 2003, pp. 109–118; Martens and Peeters 2006a, p. 211.
33. For guild members' reducing commitment to their communities, see: De Munck 2018, pp. 229–280.
34. BSA, PB 1318, fol. 314v–330r.
35. De Moor 2008, pp. 193–196; Ogilvie 2019, p. 169.
36. Ogilvie 2004a, p. 3; Ogilvie 2019, p.18.
37. BSA 1447, fols. 9r, 49v–50r, 65r, 66r. For a discussion about the guild's ordinances, see: Favresse 1947, pp. 76–79; Mathieu 1953.
38. BSA, PB 1318, fol. 314v–330r. The main purpose of the ordinance re-adoption appears to have been to convey the existing rules to the aforementioned interlopers. The conditions to join the guild barely changed. The only remarkable modification was that the entrance fees were slightly increased. A measure that, according to Maarten Prak, Bert de Munck, and Karel Davids, was generally more related to a guild's need for extra revenue than to more seclusion. See: De Munck and Davids 2014, p. 206; and Prak 2014, p. 286.
39. BSA, PB 1318, fol. 314v–330r (articles 2–5).
40. Clerbaut 1897, pp. 401–402; Ogilvie 2019, pp. 96–100.
41. Clerbaut 1897, p. 413; Clerbaut 1898, p. 199.
42. The oath of the guild has been preserved and reads as follows: 'Eedt vanden Nieuwen Meester van het Schilders Gautslaegers ende Gelaesemaeckers Ambacht: Ick gelove sekere ende swere dat ick mynen Heere den HERTOCH van BRABANT, der Stadt van BRUSSELE ende mynen AMBACHTE goedt ende getrouw sal syn, ende dat ick sal hauden des Ambachts Prævilegien die het nu heeft ende naermaels verkryghen sal, ende dat ick altyt sal onderdaenigh ende bereet syn in alle behoorelycke saecken daer ick vande gesworene sal toe vermaent worden, sonder my selven daer inne t' excuseren oft te soecken te laeten in eeniger manieren. Alsoo moet my GODT helpen ende alle syne HEYLIGHEN.' This transcript is based on the version in the Brussels State Archives. BRA, GA 1158.
43. BSA, PB 1318, fol. 314v–330r (articles 1, 9–12). However, the guild's membership register indicates the guild's deans decided to introduce the obligation for new master stained-glass makers and goldbeaters to submit a masterpiece from 1672 onwards. This requirement was never imposed on new master painters. See: Brosens, Beerens, Cardoso, et al. 2019, pp. 537–538.
44. BSA, PB 1318, fol. 314v–330r (article 2).
45. 'om te leeren teekenen tot enich ander ambacht'. BRA, GA 818, fols. 200 and 218.
46. None of the apprentice entries after 1664 mentioned the new member's place of birth.
47. BRA, GA 818, fol. 13.

48. For the role and status of journeymen painters in the early modern Low Countries, see: Peeters 2007.
49. BSA, PB 1318, fol. 314v–330r (article 32).
50. To illustrate, in 1647 the Antwerp painter Michiel Coignet (*c.*1618–1683) had received 2.4 guilders for adding a handful of figures to a painting, and his contemporary Justo Daniels (1618–after 1666) was paid around one guilder for every figure that he painted in diverse landscapes. Van Ginhoven 2017, pp. 91–92.
51. BSA, PB 1318, fol. 314v–330r (articles 30–31).
52. That masters from outside the city struggled to pay the high cost of becoming a *poorter* was evidenced, for example, by a petition Boudewyn Bedet presented to the city on 10 July 1649. The painter asked the city for a 50 per cent discount on his citizenship because he could not afford them and therefore was not allowed to work in the city. He specified that he had used up all his resources in France and England, where he had resided to perfect his profession. The city approved his request five days later after which Bedet became a citizen and joined the guild on 15 January 1650. BRA, GA 818, fol. 189; Nica 2020, pp. 69–70.
53. For the fluctuating costs of becoming a '*poorter*' in Brussels, see: Clerbaut 1898, p. 199.
54. None of the master entries after 1679 mentioned the new member's place of birth.
55. Caluwaerts 2005; Caluwaerts 2010.
56. To measure the relation between the year in which these artisans purchased their citizenships and the year in which they were registered as masters, I calculated the sample Pearson correlation coefficients using the dates of both events as follows:

$$r=\frac{1}{(n-1)}\sum_{i=1}^{n}\left(\frac{xi-\bar{x}}{Sx}\right)*\left(\frac{yi-\bar{y}}{Sy}\right)$$

The calculation of r is based on the standard scores of every variable and always ranges from -1 and 1. A value of $r = 1$ implies a perfect positive correlation and a value of $r = -1$ a perfect negative correlation. In this case $r= 0.997$.
57. His apprentice entry specifies that he had yet to purchase his '*poorter*' status at the time of registration. BRA, GA 818, fols. 15 and 31.
58. BSA, RT 1293, fol. 210v–211v.
59. BSA, RT 1293, fol. 268r–269v; BSA, PB 1318, fol. 330v–331v.
60. BSA, PB 1318, fols. 330v–331v and 332r–333v.
61. BRA, GA 818, fols. 186 and 194. Wautier had already paid the 'rechten van het ambacht' (rights of the craft) five years before he became a master.
62. 'geaccordeert om poorter te worden'. BRA, GA 818, fol. 205.
63. Caluwaerts 2005, p. 18.
64. Clerbaut 1898, p. 199; BRA, GA 818, fols. 212 and 215.
65. BRA, GA 818, fol. 215.
66. BRA, GA 818, fol. 223.

67. BRA, GA 818, fols. 226 and 227.
68. BRA, GA 818, fols. 78 and 173. These entries specified that Van Empel was born in Mechelen and Cousin in Nieuwpoort. Cousin himself later wrote that he hailed from Ninove. The guild official may have made a mistake when he first registered Cousin. Bodart 1970, p. 154. For Cousin, see: Van Puyvelde 1958b; Polverari 2014.
69. BRA, GA 818, fols. 233 and 236. While this 'bonnecroij' does not recur anywhere else in the register, he can be identified with the Antwerp painter Jan Baptist Bonnecroy (1618–*c.*1676) who painted various views of Brussels.
70. BRA, GA 818, fol. 247.
71. BRA, GA 818, fol. 250.
72. BRA, GA 818, fols. 227 and 251.
73. Galesloot 1867a, pp. 475–476.
74. Brosens and De Prekel 2021, p. 140. For this strategy as a common practice, see: De Munck 2008; Prak 2014; Prak, Crowston, De Munck, et al. 2018.
75. Galesloot 1867a, pp. 475–476. Masters who had not yet reached the age of majority were also not allowed to swear the oath and had to postpone it to a later date. For the importance of taking an oath, see: De Moor 2008, pp. 193–194.
76. In contrast, the Antwerp painters' guild was open to female members. The fact that this was not the case in Brussels may have to do with the political role of the guild. Recent studies suggest that guilds with political influence were much more likely to have a strong bias against women. Brosens and De Prekel 2021, p. 132. For women and guilds, see: Crowston 2008; Prak 2014, pp. 286–288.
77. BRA, GA 818, fol. 297. For clarity's sake, it should be nuanced that there were also female artists in Brussels who worked outside the confines of the guild. For instance, as discussed in Chapter 1.4. the painter Michaelina Wautier managed to build a prolific career within the city without ever joining the organisation. For Wautier, see: Van der Stighelen 2018a. For a general survey of female artists in the Southern Netherlands, see: Van der Stighelen and Westen 1999.
78. The year of Elisabeth Seldron's birth is unknown. On 12 January 1681 an Elisabeth, daughter of Andries Celdrin and Anna Marchant, was baptised in the Church of Our Lady of the Chapel and on 7 May 1682 an Elisabeth, daughter of Simon Celderon and Elisabeth Blaupaus, was baptisted in the Church of Our Lady of Finistère. The parents of these two Elisabeths do not correspond to the couple Hendrik Seldron and Anna van der Meirsschen, who are repeatedly referred to in literature as the parents of the painter Elisabeth Seldron. However, it is also doubtful whether this couple were actually Seldron's parents. On 4 October 1699 – three years before Seldron joined the guild – a couple named Henri Selderen and Anna van der Meers married in the Church of Saint Michael and Saint Gudula. It seems likely that they are the couple incorrectly identified as the painter's parents based on a document from 1742. BSA, PR 351, 12 January 1681; BSA, PR 431, 7 May 1682; BSA, PR 140, 4 October 1699; Van der Stighelen and Westen, 1999, pp. 203–204.

79. To illustrate, signed works by Seldron were offered for auction at Bukowskis in Stockholm in 2001, at Bonhams in London in 2006, at Dorotheum in Vienna in 2007 (fig. 13), and at Massol and Artcurial in Paris in 2008 and 2010. For Seldron, see: Van der Stighelen and Van Cauwenberge, 1998, p. 179; Van der Stighelen and Westen, 1999, pp. 203–204; De Schepper 2007.
80. De Munck 2007, pp. 185–192.
81. BRA, GA 818, fols. 173, 208, and 299.
82. BRA, GA 818, fols. 26, 42, 52, 162, 232, and 273.
83. BRA, GA 818, fols. 72, 77, and 161
84. BRA, GA 818, fol. 6.
85. BRA, GA 818, fol. 163.
86. BRA, GA 818, fol. 208.
87. Prak 2003, p. 244; Steidl 2007, p.143; De Munck 2011, pp. 231–232.
88. De Jager 1990, pp. 75–76.
89. Stabel 2007, pp. 172–174; Prak 2014, p. 209.
90. For the role and status of journeymen painters in the early modern Low Countries, see: Peeters 2007.
91. BRA, GA 818, fols. 212 and 227.
92. BRA, GA 818, fol. 233.
93. BRA, GA 818, fols. 78 and 226. For Cousin, see: Van Puyvelde 1958b; Polverari 2014.
94. For Cousin's time in Italy and his role within the Bentvueghels, see: Hoogewerff 1926; Hoogewerff 1952; Helmus 2023.
95. Of course, not every master was eager to become dean. For example, the painter Theodoor van Heil – who at that time had already served two terms as dean – requested exemption from the position from the guild on 23 December 1701, for the conspicuous reason that he could not tolerate the stench during the meetings of the nations in the town hall in winter. The guild agreed to his request in exchange for a painting the size of a mantelpiece. BRA, GA 817, fol. 9; Dambruyne 1998, p. 54; Nica 2020, p. 4878.
96. This data also includes the deans who were registered in the eighteenth-century guild register listing the new members and deans from 1707 to 1794, see: BRA, GA 819.
97. From 1599 to 1706, an additional twenty-seven deans were recorded whose names could not be identified with those of any of the masters. Twenty-one of them served around the start of the century and had therefore most likely joined the guild in the sixteenth century; the six remaining ones presumably never registered as masters at all. A noteworthy observation but, as the historian Hugo Soly discussed, not exceptional. See: Soly 2008, pp. 48–52.
98. For the inheritance of board positions in other guilds, see: Farr 2000, pp. 35–36; Schwarzberg 2016, pp. 266–267.
99. Dambruyne 1998, p. 61.

100. The trio consisted of the painter Hendrik Van den Houten, the stained-glass maker Christian Crockx, and the goldbeater Carel Judocus Raes.
101. Montias 1982, p. 93; Vermeylen 2003, p. 130.
102. For De Crayer, see: Vlieghe 1972; Du Bourg and Vézilier-Dussart 2018; Vlieghe 2018.
103. For the number of apprentices per master, see the next section.
104. Augustin Coppens, Christiaen Crocx, and Jan Baptist Maeseler also held the position of dean nine times. They, however, mainly served during the eighteenth century. BRA, GA 819.
105. BRA, GA 818, fol. 282.
106. De Moor 2008. See also: McRee 1993, p. 224; Keene 2006, pp. 7–10, 20.
107. For the training of seventeenth-century painters in the Netherlands, see: Martin 1905a; Martin 1905b; Martin 1905c; Miedema 1987; Bok 1990. For a general discussion of the training of apprentices in Antwerp, see: De Munck 2007, pp. 41–58.
108. Bok 1990, p. 64.
109. De Munck and Soly 2007, p. 4; Steidl 2007, p. 138.
110. Whether or not an apprentice moved in with his master depended – according to this historian Bert de Munck – on their geographical origin, age, and the size of the workshops in the occupational group concerned. De Munck 2007, pp. 201–227; De Munck and Soly 2007, pp. 20–23.
111. Smith 1981, pp. 449–460; Rappaport 1989, pp. 232–238; Kaplan 1993, pp. 438–443; Pelling 1994, pp. 33–56; Griffiths 1996, p. 299.
112. De Munck 2007, pp. 214–215; De Munck 2010b, pp. 3–4; Schalk, Wallis, Crowston, and Lemercier 2017.
113. BSA, PB 1318, fol. 314v–330r (articles 7, 8, 15, and 26).
114. Although Van Hoochstadt is now virtually unknown, he was eulogised by his contemporary Cornelis De Bie. De Bie 1662, p. 413.
115. BRA, GA 818, fols. 251–252.
116. For David III Teniers, see: Vlieghe 2011, pp. 76–81.
117. In addition to the two contracts described below, see: Nica 2020, pp. 417, 421, 3073, 3165–3166.
118. BRA, NO 2334(2), 23 March 1656.
119. BRA, NO 2390, 17 November 1696. Francois Boelie would later join the guild as a 'reconue' painter in December 1698. BRA, GA 818, fol. 287.
120. The art historian Ronald de Jager came to a similar conclusion in his study of seventeenth-century apprenticeship contracts in the Dutch Republic. He argued that learning processes were so embedded in tradition that clarification was meaningless. De Jager 1990, p. 85.
121. For similar observations in other guilds, see: De Munck 2007, pp. 214–215; De Munck 2010b, pp. 3–4; Schalk, Wallis, Crowston, et al. 2017. Of course, this initial distrust between masters and apprentices did not mean that the relationships they built remained forever businesslike. For example, the painter Pieter van Gindertaelen was a witness at the wedding of

his former apprentice Lanceloot Volders, and the painters Augustyn Coppens and Adriaen de Caron both included their apprentices and journeymen in their testaments. More specifically, Coppens bequeathed 25 drawings and 6 sketches to his pupils Joseph Lamberti and Lucas van der Stock and De Caron all his pots of paint, 'bruijneer' stones, and brushes to his journeymen Pieter Reinier Jacobs and Jacobus Francois. BSA, PR 136, 15 March 1663; Nica 2020, pp. 129–130, 2967–2968.

122. De Munck 2007, p. 215.
123. De Moor 2008; Ogilvie 2019, pp. 523–524.
124. Deceulaer and Verleysen 2006, pp. 165–185. See also: Deceulaer and Verleysen 2011.
125. Ogilvie 2019, pp. 523–524.
126. Deceulaer and Verleysen 2006, p. 169. For the guild's annual meeting on 24 June, see: Nica 2020, p. 4841.
127. BRA, GA 818, fol. 197.
128. BRA, GA 818, fols. 233, 241, 247, and 250. From 1618 to 1690 the register records an additional 69 new masters who donated a plate and a napkin ('tailloir en serviet') at their enrolment. It is likely that these plates and napkins were used during the guild's meals. Since the use of plates did not become universal in the Southern Netherlands until the eighteenth century, when the country's eating culture entered a phase of individualisation, the plates and napkins donated and used by the Brussels painters, stained-glass makers, and goldbeaters testify to their pride, sophistication, and self-assurance. For similar strategies developed by sixteenth-century guilds, see: Dambruyne 1997, pp. 151–211; Dambruyne 2002, p. 117.
129. Deceulaer and Verleysen 2006, p. 170. Not every new master was willing to offer the guild a meal. For example, a 1674 document describes a conflict between newly joined master painter Jan Leonardi and one of the then serving deans Christoffel Goffin. Goffin had proposed a list of what the meal of new masters should meet. When Leonardi faced this list, he refused to accept it, stating that he would rather use the same money to litigate against the guild than to offer them a meal. Nica 2020, p. 3352.
130. See for instance: Prak, Crowston, Kissane, et al. 2014, p. 20.
131. For Snayers, see: Foucart and Hénault 1895; Kelchtermans 2013a; Kelchtermans 2018; Sennewald 2018.
132. Kelchtermans 2013b, p. 186.
133. VMA, AA 258, no. 1212; cited in Van der Stighelen 2018b, pp. 30–32.
134. Kelchtermans 2013a, vol. 2, p. 54; Sanzsalazar 2018, pp. 73, 82. For an even better idea of what the Battle of Valenciennes must have looked like, see the detailed description by Cornelis de Bie: De Bie 1662, pp. 223–224.
135. Farr 2000, p. 226; Ogilvie 2004c; Prak 2014, pp. 285–286.
136. Kaplan 1986; Ogilvie 2019, pp. 23–24.
137. BRA, GA 818, fol. 277.
138. Goddard 2013.

139. BSA, PB 1318, fol. 314v–330r (articles 33–35).
140. Nica 2020, p. 4872.
141. To convene a board meeting, the deans distributed handwritten notes officially announcing the date and time of the meeting. Individual members could also request a meeting with the board. However, they had to pay an amount of 4 guilders and 10 stuyvers for this. For the meetings of the deans and elders, see: BRA, GA 817; Nica 2020, p. 4832.
142. BRA, GA 818.
143. To measure the efficiency of information in the deans' network, I calculated the mean distance between them as follows:

$$l = \frac{1}{n(n-1)} \sum_{i \neq j} d_{ij}$$

The calculation of l is based on the average number of steps along the shortest path between any pair of nodes (e.g., the distance from i to j). The shortest path from each node to itself is excluded. See: Newman 2010, pp. 181–185.
144. The diameter of the network – that is, the longest shortest path between any two nodes – is eleven steps.
145. To measure the degree to which the guild's deans clustered together, I calculated the global clustering coefficient as follows:

$$C = \frac{(number\ of\ triangles) \times 3}{(number\ of\ connected\ triples)}$$

The value of the clustering coefficient always ranges from 0 to 1. A value of $C = 1$ implies a network where each component consists of a clique (e.g., all nodes are connected to all others). A value of $C = 0$ implies no cliques at all. According to Newman the typical values for social networks range from $C = 0.09$ to $C = 0.2$. In this case $C = 0.29$. See: Newman 2010, pp. 198–201.
146. For a similar continuity in board members in the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke, see: Vermeylen 2003, p. 130.
147. BRA, NO 1701(2), 11 January 1672; BRA, NO 1701(2), 11 January 1673.
148. Similar concentrations of apprentices were also observed in nearby artistic centres such as Antwerp, Ghent, and Utrecht. Bok 1990, p. 64; De Doncker 2015, pp. 222–223; Brosens and De Prekel 2021, pp. 142–145.

Chapter 3. The Third Place

1. Oldenburg 1989, p. 16.
2. Oldenburg 1989, p. 39 For Oldenburg's characterisation of third places, see especially his second chapter: Oldenburg 1989, pp. 20–42.
3. Oldenburg 1989.

4. Soly 1983.
5. Kümin 1999; Tlusty 2001; Kümin and Tlusty 2002b; Kümin 2007; Hell 2017.
6. Hell 2017, p. 377.
7. Hell 2017, p. 376.
8. Waite 2000; Ramakers 2003; Van Dixhoorn and Roberts 2003; Van Dixhoorn 2009; Van Dijck 2012; Waite 2018.
9. Van Bruaene 2004; Van Bruaene 2005; Van Bruaene 2008; Van Bruaene and Van Bouchaute 2017; Van Bruaene 2018.
10. Van Bruaene 2008, pp. 122–127.
11. For a survey of recent scholarship, see: Eisenbichler 2019. See also the rubric 'Publications Received' in the biannual journal *Confraternitas*.
12. Reid 2003, p. 3.
13. Trio 1993; Marinus 1995; Brown 2011; Van Dijck 2012; Dewilde 2012a; Trio 2019.
14. Trio 1994, pp. 106–107.
15. Campbell 1976; Ramakers 1996; Bruijnen 2003; Roobaert 2014; Roobaert and Jacobs 2015; Meganck and Van Sprang 2015; Van Bruaene 2018.
16. Timmermans 2008, pp. 243–246.
17. Rallet and Torre 2008; Andersson, Andersson, Daghbashyan, et al. 2014.
18. O'Hagan and Hellmanzik 2008; Rasterhoff 2017.
19. Alen 2017, pp. 186–189; Li, Bok, Kisjes, et al. 2018.
20. The terminology to describe public houses varied greatly. In seventeenth-century Brussels they were mostly referred to as 'herberg'. For discussions about this linguistic variety, see: Van Haver 1984, pp. 165–166; Kümin and Tlusty 2002a, p. 6; Kümin 2007, pp. 17–24.
21. Soly 1983, pp. 569–570; Van Bouchaute 2011, p. 14.
22. Soly 1983, p. 570.
23. Kümin's per capita ratios for early modern Bavaria, Bern, and England varied between one public house per 84 people to one per 350 people. Hell's estimates for Amsterdam fluctuated around one establishment per 150 inhabitants. Kümin 2007, p. 29; Hell 2017, p. 426.
24. The beer that was not consumed in Brussels itself was exported to neighbouring cities such as Leuven and Vilvoorde. Van Uytven 1973, p. 36.
25. Soly 1983, pp. 570–573; Kümin and Tlusty 2002a; Willems 2009, p. 186; Van Bouchaute 2011, pp. 13–16.
26. Kümin 2007, pp. 115–142; Van Bouchaute 2011, pp. 15–16.
27. Hermesdorf 1977, pp. 167–178; Soly 1983, p. 570; Willems 2009, p. 186.
28. Van Uytven 1973, p. 15.
29. Vanhee 2007, pp. 21–22; Alen 2017, pp. 137–138; Hell 2017, pp. 51–53.
30. Other documents show that painters and dealers from outside Brussels used Brussels' inns to trade as well. For example, the art dealer Engelbert van den Berghe stated in 1645 that, at the request of his Antwerp and Mechelen colleagues Gillis Coinnet and Gillis Nens, he stored

paintings in the inn Amstelredam located 'opde Vaert'. In addition, an Antwerp painter – whose name was not mentioned – paid a fine to the guild in 1695 because he wanted to sell his paintings by auction from the inn Hertoch Jan. Nica 2020, pp. 3684–3688, 5453.

31. AFA, NO 2855, 9 December 1633; Duverger 1987, pp. 362–363.
32. AFA, NO 2605, 27 October 1651; Duverger 1992, pp. 228–229; De Clippel 2006, p. 24.
33. Since drinking and trading were so intertwined, most cities had specific rules regarding contracts that were concluded in public houses. Both parties had the option to withdraw within a set period of time – usually until the following day at noon – as long as they paid for all the consumed drinks of the previous evening. Hermesdorf 1977, pp. 172–178; Soly 1983, p. 570.
34. BSA, PO 2432; Brosens, Alen, and Slegten 2016, pp. 64–65.
35. De Baere 1946a; Van Bruaene 2008, pp. 115–148.
36. For an overview of these festivities and events, see: De Baere 1946b, pp. 107–108.
37. Tichonius 1635. Tichonius eyewitness account of the chamber's plays was cited and translated from Latin in: De Baere 1646b, pp. 108–109. For Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand's Joyous Entry into Brussels, see: Waterschoot 1989.
38. For an overview of the competitions organised by Brussels' chambers, see: De Baere 1648a.
39. De Baere 1648b, pp. 54–55; Van Vaeck 1992. For the 1620 'blazoenfeest', see: Baccaert 1941.
40. Van Bruaene 2004, pp. 225–228; Sleiderinck 2014, pp. 864–865.
41. Exceptional is the period during the Twelve Years' Truce (1609–1621). In these years the chambers were encouraged to propagate religious and dynastic messages. Van Bruaene 2004, pp. 225–228; Van Bruaene 2005, p. 13.
42. Van Bruaene 2004, p. 231; Van Bruaene and Van Bouchaute 2017, p. 5.
43. De Baere 1649, pp. 13–14. Van Bruaene 2005, p. 19; Van Bruaene and Van Bouchaute 2017, p. 5; Van Bruaene 2018, pp. 100–102. 'Personagien' were often young men with a relatively low social status. Van Bruaene 2008, p. 119.
44. Timmermans 2008, p. 244; Alen 2017, p. 404.
45. KBR, MS 21377.
46. De Baere 1949, pp. 73–79; Van Bruaene 2008, p.120.
47. Claessens joined 'Den Boeck' in 1603, Caussens in 1615, Meysens in 1636, Goffin and Lemmens in 1644, Wouwermans in 1648, and Volders in 1666. KBR, MS 21377, fols. 52, 57, 60, 62–64, 69.
48. KBR, MS 21377, fols. 53, 67, 69–70, 72.
49. KBR, MS G. 219.
50. De Baere 1949, pp. 73–79.
51. For the period 1560 to 1585, Van Bruaene counted more board members in 'De Corenbloem' than sworn members in 'Den Boeck'. Van Bruaene 2008, p.120.
52. KBR, MS G. 219, fols. 76, 81. Jan Noveliers was appointed dean in 1618, Habaert in 1623, Van Opstal in 1625, Diertyts in 1634, Salomon Noveliers in 1650, Van der Baeren in 1651,

and Janssens in 1699. Jan Noveliers, Van Opstal, and Van der Baeren were later also named elder in 1629, 1637, and 1659, respectively. KBR, MS G. 219, fols. 76–81, 87, 95, 112.

53. BSA, HA 3413, fols. 288[v]–350[v]. For a detailed description of the manuscript, see: Speakman Sutch 2015.
54. Speakman Sutch 2015, p. 19.
55. BSA, HA 3413, fols. 288–350.
56. De Paege was provost in 1624 and 1636, Coppens in 1633 and 1634, and De Bargas in 1698 and 1712. BSA, HA 3413, fols. 298, 314–315, 335, 338.
57. Ruelens 1871, pp. 88–89; De Baere 1949, pp. 1–5; Van Bruaene 2008, p. 118.
58. Timmermans 2008, p. 244; Alen 2017, p. 404.
59. Van Bruaene 2008, p. 126.
60. Timmermans 2008, p. 244; Alen 2017, p. 404.
61. For the educational function of chambers of rhetoric, see: Van Dixhoorn 2003, pp. 385–406.
62. Bruijnen 2003, pp. 247–259.
63. De Baere 1949, pp. 8–9; Van Bruaene 2005, p. 20.
64. Roobaert 2015, p. 251.
65. De Baere 1949, pp. 11–12; Van Bruaene 2008, pp. 125–126. For De Punder, see: Van Gelder 1942; Duverger 1943.
66. De Baere 1949, pp. 12–13.
67. Trio 1994, p. 106; Farr 2000, p. 230.
68. Roobaert 2015, p. 172; Marnef and Van Bruaene 2016, p. 182; Dewilde and Vannieuwenhuyze 2017, p. 58.
69. Smeyers 1991, p. 224; Farr 2000, p. 230.
70. Timmermans 2008, pp. 243–244; Dewilde and Vannieuwenhuyze 2017, p. 58.
71. Trio 1994, p. 108; Roobaert 2015, p. 250; Marnef and Van Bruaene 2016, p. 183.
72. Unfortunately, the Brussels confraternities have never been studied systematically. For this reason, the exact number of associations in the city and the social groups they represented remains unknown. Dewilde and Vannieuwenhuyze 2017, p. 60.
73. For the Seven Sorrows confraternity, see: Thelen 2015; Dewilde and Vannieuwenhuyze 2017.
74. The Church of Saint Gorik closed in 1797 and was demolished shortly after. Cammaert 2007, pp. 155–157
75. Dewilde and Vannieuwenhuyze 2017, pp. 189–190.
76. Trio 1994, p. 108.
77. BSA, HA 3413, fols. 288–350; Speakman Sutch 2015, p. 19.
78. BSA, HA 3413, fols. 315 and 338.
79. For a detailed report on the Seven Sorrows Confraternity's patronage, see: Roobaert and Jacobs 2015; Meganck and Van Sprang 2015.
80. For both the altarpiece and the six additional paintings, see: Meganck and Sprang 2015.

81. BSA, HA 1499. For a detailed description and transcription of this source, see: Dewilde and Vannieuwenhuyze 2017.
82. Dewilde and Vannieuwenhuyze 2017, p. 107; Van der Stighelen 2018b, p. 38.
83. For the Brotherhood of Saint Ildefonso, see: Roobaert 2014, pp. 217–219.
84. Rooses 1888, pp. 299–300; Roobaert 2014, p. 217.
85. BRA, CA 6914.
86. The register is relatively sloppy and lists the new members in a predominantly alphabetical order based on their first names. BRA, CA 6914.
87. Roobaert 2014, pp. 217–218.
88. BRA, CA 6916, fol. 207v; cited by Roobaert 2014, p. 219.
89. BRA, CA 6916, fol. 245v; cited by Roobaert 2014, p. 219.
90. For the Confraternity of Saint Eloi, see: Libois 1953; Libois 1967; Libois 1968; Libois 1969.
91. These external charitable initiatives were fairly limited in the Netherlands. Unlike in Italy, only a small number of confraternities took care of the poor, the sick, or other people in need. Trio 1994, pp. 107–108; Marnef and Van Bruaene 2016, p. 182; Dewilde and Vannieuwenhuyze 2017, p. 60.
92. Des Marez 1921, pp. 25–26; Libois 1967, p. 53.
93. Roobaert 2015, pp. 105–106.
94. Lefèvre 1936, pp. 54–58; Lefèvre 1975, pp. 352–353; Van Tongerloo 1975, pp. 22–23; De Ridder 1992, pp. 52–53.
95. BAO, B 1337–1411.
96. Libois 1698, pp. 56–66; Roobaert 2015, pp. 258–259.
97. This only includes the members who became master from 1599 to 1706. Two additional painters and one goldbeater who became masters in the sixteenth century also served as '*provisoor*'. BAO, B 1337–1411.
98. BAO, B 1361–1364; 1367–1368.
99. Carel de Swert died while in office in 1708. He was succeeded by the stained-glass maker Hendrick van Bronckhorst. BAO, B 1393–1394; 1406–1409.
100. For the board of the Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers, see: Chapter 2.4.2 and Chapter 2.5.2.
101. BAO, B 1361–1364; 1367–1368; 1385–1387; 1397–1399.
102. The stained-glass maker Cornelis van Bronckhorst served from 1582 to 1585. Roobaert 2015, pp. 262–265.
103. Roobaert 2015, pp. 259–260.
104. BAO, B 1348; BRA, GA 818, fols. 7, 10, 20, 28.
105. BAO, B 1357–1358; BRA, GA 818, fol. 7.
106. Later entries of guild members on the confraternity's board seem to have recorded the correct professions. In all cases, they correspond to the respective artist's enrolment as an apprentice or master.

107. All these artists were probably members of the confraternity. Research by Roobaert and Jacobs shows that religious sodalities rarely hired outsiders for their commissions. Roobaert and Jacobs 2015, p. 110.
108. BAO, B 1359, fol. 165; 1380, fol. 110; Frankignoulle and Bonenfant 1935, pp. 26–27.
109. BAO, B 1388, fol. 143v; Frankignoulle and Bonenfant 1935, p. 27. For the 1670 celebration of the Sacrament of Miracle, see: Stroobant 1670; Van de Staey 2015.
110. BAO, B 1390, fol. 142; Frankignoulle and Bonenfant 1935, p. 27.
111. BAO, B 1390, fol. 142; 1392, fol. 154; 1401, fol. 188; 1405, fol. 105; Frankignoulle and Bonenfant 1935, pp. 27–29.
112. BAO, B 1405, fol. 105; Frankignoulle and Bonenfant 1935, p. 28; Dickstein-Bernard 1994, pp. 61–63.
113. Farr 2000, p. 240.
114. Farr 2000, pp. 240–241.
115. Andersson, Andersson, Daghbashyan, et al. 2014, p. 130; Rasterhoff 2017, pp. 228–229; Li, Bok, Kisjes, et al. 2018. For a critical comment on the concept of 'spillovers' and the difficulties in measuring them, see: Krugman 1991, pp. 52–54.
116. For a comprehensive report of the parishes' origins and initial boundaries, see: Laurent 1963; Vannieuwenhuyze 2008, pp. 58–116.
117. De Ridder 1989.
118. Based on an analysis of 77 painters who married from 1600 to 1708.
119. The painter Carel Alexander Van Geel also baptised at least two of his children in the Parish of Saint-Jacques on the Coudenberg. His first child, however, received the sacrament in the Church of Saint Michael and Saint Gudula. BSA, PR 91, 19 July 1946; BSA, PR 304, 13 February 1654 and 11 July 1659.
120. Roobaert 2014, p. 218. David II Teniers became godfather of his grandchild David and David III Teniers of De Hondt's daughter Maria Isabella. BSA, PR 305, 23 October 1672 and 30 April 1674. For the relationship between the Teniers family and De Hondt, see: Introduction.
121. Kamen 2001; Falkner 2015.
122. For a list of those involved per district, see: Swinnen 2018, pp. 19–20.
123. Swinnen 2018.
124. Fifteen of these painters were never recorded in the membership register of the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers. Three of them were recorded without a name, two were described as journeymen, and six were labelled as being poor or very poor. See Chapter 2.3 for interlopers and the guild's conditions of membership.
125. Swinnen 2018, p. 816. For Volders, see: Starling 1946; Gudlaugsson 1957; Kelchtermans 2013c.
126. Swinnen 2018, p. 358.
127. Swinnen 2018, p. 693.

128. Swinnen 2018, p. 277.
129. Swinnen 2018, p. 40.
130. Swinnen 2018, p. 320.
131. Dujardin, Selod, and Thomas 2005; De Doncker 2013, p. 251.
132. Farr 2000, pp. 241–242.
133. BRA, NO 1433(2), 12 August 1693. Nowadays this street is called the Arenbergstraat or Rue d'Arenberg. Vanniewenhuyze 2008, attachment 1.
134. Swinnen 2018, p. 601. Where nowadays the Lakenstraat or Rue de Laeken is located. Vanniewenhuyze 2008, attachment 1.
135. BRA, NO 1541(1), 17 October 1711. The church and canal had to make way for the current De Brouckère Square.

Chapter 4. Painting for the Court

1. Destrée 1922; Terlinden 1934; Duval-Haller 1937.
2. For Rubens and the Archdukes, see: Trevor-Roper 1976, pp. 127–163; Brown 1998; Vermeylen 2004; Büttner 2006a; Van Sprang 2007; Duerloo 2009; Smuts and Duerloo 2016. For an overview of studies on Rubens and the Archdukes before 1955, see: De Maeyer 1955, pp. 15–16.
3. Saintenoy 1927. Saintenoy repurposed most of his 1927 article in the third and final part of his study on three centuries of art and architecture at the Brussels court. Saintenoy 1935, pp. 87–95.
4. De Maeyer 1955.
5. De Maeyer 1955, pp. 248–250.
6. Brown 1992; Vergara 1999; Banz 2000.
7. Thomas and Duerloo 1998.
8. Van Sprang 2005.
9. Van Sprang 2005, p. 43.
10. For De Clerck, see: Laureyssens 1985–1988; Van Cauteren 2009–2010; Van Cauteren 2016. For Van Alsloot, see: Thøfner 1998; Van Sprang 2014.
11. Van Puyvelde 1958a; Thøfner 1998; Twycross 2010; Van Sprang 2014.
12. For De Crayer, see: Vlieghe 1972; Díaz Padrón 2016; Du Bourg and Vézilier-Dussart 2018; Vlieghe 2018. For Sallaert, see: Van der Vennet 1974-1980; Michielssen 1994; Donckerwolcke 1997. For Snayers, see: Kelchtermans 2013a; Kelchtermans 2018. For Van Loon, see: Cornil 1936; Hupperetz 1997; Van Sprang 2011; Van Sprang 2018.
13. The Coudenberg Palace burned down in 1731. Forty years later the ruins were demolished. Vanrie 1991, pp. 148–160. For a report on the occurrence, see: Gachard 1873. The castle in Tervuren was demolished in 1781 after a long period of neglect. Wynants 1987, p. 144. The castle in Mariemont was burned down during the French Revolution. For the Archdukes and the castle, see: Demeester 1978–1981.

14. Pinchart 1863, pp. 322–323.
15. Pinchart 1863, pp. 322–323.
16. Michiels 1877, pp. 346–347.
17. Hymans 1920, pp. 303–304. In 1889, in a footnote, Henri Hymans also wrote that Pieter Noveliers had lived and worked as an engraver in Rome under the Italian name Neovellano. This was not mentioned again in the 1920 biographical note about the painter and Noveliers' name also did not appear in any of Godefridus Joannes Hoogewerff's pioneering studies on Dutch and Flemish artists in Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Hymans 1889, p. 275; Hoogewerff 1911–1917; Hoogewerff 1912.
18. Saintenoy 1927, pp. 266–269. Eight years later, Saintenoy included a slightly revised version of the same text in his study on the Brussels court's patronage: Saintenoy 1935, pp. 90–93. De Maeyer 1955.
19. De Maeyer 1955, pp. 219–228.
20. Rupert Martin 1972, p. 31; Vanrie 1991, p. 113; Campbell 2002a, p. 21; Pérez Preciado 2005, pp. 23–24; Vlieghe 2011, p. 96; Raux 2018, p. 39.
21. Van Sprang 2005, p. 41.
22. Van Sprang 2014, pp. 447–448.
23. Pérez Preciado 2010, pp. 728–730.
24. Van Sprang 2005, p. 43.
25. Duvivier 1862, p. 96; De Maeyer 1955, pp. 286–288; Van Sprang 2005, p. 43.
26. BRA, RK 142, fols. 192–193. The document was transcribed and published by: Raux 2018, pp. 319–321. See also: Thijs 1994, p. 38.
27. BRA, GA 818, fols. 4, 12, and 14. For Pieter's apprentices, see: Chapter 4.4.
28. In the petition in which Pieter requested the renunciation of his privileges, his position was vaguely described as: 'Sur ce que Pierre Noveliers auroil remonstré qu'en ce que touche son art, il at esté au service de Leurs Allèzes doiz le neufiesme de novembre xvj c et v.' Pinchart 1863, pp. 322–323; De Mayer 1955, pp. 221–222, 275–276; Vanrie 1991, p. 113. For the Archdukes' fountains and gardens, see: Morgan 2007, pp. 72–98.
29. De Maeyer 1955; Vanrie 1991; De Jonge 1998; De Jonge 1999.
30. BSA, PR 128, March 1587; BSA, PR 77, 3 March 1587.
31. Miraeus 1622, p. 98; Coremans 1847, p. 141; De Maeyer 1955, p. 259. For a recent study on Floris, see: Wouk 2018.
32. BSA, PR 80, 29 June 1600.
33. For De Tassis, see: Rübsam 1894, pp. 508–509; Janssens and Meurrens 1992.
34. BSA, PR 82, 26 April 1606.
35. David married Sara Waleyns de Hasseleer in the Parish of Saint Michael and Saint Gudule in 1608. They had at least eight children together, all of whom were baptised in the Parish of Our Lady of the Chapel from 1608 to 1621. BSA, PR 130, 10 February 1608; BSA, PR 331, 22 December 1608, 8 May 1610, 13 August 1611; BSA, PR 332, 20 October 1613; BSA, PR

334, 17 September 1617, 17 August 1619, 7 July 1621. Claessens married Catharina Waleyns de Hasseleer in 1600 and was registered as a master's son in the Brussels guild one year later. BSA, PR 129, 3 December 1600; BRA, GA 818, fol. 4. For the Claessens family of painters, see: Waele 1911a; Waele 1911b; De Maeyer 1955, pp. 230–232; Dewilde 2012b.

36. De Maeyer 1955, pp. 285, 299. Unfortunately, Noveliers and Francken's 1607 licence to travel abroad provided no further information about their plans in the United Provinces. The licence was valid for six months.
37. Finot 1888, p. 86
38. Pinchart 1863, pp. 322–323.
39. Pinchart 1863, pp. 322–323; De Maeyer 1955, pp. 344–345; Van Sprang 2005, p. 41. In 1629, the Brussels City Council tried to revoke David's privileges. The painter asked Isabella to intervene and with her support the dispute was resolved in his favor. De Maeyer 1955, pp. 388–392.
40. For Van Veen, see: Müller-Hofstede 1957; Ekkart 1974; Vlieghe 1981. In recent years, studies on Van Veen have mainly focused on his Emblem books, see among others: Boot 2008; McKeown 2012; Van Cauwelaert and Vergnes 2019. For Coebergher, see: Saintenoy 1923; Fokker 1930; Meganck 1998a; Meganck 1998b; Langusi 2014.
41. De Maeyer 1955, pp. 204, 332–333, 364; Meganck 1998a, p. 140. For Francquart, see: De Vos 1998a; De Vos 1998b; De Vos 1998c. Coebergher had married Francquart's then sixteen-year-old sister Susanna in Italy in 1599. His first wife Michaelle Cerf had died earlier that year. Hoogewerff 1942, pp. 36, 61; De Vos 1998a, p. 19.
42. De Maeyer 1955, pp. 303, 305–306; De Vos 1998a, pp. 19–21; Van Sprang 2005, pp. 38–39.
43. De Maeyer 1955, pp. 206–212; 279–280; Meganck 1998b, p. 206.
44. For Van Alsloot, see: Thøfner 1998; Van Sprang 2014.
45. Van Puyvelde 1958a; Thøfner 1998; Twycross 2010; Van Sprang 2014.
46. Van Sprang 2014, pp. 447–448.
47. Van Sprang 2014, pp. 335–338, 429.
48. Hymans 1889, p. 275; Van Sprang 2014, p. 149. For De Clerck, see: Laureyssens 1985–1988; Van Cauteren 2009–2010; Van Cauteren 2016.
49. Pinchart 1863, pp. 322–323; De Maeyer 1955, pp. 411–412; Van Sprang 2005, p. 41.
50. Unfortunately, the inventory of the damaged artworks Salomon and Symons drew up is now lost. Galesloot 1867b, p. 381; Galesloot 1870, pp. 413–414.
51. BRA, GA 818, fols. 60–61.
52. BSA, PR 338, 16 March 1638.
53. BSA, PR 460, 16 March 1629. For Snayers, see: Kelchtermans 2013a; Kelchtermans 2018. For Schut, see: Kelchtermans 2013b.
54. Pérez Preciado 2010, vol. 1, pp. 712–713. For Snayers and the Brussels court, see: Kelchtermans 2013a, vol. 1, pp. 35–43.

55. ‘begrijpende diversche quictantien over leveringhen Coopmanschappen van schilderijen ende anderssints soo tusschen den man der Overledene Sr Novelliers, van Heel als andere’ cited and translated by: Kelchtermans 2013a, pp. 48–49; Kelchterman and Van Cauteren 2019, p. 80.
56. Salomon paid 22 guilders for Brueghel’s painting. He was described as ‘Seg. Noveliers’. Denucé 1934, p. 154; De Maeyer 1955, p. 334; Finot 1888, p. 161; Van Sprang 2014, p. 281. In 1637, the court had already paid Salomon 1,034 Flemish pounds for the supply of various unspecified paintings to the same castle. Finot 1888, p. 148.
57. For De Crayer, see: Vlieghe 1972; Díaz Padrón 2016; Du Bourg and Vézilier-Dussart 2018; Vlieghe 2018.
58. Vlieghe 1972, pp. 43–48. For painters at the court of Archduke Leopold-Wilhelm, see: Vlieghe 2005; Del Torre Scheuch and Gruber 2018.
59. Génard 1865, pp. 83–86; Denucé 1932, pp. 76–77. For a detailed description of the Spanish King’s purchase from Rubens’s estate sale, see: Querol Torelló 2019.
60. BSA, PR 476, 27 December 1657.
61. BSA, PR 80, 29 June 1600; De Maeyer 1955, pp. 272–273
62. Tierney 1834, p. 488.
63. De Maeyer 1955, pp. 334, 362. De Tassis did not pay off the last 75 of the total of 200 guilders for Salomon’s delivery until 1627. De Maeyer 1955, p. 384.
64. Pinchart 1860, pp. 158–173; Speth-Holterhoff 1957, p. 38; De Ren 1985, pp. 177–178. Both Pinchart and Speth-Holterhoff believed that it was Salomon, instead of his father, who made the 1613 inventory. As De Maeyer noted this identification seems unlikely, given that Salomon only became a master one year later. De Mayer 1955, p. 222. For the 1632 sale to Gerbier, see: Carpenter 1844, pp. 57–64; Carpenter 1845, pp. 59–64.
65. Gerbier also stated that the painting had previously hung in the chapel of Maria de’ Medici (1575–1642) during her stay at the Brussels court. Carpenter 1844, pp. 57–58. For Gerbier, see: Keblusek 2003.
66. BSA, PR 461, 21 October 1636. For Jan van Montfort, see: Vlieghe 1987, pp. 136–137; Vlieghe 2011, pp. 64–65.
67. Carpenter 1844, pp. 57–64; Carpenter 1845, pp. 59–64.
68. Pérez Preciado 2005, pp. 23–24; Pérez Preciado 2010, pp. 207–208.
69. The Marquis had commissioned this group of portraits during a short stay in the Southern Netherlands at the end of 1634. His documentation showed that he had purchased 54 paintings during this trip, most of which were described as ‘retratos de personas particulares’ (portraits of private persons). Pérez Preciado 2010, vol. 1, pp. 280–282.
70. Later, Salomon also sold a half-length portrait of Spinola and a portrait of the German prince Bernard of Weimar to the Marquis of Leganés. Pérez Preciado 2010, vol. 1, p. 730; vol. 2, pp. 73–76, 341.
71. Génard 1869, pp. 437, 470; Rupert Martin 1972, p. 31

72. Pérez Preciado 2010, vol. 1, pp. 727–730. For a full catalogue of the Marquis of Leganés' collection, including Noveliers' portraits and their current location, see: Pérez Preciado 2010, vol. 2, especially pp. 727–730.
73. In the same year, Antoon van Dyck painted a portrait of the viceroy in Palermo. See: Salomon 2012, pp. 58–61.
74. Justus was the son of Pieter's brother Lucas Noveliers. De Maeyer 1955, pp. 369–371.
75. The notarial deed describes Noveliers as a 75-year-old painter and elder of the painters' guild. BRA, NO 3348, 10 October 1665.
76. In addition to his sons David and Salomon, Pieter took on Francois De Streu as an apprentice in 1600, Denys Durbry in 1604, Jan Noveliers in 1605, Antoon De Wiette in 1606, Alexander Levens in 1608, Everard Rurinckx in 1611, Nicolaes Sibrecht in 1614, and Pieter Beser in 1616. BRA, GA 818, fols. 4, 12, 14, 19, 26, 42, 66, 74. In addition to his son Salomon, David took on Carel Herssel as an apprentice in 1610, Francois De Gruyter in 1613, Nicolaes Bertreyn in 1616, Francois Cappelle in 1619, Allonse Boyens in 1622, Francois Gallaert in 1625, and Pieter Van Gindertaelen in 1627. BRA, GA 818, fols. 42, 51, 75, 90, 102, 112, 120.
77. For the average number of apprentices per master, see: Chapter 2.5.1. De Clerck took on one apprentice in 1601 and Van Alsloot four from 1599 to 1611. BRA, GA 818, fols. 2, 5, 10, 14, 42.
78. Pieter's apprentice Jan Noveliers became a master in 1614, Alexander Levens in 1615, Everard Rurinckx in 1631. His sons David and Salomon became masters in 1610 and 1614. BRA, GA 818, fols. 37, 60, 61, 68, 137. David's apprentice Carel Herssel became a master in 1614, Francois de Gruyter in 1620, Nicolaes Bertreyn in 1616, and Pieter van Gindertaelen and David's son Salomon in 1645. BRA, GA 818, fols. 61, 90, 160, 180. For the ratio of apprentice painters who became masters in the Brussels guild, see: Chapter 2.4.1.
79. Jan took on Jan de Gruyter as an apprentice in 1618 and Jan Symons in 1623. BRA, GA 818, fols. 83, 105.
80. BRA, GA 818, fols. 178, 181, 192, 195.
81. David's son Salomon certainly did. His burial record described him as a painter. BSA, PR 428, 4 October 1652.
82. BSA, PB 1318, fol. 314v–330r (article 14). For the privileges received by court artists, see: Duverger 1982, pp. 69–81.
83. In comparison, the registers of other guilds sometimes did allow to determine whether someone remained a member. For example in Antwerp, where a master's family had to pay a 'doodschuld' (death debt) to the Guild of Saint Luke upon their death. Brosens and De Prekel 2021, p. 133.
84. For Francois Verbeelen, see: Raux 2014, pp. 106–113; Raux 2018, pp. 201–203.
85. Duverger 1982, pp. 76–79; Van Sprang 2005, p. 39. For the guild's restrictions, see: Chapter 2.
86. BRA, GA 818, fols. 8, 25, 144, 170, 184, 211, 218, 226. One of Verbeelen's apprentice's was his cousin Jan Verbeelen. The latter's entry specified that his father was also called Francois.

This has led to much confusion among scholars who incorrectly identified Jan as Verbeelen's son. Van Sprang 2005, p. 40; Raux 2014, p. 107; Raux 2018, pp. 201–202. For Verbeelen's appointment as court painter, see: Van Sprang 2005, pp. 39–40.

87. BRA, GA 818, fol. 95.
88. De Mayer 1955, pp. 69, 304–305, 319–320; Van Sprang 2005, p. 37. Many authors have linked the decline in demand for Van Veen's work with the return to Antwerp of his most celebrated pupil Rubens. See among others: De Maeyer 1955, pp. 68–71; Vlieghe 1981; Vlieghe 1998, p. 19.
89. Exceptionally, in 1620, Theodoor Soly became a master in the guild after having trained with Francquart. His entry states that he had received special permission from the magistrate. BRA, GA 818, fol. 92. For Willem van Deynum, see: Mautner 1941, pp. 43–44; De Maeyer 1955, pp. 228–230; Orlando 2018, pp. 304–311.
90. De Maeyer 1955, p. 312; Van Sprang 2005, pp. 38–39.
91. Only one commission is known. It concerns two miniatures featuring the Archdukes' weapons and scenes from the 'Circumcision' and 'Resurrection'. See: Pinchart 1881, pp. 113–115.
92. Pinchart 1863, pp. 217–219; De Maeyer 1955, pp. 337–342.
93. KBR, MS G. 219, fols. 76, 79, 80, 87.
94. KBR, MS G. 219, fols. 88, 94, 96.
95. For this privilege and the Brussels chambers of rhetoric, see: Chapter 3.3.
96. BRA, GA 818, fol. 39; BSA, PR 386, 4 October 1611.
97. BRA, GA 818, fol. 60; BSA, PR 386, 19 April 1620. In a 1649 notarial deed, Maria Noveliers was described as the wife of Philips de Backer and the sister of Salomon Noveliers. BRA, NO 2568(2), 30 March 1649.
98. BSA, PR 332, 14 June 1612; BSA, PR 333, 26 November 1616.
99. BSA, PR 334, 14 July 1621; BSA, PR 335, 30 June 1622. De Gruyter was registered as an apprentice in the Brussels guild in 1618. BRA, GA 818, fol. 83.
100. Upon completion, Wenzel Coebergher appraised Pieter's work on behalf of the Brussels City Council. Duverger 1974, p. 97; Campbell 2002a, p. 21.
101. Vanaise 1966, pp. 57, 62–63; Van Elslande 1987, p. 144;.
102. Van Even 1870, p. 192; Van Molle 1958, p. 13. In the document Noveliers is named 'Daniel' instead of David. This must almost certainly have been a mistake. As far as is known, there was no Daniel Noveliers.
103. Finot 1888, p. 255. For previous annual payments of his 200 Flemish pounds salary, see: Finot 1888, pp. 150, 154, 156, 161, 164, 174, 186, 190, 204.
104. BSA, PR 156, 2 December 1660. De Maeyer mistakenly wrote that Salomon was buried one year later on 2 December 1661. De Maeyer 1955, p. 223.

Chapter 5. Painting for the Market

1. Fierens-Gevaert 1926, p. xxviii.
2. Fierens-Gevaert 1926, pp. xxix–xxxii.
3. Fierens-Gevaert 1926, pp. xxxii –xxxiv.
4. Laes 1944; Laes 1949.
5. Velge 1925; Laes 1944, p. 307; Laes 1949, p. 173.
6. Laes attributed the fifth, unsigned work, to Achtschellinck on the basis of its stylistic characteristics. Laes 1944, pp. 307–308; Laes 1949, pp. 174–175.
7. De Callatay 1960.
8. Thiery and Kervyn de Meerendré 1987, pp. 96–175; For Achtschellinck, see: Dellis 1992; Dellis 1994. For De Vadder, see: Bergmans 1975; Coekelberghs 1975; Geeroms 1985. For d'Arthois, see: Puraye 1950; Laes 1958; Claessens 1966; Lorthiois 1966; Kervyn de Meerendré 1971; Kervyn de Meerendré 1976; Loones 1995.
9. Van Sprang 2000. For the collaboration between Brussels painters and tapestry producers, see: Chapter 6.
10. Meynen 2015.
11. For the history of the Sonian Forest, see: Pierron 1935–1938; Maes and Maziers 1987.
12. Wellens 1958–1961, pp. 119–143; Duerloo 2016, pp. 122–123.
13. Pierron 1935, pp. 233–247.
14. Duerloo 2016.
15. For painters and the Archdukes' court, see: Chapter 4.
16. For Van Alsloot, see: Van Sprang 2014.
17. De Maeyer 1955, pp. 162–168; Van Sprang 2014, pp. 32, 631.
18. Laureyssens 1967; Van Sprang 2014, pp. 69–71.
19. Van Sprang 2000, pp. 184–185; Van Sprang 2014, pp. 73–76. For the Priory of Groenendael, see: Erkens 1987, pp. 191–195.
20. For the changing perception of nature in the early modern Southern Netherlands, see: Büttner 2006b, p. 162; Prosperetti 2009; Kleinert 2014, pp. 17–30.
21. Prosperetti 2009, pp. 33–37; Kleinert 2014, pp. 20–22.
22. Büttner 2006b, p. 162; Kleinert 2014, pp. 27–28.
23. Van Sprang 2000, pp. 186–187.
24. Pierron 1935–1938, II, pp. 395–398.
25. Van Sprang 2000, pp. 186–187.
26. BRA, GA 818, fols. 21 and 49. For Van Nevele, see: Roobaert 2002, pp. 419–421.
27. In a 1771 letter, the then dean of the Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers described De Vadder as a 'fray landschapschilder' (fine landscape painter). Galesloot 1867a, p. 477.
28. Bergmans 1975.
29. BRA, GA 818, fol. 111.

30. De Bie 1662, p. 255.
31. Van Sprang 2014, pp. 71–73.
32. BRA, GA 818, fols. 123, 142.
33. Van Sprang 2000, pp. 186–187.
34. Vlieghe 1998, pp. 195–196; Van Sprang 2000, pp. 186–187; Devisscher 2001, pp. 38–39; Brosens 2004, pp. 96–97. For Rubens' landscape paintings, see: Glück 1945; Vergara 1982; Kleinert 2014.
35. Delvoy 1940, pp. 53–54; Vlieghe 1998, p. 192. For Van Uden, see: Bailey 1981; D'Hulst 1981.
36. Van Sprang 2000, pp. 186–189. See also: Chapter 5.4.
37. Kervyn de Meerendré 1976, p. 843.
38. Brosens and Van der Stighelen 2012, pp. 182–183.
39. Vlieghe 1998, pp. 195–196; Van Sprang 2000, pp. 188–190.
40. BRA, GA 818, fol. 218; Thiery and Kervyn de Meerendré 1987, pp. 151–154.
41. Thiery and Kervyn de Meerendré 1987, pp. 155–164, 168–171, 195–196.
42. Fierens-Gevaert 1926, pp. xxxii–xxxiv; Laes 1944; Laes 1949.
43. Hymans 1920, pp. 15–16.
44. For occupational continuity among the general population of Brussels painters, see: Chapter 1.4.
45. BRA, GA 818, fols. 165, 213.
46. BRA, GA 818, fol. 257.
47. BRA, GA 818, fols. 259, 287.
48. Bergmans 1975, pp. 127–128; Thiery and Kervyn de Meerendré 1987, p. 113.
49. BRA, GA 818, fol. 52. Huybrecht de Vadder was never recorded as a master.
50. De Munck 2007, pp. 210–214; De Munck 2010b, p. 10.
51. BRA, NO 39, 9 November 1660.
52. Pinchart 1878a, p. 311; Kervyn de Meerendré 1976, p. 843.
53. BSA, PR 156, 28 April 1662.
54. For spiritual kinship, see: Chapter 1.5.
55. BSA, PR 91, 18 May 1646.
56. BSA, PR 93, 8 April 1657.
57. BSA, PR 94, 6 December 1662.
58. BSA, PR 135, 12 September 1658.
59. Many thanks to Philippe Dellis for bringing this document to my attention. BRA, NO 2318, 2 August 1698.
60. BRA, NO 1510(2), 6 November 1699.
61. This did not include the above mentioned family members who trained in d'Arthois' workshop. For the average number of apprentices per master, see: Chapter 2.5.1.
62. BRA, GA 818, fols. 227, 239.

63. BRA, GA 818, fol. 242; Neeffs 1875, pp. 26–27.
64. This did not include the above-mentioned family members who trained in their workshops.
65. BRA, GA 818, fol. 172.
66. BRA, GA 818, fol. 233.
67. BRA, GA 818, fols. 204, 236.
68. BRA, GA 818, fols. 172, 233, 236, 287, 291.
69. Bok 1990, p. 64.
70. BRA, GA 818, fol. 270.
71. BRA, GA 818, fols. 269–270, 298–300; BRA, GA 819, fols. 15–16, 18–20.
72. For the Steenweg and its location, see: Vannieuwenhuyze 2008, attachment 1.
73. BSA, PR 18, 28 May 1685.
74. BSA, PR 154, 12 June 1647; BSA, PR 158, 28 November 1669; BSA, PR 18, 17 June 1685.
75. BSA, PR 93, 8 April 1657.
76. Willem and Louis van Schoor are visualised as the nodes at the top left. Willem de Gyn is represented as the node at the bottom right.
77. To measure the efficiency of information flows within the Sonian Forest painters network, I calculated the mean distance between them as follows:

$$l = \frac{1}{n(n-1)} \sum_{i \neq j} d_{ij}$$

The calculation of l is based on the average number of steps along the shortest path between all pairs of nodes (e.g., the distance from i to j). The shortest path from each node to itself is excluded. See: Newman 2010, pp. 181–185.

78. For Smeyers, see: Verschaffel 1996, p. 90. For the relationship between masters and their apprentices, see: Chapter 2.5.1.
79. MSA, V 335, fols. 69–70. For a description of Smeyers' text, see: Neefs 1875.
80. De Meûter 1984, pp. 133–135; Van Sprang 2010, pp. 37–41.
81. Unfortunately, the series painted for the Red Cloister is now lost. Van Sprang 2000, pp. 188–189; Meynen 2015. For the Red Cloister, see: Maes 1987, pp. 213–215.
82. Velge 1925, p. 301.
83. Velge 1925, pp. 301–302.
84. Two of the other landscapes were also signed: one bore the name of d'Arthois and one the monogram of Van Heil. Fierens-Gevaert 1926, pp. xxxii–xxxiv.
85. BRA, GA 818, fol. 172.
86. Vlieghe 1998, pp. 182–188; Büttner 2006b, pp. 150–157.
87. Van der Stighelen 1990; Honig 1995; Jansen 2006.
88. Van der Stighelen 1990, pp. 5–15; Honig 1995, pp. 259–265. See also: Van Ginhoven 2017, pp. 91–97.

89. For De Vadder and De Crayer, see: Burke and Cherry 1997, p. 535; Diaz Pardon 2016, pp. 19–20. For De Vadder and Sweerts, see: Yeager-Crasselt 2015, pp. 100–101, 111. For Van Schoor and Van Tilborch, see: De Laet 2011, pp. 64-70. For d'Arthois and Cousin, see: Vlieghe 2011, p. 82. For Van der Vinne and Cousin, see: Burke and Cherry 1997, p. 1117. For Boudewyns and Bout, see: Denucé 1931, pp. 248, 262, 265; De Lannoy 1995, pp. 139–140.
90. Vlieghe 1995, pp. 195–196; Van Sprang 2000, p. 188; Vlieghe 2011, p. 94; Meynen 2015.
91. Thiery and Kervyn de Meerendré 1987, p. 62.
92. Honig 1995, p. 260.
93. '1 lantschap van Artois, de beldekens van Pieter van Aelen' (1 landscape by Artois, the figurines by Pieter van Aelen). Denucé 1931, p. 108; Van Ginhoven 2017, pp. 136, 254–255.
94. Duverger 1993, p. 64; Duverger 1995, p. 382; Duverger 2001, pp. 116, 164, 397.
95. Duverger 1993, p. 64.
96. Duverger 1969, p. 213; Honig 1995, p. 260.
97. Fierens-Gevaert 1926; Thiery and Kervyn de Meerendré 1987.
98. De Callatay 1960; Thiery and Kervyn de Meerendré 1987; Meynen 2015.
99. BSA, PR 155, 10 August 1655; BSA, PR 157, 9 December 1668; BRA, GA 818, fol. 242.
100. Unfortunately, little is known about Bout's whereabouts before he became a master. Presumably, however, he was already active in Brussels before Van der Stock's death. He was first recorded in the city when he married Johanna Garneveldt in 1667, one year before the landscapist's burial. BSA, PR 392, 19 November 1667; BSA, PR 136, 30 November 1667.
101. Dellis 1992; Meynen 2015.
102. Meynen 2015.
103. For the close connection between Brussels' painters and the city's tapestry industry, see: Chapter 6.
104. BSA, RT 1293, fols. 316–317; Wauters 1878, pp. 243–245. For tapestry privileges, see: Slegten (forthcoming).
105. Many thanks to Astrid Slegten for bringing this document to my attention. BRA, NO 1884(1), 30 October 1644.
106. Many thanks to Astrid Slegten for bringing this document to my attention. BRA, NO 2485(1), 22 August 1645.
107. BSA, RT 1294, fols. 64–65; Wauters 1878, p. 244.
108. BSA, NO 1139(1), 10 September 1685; Kervyn de Meerendré 1987, p. 59; Brosens 2004, pp. 97, 198.
109. Jan Claessens was registered as an apprentice of De Vadder in 1643. He never became a master in Brussels. BRA, GA 818, fol. 172.
110. BSA, RT 1297, fol. 97; Wauters 1878, pp. 262–263.
111. BSA, RT 1297, fol. 410; BSA, RT 1298, fols. 194–195; BSA, RT 1305, fol. 7. Wauters 1878, pp. 266–267.
112. BSA, PR 255, 17 June 1660; BSA, PR 17, 1 June 1670.

113. Denucé 1936, pp. 177–178; Brosens 2004, pp. 97–98.
114. Brosens 2004, pp. 97–98.
115. Uzzi and Spiro 2005.
116. BSA, PR 159, 12 May 1699.

Chapter 6. Painting for the Tapestry Industry

1. For recent overviews of tapestry research with extensive references, see: Bertrand and Delmarcel 2008; Bertrand 2016.
2. Wauters 1878, p. 234.
3. Wauters 1878, pp. 234–281. For a critical analysis of Wauters' 'Les tapisseries bruxellois', see: Brosens 2004b.
4. Göbel 1923. For Crick-Kuntziger's bibliography, see: De Borchgrave d'Altena 1957.
5. Crick-Kuntziger 1955; Van Puyvelde 1959; Duverger 1971. For Rubens' tapestry designs, see also: Haverkamp-Begemann 1975; De Poorter 1978; Delmarcel 1997; Brosens 2011; Baumstark and Delmarcel 2019. For Jordaens' tapestry designs, see also: Blažková 1959; Hefford 2003; Nelson 1998; Brosens 2007d.
6. See, for example: Van der Vennet 1978; Van Tichelen 1986; Huygens 1994; De Reyniès 1995a; De Reyniès 1995b; Brosens 2005b; De Meûter 2016; Brosens 2018.
7. Kalf 1981. The archival document was earlier published in Denucé 1936.
8. Delmarcel 1999; Campbell 2007a.
9. Brosens 2004a; Brosens 2012a; Brosens, Alen, Slegten, et al. 2016.
10. Brosens, Alen, Slegten, et al. 2016, pp. 316–317.
11. Vanwelden 2006; Alen 2017.
12. Alen 2017, p. 366; Brosens and Slegten 2017, p. 535. See also: Brosens 2019.
13. For Brussels' tapestry in the seventeenth century, see: Delmarcel 1999; Brosens 2004a; Brosens 2007b; Campbell 2007b; Delmarcel 2007.
14. For a detailed discussion on the privileges granted to tapestry producers and designers, see: Slegten (forthcoming).
15. Four years after submitting his petition, Sweerts moved out of Brussels and left his stillborn academy and aspirations behind. BSA, RT 1297, fols. 117–118; Bikker 2002, pp. 25–36; Yeager-Crasselt 2015, pp. 92–94 and 110–111.
16. Sallaert was a pupil of Michiel de Bordeaux and became a master in Brussels' Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers in 1613. BRA, GA 818, fol. 54; BSA, RT 1294, fols. 231–232; Wauters 1878, p. 250. For Sallaert's tapestry designs, see: Junquera de Vega 1974; Van der Vennet 1978; Junquera de Vega 1981; Junquera 1982; Van Tichelen 1986, pp. 34–47; Michielssen 1994.
17. For Rubens' tapestry designs, see: Haverkamp-Begemann 1975; De Poorter 1978; Delmarcel 1997; Brosens 2011; Baumstark and Delmarcel 2019.

18. Leyniers and Lefebure were granted tapestry privileges in 1644 and 1650 respectively. BSA, RT 1293, fols. 315–316; BSA, RT 1295, fols. 367–368. BSA, PR 340, 1 October 1643; BSA, PR 428, 12 June 1650. Art historians have long overlooked Lefebure and Leyniers. Only recently, they and their works have fallen out of obscurity thanks to the efforts of, above all, Koenraad Brosens. For Lefebure's tapestry designs, see: Brosens and De Laet 2009; Lansbergen 2010. For Leyniers' tapestry designs, see: Brosens 2018.
19. Brosens 2004a, pp. 79-88; Brosens 2007b, pp. 441–444.
20. Delmarcel 1999, pp. 252–253; Brosens 2007b, pp. 442–444.
21. Brosens 2004a, p. 81. For 'The Acts of the Apostles', see: Campbell 2002c. For 'The Story of Scipio', see: Campbell 2002d, pp. 341–349. For 'The Story of Moses', see: Campbell 2002e, pp. 392–394.
22. The edition was commissioned by Luis de Benavides Carrillo (1608–1668) who was Governor of the Spanish Netherlands from 1659 to 1664. Brosens en Slegten 2019. For David II Teniers and David III Teniers' activities as tapestry designers, see: Vlieghe 1959–1960.
23. Delmarcel 1999, pp. 253–254; Brosens 2004a, pp. 79–88.
24. For Poerson's tapestry designs, see: De Reyniès 1997; Brosens 2005a; Brosens 2007a. For Le Brun's tapestry designs, see: Posner 1959; Vanhoren 1999; Brosens 2003–2004.
25. Brosens 2003–2004; Brosens 2005a; Brosens 2007a.
26. Posner 1959; Vanhoren 1999; Brosens 2004a, p. 83. Cartoons after Le Brun's 'The Story of Alexander' were also painted and woven in Antwerp and Oudenaarde. For these tapestries and cartoons, see: De Meûter 2016, pp. 252–259; Alen 2017, pp. 527–529.
27. Brosens 2007b, pp. 444–445. For David III Teniers' tapestry designs, see: Hyde 1924; Vlieghe 1959–1960; Blažková 1981.
28. BRA, GA 818, fol. 251; Vlieghe 1959–1960, p. 96.
29. For Van Schoor's tapestry designs, see: Crick-Kuntziger 1954; Brosens 2004a, pp. 91–94; De Meûter 2016, pp. 283–336.
30. BRA, GA 818, fol. 257.
31. BSA, RT 1303, fols. 304–305; Brosens 2004a, pp. 92–93.
32. Brosens 2004a, pp. 94–95.
33. For tapestries depicting scenes of peasant life, see: Marillier 1932; Delmarcel 1999, pp. 352–361; Smit 2003. For tapestries depicting scenes of soldiers life, see: Wace 1968; Hefford 1975; Delmarcel 1999, pp. 342–351; Bapasola 2005. For genre art in tapestry, see: Brosens 2006–2007.
34. Brosens 2004a, p. 87.
35. De Hondt was born in Mechelen and became a master in the Brussels guild in 1678. BRA, GA 818, fol. 259. For the relationship between Teniers and De Hondt, see: Introduction.
36. For De Hondt's tapestry designs, see: Wace 1968, pp. 29–42; Brosens 2006–2007.
37. Brosens and Slegten 2017, p. 535.
38. BRA, GA 819, fol. 8.

39. For Van Orley's tapestry designs, see: Huygens 1994; De Reyniès 1995a; De Reyniès 1995b; Brosens and Delmarcel 1998; Brosens 2004a, pp. 102–104; Brosens 2005b; Brosens and Slegten 2017.
40. Terlinden 1958; Brosens 2007b, pp. 448–449. For Janssens' tapestry designs, see: Denis 1997; Brosens 2004a, pp. 100–102; Brosens 2005b.
41. BRA, GA 818, fol. 274.
42. BSA, RT 1305, fol. 127.
43. De Meûter 2016, p. 176; Brosens and Slegten 2017, pp. 531–532.
44. Alen 2017, pp. 248–249.
45. 'mils Ul veul met schilders ghehanteert heeft, soo is Ul ghenogh bekent dat de schilders meer als een soort van pinceelen hebben'. OSA, 1182/68, 1 April 1694; Van Lerberghe and Ronsse 1854, pp. 390–391.
46. Janssens and Rysbraeck both signed the document, indicating that the Antwerp landscapist was staying in Brussels at that time. They were paid nine guilders per square ell, but had to pay for half of the prepared canvasses. BRA, NO 285, 23 December 1704; Brosens 2004a, p.207.
47. Janssens was paid nine guilders per square ell for both himself and Coppens. Every cartoon was paid separately after its completion. BRA, NO 1162, 5 August 1711; Brosens 2004a, p. 220.
48. Brosens 2009, p. 85; Alen 2017, p. 255.
49. OSA, 843/V/1682, fols. 16–17; De Meûter 2016, pp. 386–387.
50. 'De nimphen en goddinenen die int water woonen met de loopende vloden en riviren sijn Pineus commen vertroosten over sijn dochter dewelcke vluchtende voor Appolo in eenen laurier boom getransformeert is: bestaend in 6 figuren | Pan en Sijringa met eenighe nimphen bestaende in 5 figuren | Mercurius brenght aende nimphen die men Neseides heet het kint Bacus om opghevoet te worden. 4 figuren | Arethusa vluchtende voor Aliphus wort door het toe doen van Diana in een fontijn verandert bestaende in 3 fig. | Jupiter in de ghedaente van Diana bij Callisto. 2 figuren | Daphnis om dat hij sijn ghelofte niet ghehouden en heeft aen een niph die op hem verlieft was: veranderde in eenen steen. 2 figuren.' OSA, 1182/68, 18 September 1694; Van Lerberghe and Ronsse 1854, pp. 391–392.
51. OSA, 843/V/1682, fols. 25–26; De Meûter 2016, p. 388.
52. OSA, 1182/68, 29 September 1694; De Meûter 2016, p. 388.
53. OSA, 843/V/1682, fols. 28–29; De Meûter 2016, p. 388.
54. OSA 1182/68, 11 November 1695.
55. For this type of collaboration in seventeenth-century painting, see: Van der Stighelen 1990; Honig 1995; Jansen 2006.
56. For Achtschellinck and Van der Heyden, see: Brosens 2004a, pp. 95, 249. For Achtschellinck and Van Orley, see: Denucé 1931, p. 316; Brosens and Slegten 2017, p. 528; For Achtschellinck and Van Schoor, see: Denucé 1931, pp. 177–178; Brosens 2004a, pp. 97–98;

De Meûter 2016, pp. 411–414. For Coppens and De Reyff, see: Denucé 1931, p. 160; Brosens 2004a, p. 277. For Coppens and Janssens, see: De Raadt 1894, p. 83; Brosens 2004a, p. 381.

57. For Van Orley and Coppens, see: Brosens 2004a, p. 381; Brosens 2012b; Brosens and Slegten 2017.
58. For De Gryeff, see: Van Lerberghe and Ronse 1854, p. 396, De Meûter 2016, pp. 432–447; For Numandts, see: BSA, 7402.
59. Alen 2017, p. 263.
60. Van Schoor also acted as a mediator between Van Verren and Coppens. The tapestry producer thanked Van Schoor for doing this shortly after writing the landscapist. OSA, 843/V/1682, fols. 48–49. For a detailed description of the series, see: De Meûter 2016, pp. 386–408.
61. OSA, 843/V/1682, fols. 47–49; De Meûter 2016, pp. 388–389.
62. OSA, 1182/68, 20 February 1695; OSA, 1182/51, 27 May 1695.
63. OSA, 1182/51, 27 May 1695; De Meûter 2016, p. 433.
64. For the Bombardment of Brussels, see: Culot, Demanet, Hennaut, and Mierop 1992.
65. OSA, 1182/51, 27 August 1695; Van Lerberghe and Ronsse 1854, pp. 394–395.
66. OSA, 1182/51, 8 September 1695; Van Lerberghe and Ronsse 1854, p. 396.
67. OSA, 1182/68, 7 October 1695; Van Lerberghe and Ronsse 1854, p. 393.
68. OSA, 1182/68, 11 November 1695; De Meûter 2016, p. 390.
69. OSA, 1182/51, 7 March 1696; De Meûter 2016, p. 390.
70. OSA, 1182/51, 14 August 1698; Van Lerberghe and Ronse 1854, pp. 272, 397–398.
71. Beerens 2016, p. 57; Alen 2017, p. 266.
72. Brosens 2004a, pp. 277–278.
73. BRA, NO 1162, 5 August 1711; BSA, 7402; Brosens 2004a, p. 220.
74. After settling down in Antwerp, Van Schoor began to paint numerous cartoons in collaboration with the Antwerp landscape painter Pieter Spierinckx. Denucé 1931, pp. 177 and 315; Brosens 2004a, pp. 99–100; Alen 2017, pp. 258–259.
75. Duverger 2008, p. 136.
76. Brosens 2009, p. 85.
77. For more detailed descriptions of how tapestries were made, see: Delmarcel 1999, pp. 11–16; Campbell 2002b, pp. 5–6; Brosens, Alen, and Slegten 2016, pp. 19–33.
78. 'Il est à noter que les deux à trois premières tentures qui se font sur un noeveau dessein sont bien plus parfaits que celles qui se font après à cause que les desseins se gastent fort en travaillant.' Fererro-Viale 1968, p. 814; Brosens 2009, p. 85.
79. BSA, 5786; BSA, 7402; For a detailed description of the lawsuit, see: Brosens and Slegten 2017.
80. For the 'Art of War' series, see: Hefford 1975; Delmarcel 1999, pp. 342–351; Brosens 2007c.
81. The ell was a commonly used unit of measurement that varied slightly per region. In Brussels, an ell was about 69.2 cm.
82. BSA, 5786; BSA, 7402; Brosens and Slegten 2017, pp. 528–530.

83. BSA, 7402.
84. BSA, 7402.
85. BSA, 5786; BSA 7402; Brosens and Slegten 2017, pp. 531–532.
86. For the 'New Testament' series, see: Jarry 1958; Delmarcel 1985; Delmarcel 1997; De Giorgio 2017.
87. BSA, 7402.
88. The notarial deed in which the collaboration between Janssens and Rysbraeck was recorded was signed by both artists. This suggests that Rysbraeck was staying in Brussels around the time of the commission. BRA, NO 285, 23 December 1704; Brosens 2004a, p.207.
89. For Achtschellinck and Van Schoor, see: Denucé 1931, pp. 177–178; Brosens 2004a, pp. 97–98; De Meûter 2016, pp. 411–414. For Coppens and Van Schoor, see: Denucé 1931, p. 251; Delmarcel 1999, p. 324; De Meûter 2016, pp. 386–408; For Spierincx and Van Schoor, see: Denucé 1931, pp. 177 and 315; Brosens 2004a, pp. 99–100; Alen 2017, pp. 258–259.
90. Kalf 1981; Brosens 2008, pp. 187–190; De Meûter 2016, pp. 305–315; Brosens and Slegten 2017, p. 532; Beerens 2019, p. 45.
91. Denucé 1936, pp. 128, 177.
92. Brosens 2008, p. 189. A tapestry in the Austrian Schloß Premstätten and two pieces in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon and the Heart of Cape Town Museum in Cape Town bear the dates 1688 and 1690 respectively. De Mendonça 1983, p. 45; Kalf 1981, p. 241; Brunner and Heberling 1989, p. 263.
93. Brosens 2008, p. 189; De Meûter 2016, p. 307. Elisabeth J. Kalf also referred to the discrepancy, but offered no possible explanation. Kalf 1981, p. 240.
94. For Van Orley and Coppens' edition, see: Brosens and Slegten 2017, pp. 532–533; For Herreys edition, see: Duverger 2008, pp. 398–399; Beerens 2019, p. 45.
95. 'den originelen patroonen geschildert door de heer Ludovicus van Schoor'. Many thanks to Klara Alen for bringing this document to my attention. AFA, NO 162, 27 March 1696.
96. For such collaborations between Brussels painters and Antwerp or Oudenaarde tapestry producers, see: Alen 2017, pp. 230–232; De Meûter 2016.
97. Brosens 2009, p. 85; Alen 2017, pp. 235–236; Brosens 2018, pp. 25–26.
98. Brosens 2004a, p. 109.
99. Swinnen 2018, p. 727.
100. Namely: Jan Fancois van den Hecke, Gaspar van der Borcht, Marcus de Vos, and Willem de Potter (recorded as 'N. Peutter'). Swinnen 2018, pp. 197, 202, 204, 243.
101. Namely: Jacob van der Borcht, Gerard Peemans, and Hendrik Reydams. Swinnen 2018, pp. 365, 393, 403.
102. Namely: Judocus de Vos and Jan Baptist de Clerc. Swinnen 2018, pp. 727, 793. The tapestry producer Albert Auwercx, who was also active in Brussels around this period, was not included in the census for unclear reasons. A namesake without a specified first name was

recorded and described as a 'tapissiersknecht'. This Auwercx' mentioned housewife and daughter, however, ruled out that it was the well-known *tapissier*. Swinnen 2018, p. 90.

103. See: Chapter 3.5.2.

General Conclusion

1. Van der Stighelen, Kelchtermans and Brosens 2013, p. 5.

Appendix 1

1. 'Ontfanghen als mester Antoen Sallaerts soon philips getrauwt kint binnen geboren desen 20 augustus 1613 heft geleert by machil bordux schilder' (Received as a master [in the Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers] Antoen Sallaerts, the son of Philips, legitimate child, born in Brussels, on 20 August 1613, served his apprenticeship with Machil Bordux, painter). BRA, GA 818, fol. 54.
2. For the *Cornelia* database, see: Brosens, Alen, Slegten, et al. 2016; Brosens, Aerts, Alen, et al. 2019.
3. A fourth table links actors via source entries to archival references of works of art. Since I have never used this one due to a lack of serial data I will not discuss it here.
4. To make working in the *Cornelia* database easier, the online user interface does not show the tables of this type in their original forms, but in queried variants that show full names instead of unique IDs.
5. For MySQL, see: Widenius and Axmark 2002.
6. For Gephi, see: Bastian, Heymann, and Jacomy 2009; Grandjean 2015.
7. For an introduction to these and other network metrics, see: Newman 2010.
8. For R and RStudio, see: Ihaka and Gentleman 1996; RStudio Team 2016.
9. For the ggplot2 package, see: Wickham 2016.

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Primary Sources

Antwerp, Felix Archives [AFA]:

- Notarial Archives [NO] 160, 162, 2605, 2855.
- Parish Records [PR] 8–16, 33, 50, 54, 71, 167, 196–198, 260, 298.

Beveren, State Archives [BERA]:

- Parish Records [PR] 285.

Brussels, Archives of the Public Centre for Social Welfare (OCMW) [BAO]:

- *Bienfaisance* [B] 1337–1411.

Brussels, City Archives [BSA]:

- Processes [PO] 1447, 2432, 5786, 7402.
- Historical Archives [HA] 1499, 3412.
- Parish Records [PR] 17–18, 75, 77–89, 91–97, 128–140, 154–159, 161, 164, 177–179, 210–218, 229, 231–232, 234, 237, 240, 246, 248–250, 252–253, 255–257, 274–280, 286–288, 298, 300–302, 304–306, 316, 318–319, 329–335, 337–343, 346, 348, 350–351, 384–390, 392, 397, 416, 428, 447, 455–456, 460–461, 463, 476–477, 482, 508.
- Registers of the *tresorij* [RT] 1293, 1294, 1295, 1297, 1298, 1303, 1305.

Brussels, State Archives [BRA]:

- Church Archives [CA] 6916.
- Gilden en ambachten [GA] 817–819, 1158, 1163.
- Notarial Archives [NO] 39, 285, 1139(1), 1162, 1433(2), 1510, 1541(1), 1701(2), 1884(1), 2318, 2334(2), 2390, 2485(1), 2568(2), 3348, 4449, 4465.
- *Publicatieboeck* [PB] 1318.
- *Rekenkamer* [RK] 142.

Ghent, City Archives [GSA]:

- Parish Records [PR] 329.

Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium [KBR]:

- Manuscripts [M]

Lier, City Archives [LSA]:

- Parish Records [PR] 461–462.

Mechelen, City Archives [MSA]:
Parish Records [PR] 528, 547, 603, 630, 639–640, 677.
Varia [V] 335.
Mons, City Archives [MSSA]:
Parish Records [PR] 1878.
Oudenaarde, City Archives [OSA]:
843/V/1682; 1182/51; 1182/68.
Valenciennes, Municipal Archives [VMA]:
AA 258.

II. Bibliography

Aerts 2004: Aerts, E., 'Welvaart en welzijn in de zogenaamde Ongelukseeuw', in R. Van Uytven, C. Bruneel, A. N. Koldeweij, et al. (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Brabant: Van hertogdom tot heden* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 2004), pp. 421–443.

Ahnert, Ahnert, Coleman, et al. 2020: Ahnert, R., S. E. Ahnert, C. N. Coleman, and S. B. Weingart, *The Network Turn: Changing Perspectives in the Humanities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020).

Akerlof 1970: Akerlof, G. A., 'The Market for "Lemons". Quality Uncertainty and the Market Mechanism', *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 84 (1970), pp. 488–500.

Alen 2017: Alen, K., *Vertrouwen, diversiteit en kwaliteit in de Antwerpse wandtapijtproductie en -handel (16601720): Een inclusieve benadering van de sociale en ondernemingsstrategieën van* coopman-tapissiers *via kunsthistorisch onderzoek en datavisualisatie en -analyse*, PhD diss. (Leuven: KU Leuven, 2017).

Alexander 2003: Alexander, V. D., *Sociology of the Arts: Exploring Fine and Popular Forms* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003).

Alfani 2009: Alfani, G., 'Godparenthood and the Council of Trent: Crisis and Transformation of a Social Institution (Italy, XV–XVIIth Centuries)', *Obradoiro de Historia Moderna* 18 (2009), pp. 45–69.

Alfani 2012: Alfani, G., 'Immigrants and Formalization of Social Ties in Early Modern Italy', in G. Alfani and V. Gourdon (eds.), *Spiritual Kinship in Europe, 1500–1900* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 47–73.

Alfani and Gourdon 2006: Alfani, G., and V. Gourdon, 'Il ruolo economico del padrinato: Un fenomeno osservabile?', *Cheiron* 45–46, 23 (2006), pp. 129–177.

Alfani and Gourdon 2009: Alfani, G., and V. Gourdon, 'Fêtes du baptême et publicité des réseaux sociaux en Europe occidentale Grandes tendances de la fin du Moyen âge au XXe siècle', *Annales de démographie historique* 1, 117 (2009), pp. 153–189.

Alfani and Gourdon 2012a: Alfani, G., and V. Gourdon, 'Entrepreneurs, Formalization of Social Ties, and Trustbuilding in Europe (Fourteenth to Twentieth Centuries)', *The Economic History Review* 65, 3 (2012), pp. 1005–1028.

Alfani and Gourdon 2012b: Alfani, G., and V. Gourdon (eds.), *Spiritual Kinship in Europe, 1500–1900* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

Alfani, Gourdon and Vitali 2012: Alfani, G., V. Gourdon, and A. Vitali, 'Social Customs and Demographic Change: The Case of Godparenthood in Catholic Europe', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 51, 3 (2012), pp. 482–504.

Alpers 1977: Alpers, S., 'Is Art History?', *Daedalus* 106, 3 (1977), pp. 1–13.

Alpers 1988: Alpers, S., *Rembrandt's Enterprise: The Studio and the Market* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

Anderson 1971: Anderson, M., *Family Structure in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971).

Andersson, Andersson, Daghbashyan, et al. 2014: Andersson, Å. E., D. E. Andersson, Z. Daghbashyan, and B. Hårsman, 'Location and Spatial Clustering of Artists', *Regional Science and Urban Economics* 47 (2014), pp. 128–137.

Antal 1947: Antal, F., *Florentine Painting and its Social Background: The Bourgeois Republic before Cosimo De' Medici's Advent to Power, XIV and Early XV Centuries* (London: Kegan Paul, 1947).

Arblaster 1998: Arblaster, P., 'The Archdukes and the Northern Counter-Reformation', in W. Thomas and L. Duerloo (eds.), *Albert & Isabella, 1598–1621: Essays*, exh. cat., Brussels, Royal Museum of Art and History (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 87–92.

Baca and Helmreich 2013: Baca, M., and A. Helmreich, 'Introduction', *Visual Resources* 29, 1–2 (2013), pp. 1–4.

Baca, Helmreich, and Gill 2019: Baca, M., A. Helmreich, and M. Gill, 'Digital Art History', *Visual Resources* 35, 1–2 (2019), pp. 1–5.

Baccaert 1941: Baccaert, F., *De Peoene viert! Het blazoenfeest te Mechelen in 1620,* MA thesis (Leuven: KU Leuven, 1941).

Bailey 1981: Bailey, S. M., 'A Preparatory Drawing by Lucas van Uden', *Master Drawings* 19 (1981), pp. 441–442.

Banz 2000: Banz, C., *Höfisches Mäzenatentum in Brüssel: Kardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586) und die Erzherzöge Albrecht (1559–1621) und Isabella (1566–1633)* (Berlin: Mann Verlag, 2000).

Bapasola 2005: Bapasola, J., *Threads of History: The Tapestries at Blenheim Palace* (Lydney: Lightmoor Press, 2005).

Barbagli and Kertzer 2001: Barbagli, M., and D. I. Kertzer, 'Introduction', in D. I. Kertzer and M. Barbagli (eds.), *The History of the European Family, Volume One: Family Life in Early Modern Times 1500–1789* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. ix–xxxii.

Bastian, Heymann, and Jacomy 2009: Bastian, M., S. Heymann, and M. Jacomy, 'Gephi: An Open Source Software for Exploring and Manipulating Networks', *International AAAI Conference on Weblogs and Social Media* (2009).

Baud 1994: Baud, M., 'Huishouden, gezin en familienetwerk: Een eerste inleiding op de thematiek', in M. Baud and T. Engelen (eds.), *Samen wonen, samen werken? Vijf essays over de geschiedenis van arbeid en gezin* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1994), pp.11–34.

Baumstark and Delmarcel 2019: Baumstark, R., and G. Delmarcel, *Subjects from History: The Decius Mus Series,* Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard 13, 2 (Brussels: Arcade Press, 2019).

Baxandall 1972: Baxandall, M., *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

Baxandall 1980: Baxandall, M., *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980).

Baxandall 1985: Baxandall, M., *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

Becker 1982: Becker, H. S., *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

Beerens 2016: Beerens, R. J., *De Amsterdamse wandtapijtwever Alexander Baert (1660–1719) en zijn atelier in sociaaleconomische context*, MA thesis (Leuven: KU Leuven, 2016).

Beerens 2019: Beerens, R. J., 'The Amsterdam Tapestry Producer Alexander Baert (1660–1719) and his Workshop: New Findings', *Textile History* 50, 1 (2019), pp. 41–54.

Bengtsson and Mineau 2008: Bengtsson, T., and G. P. Mineau, 'Introduction', in T. Bengtsson and G. P. Mineau (eds.), *Kinship and Demographic Behavior in the Past* (New York: Springer, 2008), pp. 1–12.

Bentkowska-Kafel 2015: Bentkowska-Kafel, A., 'Debating Digital Art History', *International Journal for Digital Art History* 1 (2015), pp. 50–65.

Bergmans 1975: Bergmans, S., 'Les ou les De Vadder', *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 44 (1975), pp. 125–129.

Berlin 2008: Berlin, M., 'Guilds in Decline? London Livery Companies and the Rise of a Liberal Economy, 1600–1800', in S. R. Epstein and M. Prak (eds.), *Guilds, Innovation, and the European Economy, 1400–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 316–341.

Berryman 2017: Berryman, J., 'Gombrich's Critique of Hauser's Social History of Art', *History of European Ideas* 43, 5 (2017), pp. 494–506.

Bertrand 2016: Bertrand, P.-F. (ed.), *Arachné: Histoire de l'histoire de la tapisserie et des arts décoratifs* (s.l.: Editions Esthétiques du Divers, 2016).

Bertrand and Delmarcel 2008: Bertrand, P.-F., and G. Delmarcel, 'L'histoire de la tapisserie, 1500–1700: Trente-cinq ans de recherche', *Perspective: La revue de l'INHA* 2 (2008), pp. 227–250.

Bikker 2002: Bikker, J., 'Sweerts' Life and Career – A Documentary View', in G. Jansen and P. C. Sutton (eds.), *Michael Sweerts: 1618–1664*, exh. cat., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2002), pp. 25–36.

Bishop 2018: Bishop, C., 'Against Art History', *International Journal for Digital Art History* 3 (2018), pp. 123–131.

Black 1984: Black, A., *Guilds and Civil Society in European Political Thought from the Twelfth Century to the Present* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984).

Blažková 1959: Blažková, J., 'Les tapisseries de Jacob Jordaens dans les chateaux tchécoslovaques', in *Het herfsttij van de Vlaamse tapijtkunst: Internationaal colloquium 8–10 october 1959* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1959), pp. 69–95.

Blažková 1981: Blažková, J., 'Deux tentures des Mois à Prague', *Artes Textiles* 10 (1981), pp. 203–220.

Blondé 2002: Blondé, B., 'Art and Economy in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Antwerp: A View from the Demand Side', in S. Cavaciocchi (ed.), *Economia e Arte Secc. XIII–XVIII* (Florence: Le Monnier, 2002), pp. 379–391.

Blondé and De Laet 2006: Blondé, B., and V. De Laet, 'Owning Paintings and Changes in Consumer Preferences in the Low Countries, Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries', in N. De Marchi and H. J. Van Miegroet (eds.), *Mapping Markets for Painting in Europe 1450–1750* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 69–86.

Blondé and Van Damme 2010: Blondé, B., and I. Van Damme, 'Retail Growth and Consumer Changes in a Declining Urban Economy: Antwerp (1650–1750)', *Economic History Review* 63 (2010), pp. 638–663.

Bodart 1970: Bodart, D., *Les peintres de Pays-Bas méridionaux de la principauté de Liège à Rome au XVIIème siècle* (Brussels: Institut historique Belge de Rome, 1970).

Bok 1990: Bok, M. J., '"Nulla dies sine linie": De opleiding van schilders in Utrecht in de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 6 (1990), pp. 58–66.

Bok 1994: Bok, M. J., *Vraag en aanbod op de Nederlandse kunstmarkt, 1580–1700*, PhD diss. (Utrecht University, 1994).

Boot 2008: Boot, P., 'Playing and Displaying Love: Theatricality in Otto van Veen's Amoris divini emblemata (Antwerp 1615)', *Emblematica* 16 (2008), pp. 339–364.

Bos 2006: Bos, S., 'A Tradition of Giving and Receiving: Mutual Aid within the Guild System', in M. Prak, C. Lis, J. Lucassen, and H. Soly (eds.), *Craft Guilds in the Early Modern Low Countries: Work, Power, and Representation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 174–193.

Brey 2021: Brey, A., 'Digital Art History in 2021', *History Compass* 19, 8 (2021), pp. 1–14.

Brosens 2003–2004: Brosens, K., 'Charles Le Brun's *Meleager and Atalanta* and Brussels Tapestry c. 1675', *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 11, 1 (2003–2004), pp. 5–37.

Brosens 2004a: Brosens, K., *A Contextual Study of Brussels Tapestry, 1670–1770: The Dye Works and Tapestry Workshop of Urbanus Leyniers (1674–1757)* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 2004).

Brosens 2004b: Brosens, K., 'On Alphonse Wauters's Les tapisseries bruxelloises (1878)', *Studies in Western Tapestry* (2004), last visited 19 May 2020, www.studiesinwesterntapestry.net.

Brosens 2005a: Brosens, K., 'Nouvelles données sur l'Histoire de Cléopâtre de Poerson: Le réseau Parent et la tapisserie bruxelloise à la française', *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 74 (2005), pp. 63–77.

Brosens 2005b: Brosens, K., 'The "Story of Psyche" in Brussels Tapestry c.1700: New Information on Jan van Orley, Jan-Baptist Vermillion and Victor Janssens', *The Burlington Magazine* 147 (2005), pp. 401–406.

Brosens 2006-2007: Brosens, K., 'Eighteenth-Century Brussels Tapestry and the Goût Moderne: Philippe de Hondt's Series Contextualized', *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 14, 1 (2006–2007), pp. 53–79.

Brosens 2007a: Brosens, K., 'Bruxelles/Paris/Bruxelles: Charles de La Fontaine et la diffusion des modèles des tapisseries de Charles Poerson à Bruxelles, 1650–1675', *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 76 (2007), pp. 43–60.

Brosens 2007b: Brosens, K., 'Flemish Production, 1660–1715', in T. P. Campbell (ed.), *Tapestry in the Baroque: Threads of Splendor,* exh. cat., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art/Madrid, Palacio Real (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 441–453.

Brosens 2007c: Brosens, K., 'A Naval Battle', in T. P. Campbell (ed.), *Tapestry in the Baroque: Threads of Splendor,* exh. cat., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art/Madrid, Palacio Real (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 477–483.

Brosens 2007d: Brosens, K., 'The Story of Theodosius the Younger: A Rediscovered Tapestry Set by Jacob Jordaens and his Studio', *The Burlington Magazine* 149 (2007), pp. 376–382.

Brosens 2008: Brosens, K., *European Tapestries in the Art Institute of Chicago*, exh. cat., Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2008).

Brosens 2009: Brosens, K., '"Wie durft daerop bieden?" Tapestry Cartoons, Preparatory Sketches and Tapestries at Auction, 1650–1750', in D. Lyna, F. Vermeylen, and H. Vlieghe (eds.), *Art Auctions and Dealers: The Dissemination of Netherlandish Art during the Acien Régime* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), pp. 83–96.

Brosens 2010: Brosens, K., 'New Light on the Raes Workshop in Brussels and Rubens's *Achilles* Series', in T. P. Campbell and E. A. H. Cleland (eds.), *Tapestry in the Baroque: New Aspects of Production and Patronage* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 20–33.

Brosens 2011: Brosens, K., *Subjects from History: The Constantine Series,* Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard 13, 3 (Brussels: Arcade Press, 2011).

Brosens 2012a: Brosens, K., 'Can Tapestry Research Benefit from Economic Sociology and Social Network Analysis?', in K. Brosens, L. Kelchtermans, and K. Van der Stighelen (eds.), *Family Ties: Art Production and Kinship Patterns in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 43–51.

Brosens 2012b: Brosens, K., 'Revisiting Brussels Tapestry, 1700–1740: New Data on Tapissiers Albert Auwercx and Judocus de Vos', *Textile History* 43, 2 (2012), pp. 183–199.

Brosens 2014: Brosens, K., 'Quality, Risk and Uncertainty and the Market for Brussels Tapestry, 1450–1750', in N. De Marchi and S. Raux (eds.), *Moving Pictures: Intra-European Trade in Images, 16th–18th Centuries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 19–36.

Brosens 2018: Brosens, K., 'Not so Splendiferous Brussels Baroque Tapestry: Daniel Leyniers (1618–1688) Recovered', *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 38, 1 (2018), pp. 25–34.

Brosens 2019: Brosens, K., 'Des vérités contrariantes? Les tapisseries, des performances et des œuvres multiples', *Perspective* 2 (2019), pp. 195–201.

Brosens, Aerts, Alen, et al. 2019: Brosens, K., J. Aerts, K. Alen, R. J. Beerens, B. Cardoso, I. De Prekel, A. Ivanova, H. Lamqaddam, G. Molenberghs, A. Slegten, F. Truyen, K. Van der Stighelen, and K. Verbert, 'Slow Digital Art History in Action: *Project Cornelia*'s Computational Approach to Seventeenth-century Flemish Creative Communities', *Visual Resources* 35, 1–2 (2019), pp. 105–124.

Brosens, Alen, and Slegten 2016: Brosens, K., K. Alen, and A. Slegten, *In de praktijk: Vlaamse wandtapijten in 50 verhalen* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 2016).

Brosens, Alen, Slegten, et al. 2016: Brosens, K., K. Alen, A. Slegten, and F. Truyen, 'MapTap and Cornelia: Ontological Foundations of a Slow Digital Art History and Formal (Art) Historical Network Research', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 79, 3 (2016), pp. 315–330.

Brosens, Beerens, Cardoso, et al. 2019: Brosens, K., R. J. Beerens, B. Cardoso, and F. Truyen, 'The Brussels Guild of Painters, Goldbeaters, and Stained-Glass Makers, 1599–1706: A Multi-Faceted Analysis', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 82, 4 (2019), pp. 531–553.

Brosens and De Laet 2009: Brosens, K., and V. De Laet, 'Matthijs Roelandts, Joris Leemans and Lanceloot Lefebure: New Data on Baroque Tapestry in Brussels', *The Burlington Magazine* 151 (2009), pp. 360–367.

Brosens and Delmarcel 1998: Brosens, K., and G. Delmarcel, 'Les aventures de Don Quichotte, tapisseries bruxelloises de l'atelier Leyniers-Reydams', *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 67 (1998), pp. 55–92.

Brosens and De Prekel 2021: Brosens, K., and I. De Prekel, 'Producing the Baroque. A Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis of the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke, 1629–1719', *Oud Holland* 134 (2021), pp. 130–150.

Brosens, Kelchtermans, and Van der Stighelen 2012: Brosens, K., L. Kelchtermans, and K. Van der Stighelen (eds.), *Family Ties: Art Production and Kinship Patterns in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012).

Brosens and Slegten 2017: Brosens, K., and A. Slegten, 'Creativity and Disruption in Brussels Tapestry, 1698–1706: New Data on Jan van Orley and Judocus de Vos', *The Burlington Magazine* 159 (2017), pp. 528–535.

Brosens and Slegten 2019: Brosens, K., and A. Slegten, 'Benavides' Scipio Ensemble and Collaborative Entrepreneurial Action in Brussels Tapestry c. 1660', *The Burlington Magazine* 161 (2019), pp. 112–119.

Brosens and Van der Stighelen 2012: Brosens, K., and K. Van der Stighelen, 'Paintings, Prices and Productivity: Lessons Learned from Maximiliaan de Hase's "Memorie boeck" (1744–80)', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 36, 3 (2012), pp. 173–183.

Brown 2011: Brown, A., *Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges c. 1300–1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Brown 1998: Brown, C., 'Rubens and the Archdukes', in W. Thomas and L. Duerloo (eds.), *Albert & Isabella, 1598–1621: Essays*, exh. cat., Brussels, Royal Museum of Art and History (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 121–128.

Brown 1992: Brown, J., 'Der spanische Hof und die flämische Malerei', in E. Mai and H. Vlieghe (eds.), *Von Bruegel bis Rubens: Das goldene Jahrhundert der flämischen Malerei*, exh. cat., Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum (Cologne: Verlag Locher, 1992), pp. 93–101.

Brown 2020: Brown, K. (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Digital Humanities and Art History* (New York: Routledge, 2020).

Brown 1982: Brown, M., 'The Classic is the Baroque: On the Principle of Wölfflin's Art History', *Critical Inquiry* 9, 2 (1982), pp. 379–404.

Bruijnen 2003: Bruijnen, Y., 'De relatie tussen rederijkers en schilders te Leuven in de zestiende eeuw', in B. A. M. Ramakers (ed.), *Conformisten en rebellen: Rederijkerscultuur in de Nederlanden (1400–1650)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), pp. 247–259.

Bruneel 2006: Bruneel, C., 'De Levensloop', in P. Janssens (ed.), *België in de 17de eeuw: de Spaanse Nederlanden en het prinsbisdom Luik*, vol. 2 (Gent: Snoeck, 2006), pp. 327–335.

Brunner and Heberling 1989: Brunner, C., and W. Heberling, *Schloß Premstätten: Ritterturm – Adelsschloss – Ordenshaus – High-Tech-Center* (Premstätten: AMS International, 1989).

Burke 2019: Burke, P., 'The Social Histories of Art', in P. Coen (ed.), *The Art Market in Rome in the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 28–52.

Burke and Cherry 1997: Burke, M. B., and P. Cherry, *Collections of Paintings in Madrid 1601–1755* (Los Angeles: Provenance Index of the Getty Information Institute, 1997).

Burm and De Munck 2010: Burm, E., and B. De Munck, 'Het broodje gebakken? Huwelijksstrategieën en partnerkeuze van bakkers(kinderen) te Brussel in de overgang van het Ancien Régime naar de negentiende eeuw', *Stadsgeschiedenis* 5 (2010), pp. 148–168.

Büttner 2006a: Büttner, N., 'Aristocracy and Noble Business: Some Remarks on Rubens's Financial Affairs', in K. Van der Stighelen (ed.), *Munuscula amicorum: Contributions on Rubens and his Context in Honour of Hans Vlieghe*, vol. 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 67–78.

Büttner 2006b: Büttner, N., *Landscape Painting: A History* (New York: Abbeville Press, 2006).

Caluwaerts 2005: Caluwaerts, J., *Poorters van Brussel 1350–1795: Deel 2 (1601–1695)*, vol. 2 (Herent: Caluwaerts, 2005).

Caluwaerts 2010: Caluwaerts, J., *Poorters van Brussel 1350–1795: Deel 1b (1501–1600)*, vol. 1b (Herent: Caluwaerts, 2010).

Cammaert 2007: Cammaert, O., 'Le projet de démolition de l'église Saint-Géry à Bruxelles en 1786', in K. Bethume and J.-P. Huys (eds.), *Espaces et parcours dans la ville de Bruxelles au XVIIIe siècle* (Brussels: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 2007), pp. 152–158.

Campbell 1976: Campbell, L., 'The Art Market in the Southern Netherlands in the Fifteenth Century', *The Burlington Magazine* 118, 877 (1976), pp. 188–198.

Campbell 2002a: Campbell, L., 'The Conservation of Netherlandish Paintings in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', in C. Sitwell and S. Staniforth (eds.), *Studies in the History of Painting Restoration* (London: Archetype, 2002), pp. 15–26.

Campbell 2002b: Campbell, T. P., 'The Art and Magnificence of Renaissance Tapestries: Introduction', in T. P. Campbell (ed.), *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence*, exh. cat., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 3–11.

Campbell 2002c: Campbell, T. P., 'The Acts of the Apostles Tapestries and Raphael's Cartoons', in T. P. Campbell (ed.), *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence*, exh. cat., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 187–203.

Campbell 2002d: Campbell, T. P., 'Italian Designs in Brussels, 1530–1535', in T. P. Campbell (ed.), *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence*, exh. cat., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 341–360.

Campbell 2002e: Campbell, T. P., 'Netherlandisch designs, 1530–1560', in T. P. Campbell (ed.), *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence*, exh. cat., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 379–405.

Campbell 2007a: Campbell, T. P. (ed.), *Tapestry in the Baroque: Threads of Splendor,* exh. cat., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art/Madrid, Palacio Real (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

Campbell 2007b: Campbell, T. P., 'The Development of New Centers of Production and the Recovery of the Netherlandisch Tapestry Industry, 1600–1620', in T. P. Campbell (ed.), *Tapestry in the Baroque: Threads of Splendor,* exh. cat., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art/Madrid, Palacio Real (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 61–75.

Carpenter 1844: Carpenter, W. H., *Pictorial Notices, Consisting of a Memoir of Sir Anthony van Dyck* (London: J. Carpenter, 1844).

Carpenter 1845: Carpenter, W. H., *Mémoires et documents inédits sur Antoine Van Dyck, P.P. Rubens et autres artistes contemporains* (Antwerp: Buschmann, 1845).

Cecchini 2014: Cecchini, I., 'Going South: The Space for Flemish Art Dealers in Seventeenth Century Northern Italy', in N. De Marchi and S. Raux (eds.), *Moving Pictures: Intra-European Trade in Images, 16th–18th Centuries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 189–220.

Claessens 1966: Claessens, P. E., 'Quelques circonstances de la vie du peintre Jacques d'Arthois', *L'intermédiaire des généalogistes* 125 (1966), pp. 263–265.

Clark 1973a: Clark, T. J., *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

Clark 1973b: Clark, T. J., *The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848–1851* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

Clerbaut 1897: Clerbaut, V., 'La bourgeoisie et les bourgeois dans l'ancien Bruxelles au point de vue historique et juridique', *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* 11 (1897), pp. 398–415.

Clerbaut 1898: Clerbaut, V., 'La bourgeoisie et les bourgeois dans l'ancien Bruxelles au point de vue historique et juridique', *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* 12 (1898), pp. 192–214.

Cloet 1996: Cloet, M., 'Het doopsel in de Nieuwe Tijd (ca. 1550–ca. 1800)', in L. Leijssen, M. Cloet, and K. Dobbelaere (eds.), *Levensrituelen. Geboorte en doopsel* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1996), pp. 75–94.

Cloet and Storme 2000: Cloet, M., and H. Storme, 'Relatie en huwelijk in de Nieuwe Tijd', in R. Burggraeve, M. Cloet, K. Dobbelaere, and L. Leijssen (eds.), *Levensrituelen: Het huwelijk* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000), pp. 12–30.

Coekelberghs 1975: Coekelberghs, D., 'Contribution à l'étude du paysage italianisant flamand et hollandais au XVIIe siècle: œuvres inédites de A. Goubau, L. De Vadder, J. Both', *Revue des archéologues et historiens d'art de Louvain* 8 (1975), pp. 104–122.

Coremans 1847: Coremans, Dr., 'L'archiduc Ernest, sa cour, ses dépenses, 1593–1595, d'après les comptes de Blaise Hütter, son secrétaire intime et premier valet de chamber', *Compte-rendu des séances de la commission royale d'histoire* 13 (1847), pp. 85–147.

Cornil 1936: Cornil, T., 'Théodore Van Loon et la peinture italienne', *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 17 (1936), pp. 187–211.

Craeybeckx 1962: Craeybeckx, J., 'Les industries d'exporation dans les villes flamandes au XVIIe siècle, particulièrement à Gand et à Bruges', *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani* 4 (1962), pp. 413–468.

Crick-Kuntziger 1954: Crick-Kuntziger, M., 'Deux tapisseries bruxelloises d'après des cartons de Louis Van Schoor', *Bulletin des Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire* 26 (1954), pp. 98–106.

Crick-Kuntziger 1955: Crick-Kuntziger, M., 'Tapisseries bruxelloises d'après Rubens et d'après Jordaens', *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 24 (1955), pp. 17–28.

Crowston 2008: Crowston, C., 'Women, Gender, and Guilds in Early Modern Europe: An Overview of Recent Research', *IRSH* 53 (2008), pp. 19–44.

Culot, Demanet, Hennaut, et al. 1992: Culot, M., M. Demanet, E. Hennaut, and C. Mierop, *Le bombardement de Bruxelles par Louis XIV et la reconstruction qui s'en suivit 1695–1700* (Brussels: Archives d'architecture moderne, 1992).

Curtis, Dijkmans, Lambrecht, et al. 2017: Curtis, D., J. Dijkmans, T. Lambrecht, and E. Vanhaute, 'Low Countries', in G. Alfani and C. Ó. Gráda (eds.), *Famine in European History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 119–140.

Daelemans 1989: Daelemans, F., 'De bevolking tijdens het ancient régime', in A. Smolar-Meynart and J. Stengers (eds.), *Het gewest Brussel: Van de oude dorpen tot de stad van nu* (Brussels: Gemeentekrediet van België, 1989), pp. 130–137.

Dambruyne 1997: Dambruyne, J., 'Rijkdom, materiële cultuur en sociaal aanzien: De bezitspatronen en investeringsstrategieën van de Gentse ambachten omstreeks 1540', in C. Lis en H. Soly (eds.), *Werelden van verschil: Ambachtsgilden in de Lage Landen* (Brussels: VUBpress, 1997), pp. 151–211.

Dambruyne 1998: Dambruyne, J., 'Guilds, Social Mobility and Status in Sixteenth-Century Ghent', *International Review of Social History* 43 (1998), pp. 31–78.

Dambruyne 2002: Dambruyne, J., *Corporatieve middengroepen: Aspiraties, relaties en transformaties in de 16de-eeuwse Gentse ambachtswereld* (Gent: Academia, 2002).

De Baere 1946a: De Baere, C., 'De Brusselsche kamers van rhetorica', *Eigen schoon en de Brabander* 29 (1946), pp. 1–16.

De Baere 1946b: De Baere, C., 'De bedrijvigheid der oude kamers van rhetorica te Brussel', *Eigen schoon en de Brabander* 29 (1946), pp. 97–119.

De Baere 1948a: De Baere, C., 'De rhetoricale feesten te Brussel', in R. Roemans, *Miscellanea J. Gessler* (The Hague: Deurne, 1948), pp. 146–158.

De Baere 1948b: De Baere, C., 'De deelneming van Brusselse rederijkers aan rhetoricale feesten en wedstrijden', *Eigen schoon en de Brabander* 31 (1948), pp. 8–24, 49–61.

De Baere 1949: De Baere, C., 'De organisatie der oude kamers der rhetorica te Brussel', *Eigen schoon en de Brabander* 32 (1949), pp. 1–16, 72–83.

De Bie 2014: De Bie, A., 'Modelling the Future: Occupational and Marital Choices of an Early Modern Antwerp Family Facing Crisis', *Tijdschrift voor sociale en economische geschiedenis* 11, 4 (2014), pp. 1–26.

De Bie 1662: De Bie, C., *Het gulden cabinet vande edele schilder-const* (Antwerp: Joannes Meyssens, Juliaen van Montfort, 1662).

De Borchgrave d'Altena 1957: De Borchgrave d'Altena, C. J., 'Madame Crick-Kuntziger, conservateur honoraire', *Bulletin des Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire* 29 (1957), pp. 126–131.

De Callatay 1960: De Callatay, E., 'Etudes sur les paysagistes bruxellois du XVIIe siècle', *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 29 (1960), pp. 155–203.

Deceulaer 2013: Deceulaer, H., 'Fashion, Innovation and Regional Distribution: The Clothing Trades in Brussels, Sixteenth-Eighteenth Centuries', in K. Van der Stighelen, L. Kelchtermans, and K. Brosens (eds.), *Embracing Brussels: Art and Culture in the Court City, 1600–1880* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 21–38.

Deceulaer and Verleysen 2006: Deceulaer, H., and F. Verleysen, 'Excessive Eating or Political Display? Guild Meals in the Southern Netherlands, Late 16th–Late 18th Centuries', *Food & History* 4, 2 (2006), pp. 165–185.

Deceulaer and Verleysen 2011: Deceulaer, H., and F. Verleysen, 'De politiek van de gebraden gans: Maaltijden van ambachtsgilden in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden late zestiende tot late achttiende eeuw', in M. De Koster, B. De Munck, H. Greefs, B. Willems, and A. Winter (eds.), *Werken aan de stad: Stedelijke actoren en structuren in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden 1500–1900: Liber Alumnorum Catharina Lis en Hugo Soly* (Brussels: VUB Press, 2011), pp. 191–207.

De Clippel 2006: De Clippel, K., *Joos van Craesbeeck (1605/06–ca. 1660): Een Brabants genreschilder* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).

De Doncker 2007: De Doncker, T., 'De Gentse Sint-Lucasgilde: Kunstenaars in de periode 1574–1773: Een prosopografische benadering', *Handelingen der maatschappij voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde te Gent* 61 (2007), pp. 213–264.

De Doncker 2013: De Doncker, T., *'Hupsicheyt en hantgedaet': Kunstacademie en ambachtsgilden te Gent ca. 1748–1800*, PhD diss. (Ghent: Universiteit Gent, 2013).

De Giorgio 2017: De Giorgio, C., *Woven Splendour: The Tapestries at the Conventual Church of the Knights of Malta* (Santa Venera: Midsea Books, 2017).

De Jager 1990: De Jager, R., 'Meester, leerjongen, leertijd: Een analyse van zeventiende-eeuwse Noord-Nederlandse leerlingcontracten van kunstschilders, goud- en zilversmeden', *Oud Holland* 104, 2 (1990), pp. 69–110.

De Jonge 1998: De Jonge, K., 'Building Policy and Urbanisation during the Reign of the Archdukes', in W. Thomas and L. Duerloo (eds.), *Albert & Isabella, 1598–1621: Essays*, exh. cat., Brussels, Royal Museum of Art and History (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 191–219.

De Jonge 1999: De Jonge, K., ''t Hof van Brabant als symbool van de Spaanse hofhouding in de Lage Landen', *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond* 98 (1999), pp. 183–198.

De Laet 2011: De Laet, V., *Brussel binnenskamers: Kunst- en luxebezit in het spanningsveld tussen hof en stad, 1600–1735* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

De Laet 2013: De Laet, V., 'At Home in Seventeenth-century Brussels: Patterns of Art and Luxury Consumption', in K. Van der Stighelen, L. Kelchtermans, and K. Brosens (eds.), *Embracing Brussels: Art and Culture in the Court City, 1600–1880* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 11–20.

De Lannoy 1995: De Lannoy, G., 'Un regard neuf sur Adrien-François Boudewijns (1644–1719) et son fils François (1682–1767)', *Bulletin der Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België* 44 (1995), pp. 125–152.

Dellis 1992: Dellis, P., *Contribution à l'étude de l'oeuvre du paysagiste bruxellois Lucas Achtschellinck (1626–1699)*, MA thesis (Brussels: Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1992).

Dellis 1994: Dellis, P., 'Un portrait d'artiste peint par Lucas Franchois II', *Annales d'Histoire de l'Art et d'Archéologie* 14 (1994), pp. 99–107.

Delmarcel 1985: Delmarcel, G., 'Nieuwe Gegevens Over de Wandtapijten van het Nieuwe Testament door Judocus de Vos te Malta', *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 54 (1985), pp. 29–44.

Delmarcel 1997: Delmarcel, G., *Rubenstextiel/Rubens's textiles*, exh. cat., Antwerp, Hessenhuis (Antwerp: Stad Antwerpen, 1997).

Delmarcel 1999: Delmarcel, G., *Het Vlaamse wandtapijt van de 15de tot de 18de eeuw* (Tielt: Lannoo, 1999).

Delmarcel 2007: Delmarcel, G., 'Tapestry in the Spanish Netherlands, 1625–60', in T. P. Campbell (ed.), *Tapestry in the Baroque: Threads of Splendor,* exh. cat., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art/Madrid, Palacio Real (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 203–217.

Delmarcel, García Calvo, and Brosens 2010: Delmarcel, G., M. García Calvo, and K. Brosens, 'Spanish Family Pride in Flemish Wool and Silk: The Moncada Family and its Baroque Tapestry Collection', in T. P. Campbell and E. A. H. Cleland (eds.), *Tapestry in the Baroque: New Aspects of Production and Patronage* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 284–315.

Del Torre Scheuch and Gruber 2018: Del Torre Scheuch, F., and G. Gruber, '"L'abondance & la diversité": De kunstkamer van aartshertog Leopold Wilhelm', in K. Van der Stighelen (ed.), *Michaelina Wautier 1604–1689: Triomf van een vergeten talent,* exh. cat. Antwerp, Rubenshuis (Kontich: BAI, 2018), pp. 52–65.

Delvoy 1940: Delvoy, R. L., 'L'Oeuvre gravé de Lucas van Uden: Contribution à l'étude de la gravure flamande du XVIIe siècle', *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 10 (1940), pp. 47–58.

De Maeyer 1955: De Maeyer, M., *Albrecht en Isabella en de schilderkunst: Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de XVIIe-eeuwse schilderkunst in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden* (Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België, 1955).

De Marchi, Van Ginhoven, and Van Miegroet 2014: De Marchi, N., S. van Ginhoven, and H. J. Van Miegroet, 'Supply-Demand Imbalance in the Antwerp Paintings Market, 1630–1680', in N. De Marchi and S. Raux (eds.), *Moving Pictures: Intra-European Trade in Images, 16th–18th Centuries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 37–76.

De Marchi and Van Miegroet 1994: De Marchi, N., and H. J. Van Miegroet, 'Art, Value, and Market Practices in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century', *The Art Bulletin* 76, 3 (1994), pp. 451–464.

De Marchi and Van Miegroet 1998: De Marchi, N., and H. J. Van Miegroet, 'Novelty and Fashion Circuits in the Mid-Seventeenth-Century Antwerp-Paris Art Trade', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28 (1998), pp. 201–246.

De Marchi and Van Miegroet 1999: De Marchi, N., and H. J. Van Miegroet, 'Exploring Markets for Netherlandish Paintings in Spain and Nueva España', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 50 (1999), pp. 81–111.

De Marchi and Van Miegroet 2000: De Marchi, N., and H. J. Van Miegroet, 'Rules versus Play in Early Modern Art Markets', *Louvain Economic Review* 66 (2000), pp. 145–165.

De Marchi and Van Miegroet 2006: De Marchi, N., and H. J. Van Miegroet, 'The Antwerp-Mechelen Production and Export Complex', in A. Golahny, M. M. Mochizuki, and L. Vergara (eds.), *In His Milieu: Essays on Netherlandisch Art in Memory of John Michael Montias* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), pp. 133–147.

De Marchi and Van Miegroet 2009: De Marchi, N., and H. J. Van Miegroet, 'Antwerp Dealers' Invasions of the Seventeenth-Century Lille Market', in D. Lyna, F. Vermeylen, and H. Vlieghe (eds.), *Art Auctions and Dealers: The Dissemination of Netherlandish Art during the Acien Régime* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), pp. 43–58.

De Marchi and Van Miegroet 2012: De Marchi, N., and H. J. Van Miegroet, 'Uncertainty, Family Ties and Derivative Painting in Seventeenth-Century Antwerp', in K. Brosens, L. Kelchtermans, and K. Van der Stighelen (eds.), *Family Ties: Art Production and Kinship Patterns in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 53–74.

Demeester 1978-1981: Demeester, J., 'Le domaine de Mariemont sous Albert et Isabelle 1598–1621', *Annales du cercle Archeologique de Mons* 71 (1978–1981), pp. 181–282.

De Mendonça 1983: De Mendonça, M. J., *Inventário de tapeçarias existentes em museus e palácios nacionais* (Lisbon: Instituto Portugués do Património Cultural, 1983).

De Meûter 1984: De Meûter, I., 'Schilderijen', in *Een kerk en haar geschiedenis: De Kapellekerk te Brussel 1134–1984*, exh. cat. ASLK-Galerij (Brussels: Coolen, 1984).

De Meûter 2016: De Meûter, I., *Vlaamse wandtapijten: Productie en handel. De Oudenaardse familie Van Verren (1680–1740)* (Gent: Provinciebestuur Oost-Vlaanderen, 2016).

De Mooij 2004: De Mooij, C., 'Verschuivende grenzen', in R. Van Uytven, C. Bruneel, A. N. Koldeweij, et al., *Geschiedenis van Brabant: Van hertogdom tot heden* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 2004), pp. 371–388.

De Moor 2008: De Moor, T., 'The Silent Revolution: A New Perspective on the Emergence of Commens, Guilds, and Other Forms of Corporate Collective Action in Western Europe', *International Review of Social History* 53 (2008), pp. 179–212.

De Moor and Van Zanden 2009: De Moor, T., and J. L. Van Zanden, 'Girl Power: The European Marriage Pattern and Labour Markets in the North Sea Region in the Late Medieval and Early Modern Period', *The Economic History Review* 63, 1 (2009), pp. 1–33.

De Munck 2001: De Munck, B., 'Le produit du talent ou la production de talent? La formation des artistes à l'Académie des beaux-arts à Anvers aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles', *Paedagogica Historica* 37, 3 (2001), pp. 569–605.

De Munck 2007: De Munck, B., *Technologies of Learning: Apprenticeship in Antwerp Guilds from the 15th Century to the End of the Ancien Régime* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).

De Munck 2008: De Munck, B., 'Skills, Trust and Changing Consumer Preferences. The Decline of Antwerp's Craft Guilds from the Perspective of the Product Market, c. 1500–c.1800', *IRSH* 53 (2008), pp. 197–233.

De Munck 2009: De Munck, B., 'Fiscalizing Solidarity (From Below), Poor Relief in Antwerp Guilds between Community Building and Public Service', in M. Van der Burg, M. Van der Heijden, E. Van Nederveen Meerkerk, and G. Vermeesch (eds.), *Serving the Urban Community: The Rise of Public Facilities in the Low Countries* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2009), pp. 168–193.

De Munck 2010a: De Munck, B., 'The return of ouderwetse debatten? Recente trends in het onderzoek naar ambachtsgilden', *Leidschrift* 25, 2 (2010), pp. 73–95.

De Munck 2010b: De Munck, B., 'From Brotherhood Community to Civil Society? Apprentices between Guild, Household and the Freedom of Contract in Early Modern Antwerp', *Social History* 35, 1 (2010), pp. 1–20.

De Munck 2011: De Munck, B., 'Gilding Golden Ages: Perspectives from Early Modern Antwerp on the Guild Debate, c. 1450–c. 1650', *European Review of Economic History* 15 (2011), pp. 221–253.

De Munck 2018: De Munck, B., *Guilds, Labour and the Urban Body Politic: Fabricating Community in the Southern Netherlands, 1300–1800* (New York: Routledge, 2018).

De Munck and Davids 2014: De Munck, B., and K. Davids, 'Beyond Exclusivism: Entrance Fees for Guilds in the Early Modern Low Countries, c. 1450–1800', in K. Davids and B. De Munck (eds.), *Innovation and Creativity in Late Medieval and Early Modern European Cities* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 189–224.

De Munck and Soly 2007: De Munck, B., and H. Soly, '"Learning on the Shop Floor" in Historical Perspective', in B. De Munck, S. L. Kaplan, and H. Soly (eds.), *Learning on the Shop Floor: Historical Perspective on Apprenticeship* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), pp. 3–32.

Denis 1997: Denis, I., 'Tenture des Hommes illustres de Plutarque d'après des modèles de Victor-Honoré Janssens', in *Les choix de la mémoire: Patrimoine retrouvé des Yvelines*, exh. cat., Mantes-la-Jolie, Musée de l'Hôtel-Dieu (Paris: Somogy, 1997), pp. 131–134.

Denucé 1931: Denucé, J., *De kunstuitvoer in de 17e eeuw te Antwerpen: De familie Forchoudt*, Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de Vlaamsche kunst 1 (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1931).

Denucé 1932: Denucé, J., *Inventarissen van kunstverzamelingen te Antwerpen in de 16e en 17e eeuwen*, Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de Vlaamsche kunst 2 (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1932).

Denucé 1934: Denucé, J., *Brieven en documenten betreffend Jan Breugel I en II*, Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de Vlaamsche kunst 3 (Antwerpen: De Sikkel, 1934).

Denucé 1936: Denucé, J., *Antwerpsche tapijtkunst en handel*, Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de Vlaamsche kunst 4 (Antwerpen: De Sikkel, 1936).

De Peuter 1999: De Peuter, R., *Brussel in de achttiende eeuw: Sociaal-economische structuren en ontwikkelingen in een regionale hoofdstad* (Brussels: VUB Press, 1999).

De Poorter 1978: De Poorter, N., *The Eucharist Series,* Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard 2 (Brussels: Arcade Press, 1978).

De Raadt 1894: De Raadt, J. T., *Mengelingen over heraldiek en kunst* (Antwerp: Dela Montagne, 1894).

De Ren 1985: De Ren, L., 'De aankoop van zes schilderijen van Frans Floris door hertog Karel van Croÿ in 1599', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerper* (1985), pp. 177–188.

De Reyniès 1995a: De Reyniès, N., 'Jean van Orley cartonnier: La tenture d'Achille au Musée Jacquemart-André', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 125 (1995), pp. 155–176.

De Reyniès 1995b: De Reyniès, N., 'Jean van Orley: Une tenture de l'histoire de Psyché', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 125 (1995), pp. 209–220.

De Reyniès 1997: De Reyniès, N., 'Charles Poerson et la tapisserie', in B. Brejon de Lavergnée, N. De Reynies, and N. Sainte Fare Garnot (eds.), *Charles Poerson 1607–1667*, exh. cat. Metz, Musées de la Cour d'Or (Paris: Arthena, 1997), pp. 107–139, 171–193.

De Ridder 1989: De Ridder, P., 'Parochiewezen en urbanisme', in A. Smolar-Meynart and J. Stengers (eds.), *Het gewest Brussel: Van de oude dorpen tot de stad van nu* (Brussels: Gemeentekrediet, 1989), pp. 138–145.

De Ridder 1992: De Ridder, P., *Sint-Goedele: Geschiedenis van een monument* (Brussels: Vereniging voor Brusselse geschiedenis, 1992).

De Ridder 2005: De Ridder, P., *Brussel: Geschiedenis van een Brabantse stad* (Ghent: Stichting mens en kultuur, 2005).

Descamps 1754: Descamps, J.-B., *La vie des peintres flamands, allemands et hollandaise*, vol. 2 (Paris: Charles-Antoine Jombert, 1754).

De Schepper 2007: De Schepper, L., *Elisabeth Seldron (ca. 1680–1761): Een vergeten kunstenares aan het hof van Maria Elisabeth van Oostenrijk in het achttiende-eeuwse Brussel,* MA thesis (Leuven: KU Leuven, 2007).

Des Marez 1904: Des Marez, G., *L'organisation du travail à Bruxelles au XVe siècle* (Brussels: Lamertin, 1904).

Des Marez 1921: Des Marez, G., 'La première étape de la formation corporative: L'entraide', *Bulletin de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques de l'Académie Royale de Belgique* (1921), pp. 412–445.

Destrée 1922: Destrée, J., 'Les arts sous les archiducs Albert et Isabelle', *La revue latine* 5, 23 (1922), pp. 79–88.

Devisscher 2001: Devisscher, H., 'Van Bosch tot Rubens: Zuid-Nederlandse landschapskunst 1500–1675', in *Panorama op de wereld: het landschap van Bosch tot Rubens*, exh. cat. 's-Hertogenbosch, Noordbrabants museum (Zwolle: Waanders, 2001), pp. 13–41.

De Vos 1998a: De Vos, A., *Jacques Francart, Premier livre d'architecture (1617): Studie van een Zuid-Nederlands modelboek met poortgebouwen* (Brussel: Paleis der Academiën, 1998).

De Vos 1998b: De Vos, A., 'Hofarchitect Jacques Francart en de Brusselsejezuïetenkerk: Tussen traditie en vernieuwing', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 14 (1998), pp. 65–77.

De Vos 1998c: De Vos, A., 'Jacques Francquart (1583–1651), Architect to the Court, and the Rue Isabelle in Brussels', in W. Thomas and L. Duerloo (eds.), *Albert & Isabella, 1598–1621: Essays*, exh. cat., Brussels, Royal Museum of Art and History (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 210–213.

De Vries 2008: De Vries, J., *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Dewilde 2012a: Dewilde, B., *Corporaties en confrerieën in conflict: Leuven 1600–1750*, PhD diss. (Leuven: KU Leuven, 2012).

Dewilde 2012b: Dewilde, B., 'On Noble Artists and Poor Craftsmen: Networking Painters in Renaissance Bruges', in K. Brosens, L. Kelchtermans, and K. Van der Stighelen (eds.), *Family Ties: Art Production and Kinship Patterns in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 85–101.

Dewilde and Vannieuwenhuyze 2017: Dewilde, B., and B. Vannieuwenhuyze, 'De zeventiende-eeuwse inventaris van de broederschap van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw van de Zeven Weeën in Brussel', *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis* 183 (2017), pp. 57–141.

D'Hulst 1981: D'Hulst, R.-A., 'Enkele aanvullingen bij het oeuvre van Van Uden en Van Thulden', in *Feestbundel bij de opening van het Kolveniershof en het Rubenianum* (Antwerpen: Kunsthistorische musea, 1981), pp. 57–68.

Díaz Padrón 2016: Díaz Padrón, M., 'Miguel de Salamance, a Client of Gaspar de Crayer (1584–1669) at the Monastery of San Frnancisco, Burgos', *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 85 (2016), pp. 5–28.

Dickstein-Bernard 1994: Dickstein-Bernard, C., *De verzamelingen van het Openbaar Centrum voor Maatschappelijk Welzijn Brussel* (Brussels: Gemeentekrediet, 1994).

Dickstein-Bernard 1995–1996: Dickstein-Bernard, C., 'La construction de l'enceinte bruxelloise de 1357: Essai de chronologie des travaux', *Cahiers bruxellois* 35 (1995–1996), pp. 91–128.

Di Lenardo 2013: Di Lenardo, I., 'Carlo Helman, Merchant, Patron and Collector, and the Role of Family Ties in the Antwerp-Venice Migrant Network', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 63 (2013), pp. 324–347.

Donckerwolcke 1997: Donckerwolcke, I., *De legend van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw van Alsemberg: Een kritisch onderzoek van een zeventiende-eeuwse schilderijencyclus uitgevoerd door Antoon Sallaert (1580/85–1650)*, MA thesis (Leuven: KU Leuven, 1997).

Dressen 2017: Dressen, A., 'Grenzen und Möglichkeiten der digitalen Kunstgeschichte und der Digital Humanities – eine kritische Betrachtung der Methoden', *kunsttexte.de* 4 (2017), pp. 1–17.

Drucker 2013: Drucker, J., 'Is There a "Digital" Art History?', *Visual Resources* 29, 1–2 (2013), pp. 5–13.

Drucker and Bishop 2019: Drucker, J., and C. Bishop, 'A Conversation on Digital Art History', in M. K. Gold and L. F. Klein (eds.), *Debates in the Digital Humanities* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2019), chapter 27.

Drucker, Helmreich, Lincoln, et al. 2015: Drucker, J., A. Helmreich, M. D. Lincoln, and F. Rose, 'Digital Art History: The American Scene', *Perspective* 2 (2015), pp. 1–16.

Du Bourg and Vézilier-Dussart 2018: Du Bourg, A. M., and S. Vézilier-Dussart, 'Pour Gaspar de Crayer', in S. Vézilier-Dussart and A. M. Du Bourg (eds.), *Entre Rubens et Van Dyck: Gaspar de Crayer (1584–1669)*, exh. cat., Cassel, Musée départemental de Flandre (Genth: Snoeck, 2018), pp. 13–25.

Duerloo 2009: Duerloo, L., 'Patronage, Painting and Faction: Rubens, the Archducal Court and its Network from the Franche-Comté', in L. Delobette and P. Delsalle (eds.), *La Franche-Comté et les Anciens Pays-Bas, XIIIe–XVIIIe Siècles* (Besançon: PU Franche-Comté, 2009), pp. 449–470.

Duerloo 2012: Duerloo, L., *Dynasty and Piety: Archduke Albert (1598–1621) and the Habsburg Political Culture in the Age of Religious Wars* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012).

Duerloo 2016: Duerloo, L., 'The Hunt in the Performance of Archducal Rule', *Renaissance Quarterly* 69, 1 (2016), pp. 116–154.

Dujardin, Selod, and Thomas 2005: Dujardin, C., H. Selod, and I. Thomas, 'Residential Segregation and Unemployment: The Case of Brussels', *Urban Studies* 45, 1 (2005), pp. 89–113,

Duval-Haller 1937: Duval-Haller, S., 'Rubens à la cour de Flandre', *Beaux-Arts* (1937), pp. 1, 5.

Duverger 1969: Duverger, E., *Nieuwe gegevens betreffende de kunsthandel van Matthijs Musson en Maria Fourmenois te Antwerpen tussen 1633 en 1681* (Ghent: Offprint, 1969).

Duverger 1971: Duverger, E., 'Tapijten naar Rubens en Jordaens in het bezig van de Antwerpse handelsvennootschap Fourment-Van Hecke', *Artes Textiles* 7 (1971), pp. 119–173.

Duverger 1987: Duverger, E., *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw,* vol. 3, 1627–1635 (Brussels: Koninklijke academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België, 1987).

Duverger 1992: Duverger, E., *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, vol. 6, 1649–1653 (Brussels: Koninklijke academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België, 1992).

Duverger 1993: Duverger, E., *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, vol. 7, 1654–1658 (Brussels: Koninklijke academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België, 1993).

Duverger 1995: Duverger, E., *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, vol. 8, 1658–1666 (Brussels: Koninklijke academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België, 1995).

Duverger 2001: Duverger, E., *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, vol. 11, 1680–1689 (Brussels: Koninklijke academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België, 2001).

Duverger 2008: Duverger, E., *De Antwerpse Tapijthandelaar Cornelis de Wael*, 2 vols (Brussel: Paleis der Academien, 2008).

Duverger 1943: Duverger, J., 'Enkele gegevens betreffende schilder Jacob de Punder alias de Poindre', *Gentsche bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis* 9 (1943), pp. 211–215.

Duverger 1974: Duverger, J., 'Enkele gegevens betreffende Rogier van der Weyden en zijn kring', in *Rogier van der Weyden en zijn tijd* (Brussel: Koninklijke academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België, 1974), pp. 83–102.

Duverger 1982: Duverger, J., 'Het statuut van de zestiende-eeuwse hofkunstenaar in de Nederlanden', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk museum voor schone kunsten Antwerpen* (1982), pp. 61–95.

Duvivier 1862: Duvivier, Ch., 'Documents concernant Octavio et Ghisbrecht Van Veen', *Revue d'histoire et d'archéologie* 3 (1862), pp. 94–97.

Effinger, Hoppe, Klinke, et al. 2019: Effinger, M., S. Hoppe, H. Klinke, and B. Krysmanski, *Von analogen und digitalen Zugängen zur Kunst: Festschrift für Hubertus Kohle zum 60. Geburtstag* (Heidelberg: arthistoricum.net, 2019).

Ehmer 1984: Ehmer, J., 'The Artisan Family in Nineteenth-Century Austria: *Embourgeoisement* of the Petite Bourgeoisie?' in G. Crossick and R. Sieder (eds.), *Shopkeepers, and Master Artisans in Nineteenth-century Europe* (London: Methuen, 1984), pp. 195–218.

Ehmer 2001: Ehmer, J., 'Family and Business among Master Artisans and Entrepreneurs', *The History of the Family* 6, 2 (2001), pp. 187–202.

Eisenbichler 2019: Eisenbichler, K., 'Introduction: A World of Confraternities', in K. Eisenbichler (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval and Early Modern Confraternities* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 1–19.

Ekkart 1974: Ekkart, R., 'Het gezin van Cornelis van Veen', *Leids jaarboekje* 66 (1974), pp. 95–105.

Ekkart 2012: Ekkart, R., 'Dutch Family Ties: Painter Families in Seventeenth-Century Holland', in K. Brosens, L. Kelchtermans, and K. Van der Stighelen (eds.), *Family Ties: Art Production and Kinship Patterns in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 77–84.

Epstein 1998: Epstein, S. R., 'Craft Guilds, Apprenticeship, and Technological Change in Pre-Industrial Europe', *Journal of Economic History* 58 (1998), pp. 816–821.

Epstein 2008: Epstein, S. R., 'Craft Guilds in the Pre-Modern Economy: A Discussion', *The Economic History Review* 61, 1 (2008), pp. 155–174.

Epstein and Prak 2008: Epstein, S. R., and M. Prak (eds.), *Guilds, Innovation, and the European Economy, 1400–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Erkens 1987: Erkens, M., 'De Priorij Groenendaal', in A. Maes and M. Maziers (eds.), *Het Zoniënwoud: Kunst en geschiedenis van oorsprong tot 18de eeuw*, exh. cat. Watermaal-Bosvoorde, Royale Belge and Oudergem, Kasteel Drij Borren (Brussel: Royale belge, 1987), pp. 191–195.

Falkner 2015: Falkner, J., *The War of the Spanish Succession 1701–1714* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2015).

Farr 1997: Farr, J. R., 'On the Shop Floor: Guilds, Artisans, and the European Market Economy, 1350–1750', *Journal of Early Modern History* 1 (1997), pp. 24–54.

Farr 2000: Farr, J. R., *Artisans in Europe, 1300–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Fauve-Chamoux 2001: Fauve-Chamoux, A., 'Marriage, Widowhood, and Divorce', in D. I. Kertzer and M. Barbagli (eds.), *Family Life in Early Modern Times 1500–1789* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 221–256.

Favresse 1947: Favresse, F., 'Les premiers statuts connus des métiers bruxellois du duc et de la Ville et note sur ces métiers', *Bulletin de la commission royale d'histoire* 111 (1947), pp. 37–91.

Favresse 1961: Favresse, F., *Etudes sur les métiers bruxellois au moyen âge* (Brussels: ULB. Institut de sociologie, 1961).

Fererro-Viale 1968: Fererro-Viale, M., 'Nouveaux documents sur les tapisseries de la maison de Savoie', in *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger: Bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis der Nederlanden* (Ghent: Vereniging voor de geschiedenis der textielkunsten, 1968), pp. 806–818.

Fertig 2005: Fertig, G., 'The Hajnal Hypothesis before Hajnal', in T. Engelen and P. Wolf (eds.), *Marriage and the Family in Eurasie: Perspectives on the Hajnal Hypothesis* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2005), pp. 37–50.

Fierens-Gevaert 1926: Fierens-Gevaert, H., *Catalogue de l'exposition retrospective du paysage flamand (XVIe, XVIIe, XVIIIe siècles)* (Brussels: Musée de peintre ancienne, 1926).

Finot 1888: Finot, M. J., *Inventaire Sommaire des Archives Départementales Antérieures 1790*, vol. 6 (Lille: L. Danel, 1888).

Fisher and Swartz 2014: Fisher, M. M., and A. Swartz, 'Why Digital Art History?', *Visual Resources* 30, 2 (2014), pp. 125–137.

Fletcher 2015: Fletcher, P., 'Reflections on Digital Art History', *CAA.Review* (2015), last visited 17 August 2021, www.caareviews.org.

Fletcher and Helmreich 2012: Fletcher, P., and A. Helmreich, 'Local/Global: Mapping Nineteenth-Century London's Art Market', *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 11, 3 (2012), pp. 2–41.

Fokker 1930: Fokker, T. H., 'Wenzel Cobergher, schilder', *De Kunst der Nederlanden* 1 (1930), pp. 170–179.

Foucart and Hénault 1895: Foucart, P., and M. Hénault, *Une toile de Pierre Snayers* (Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1895).

Frankignoulle and Bonenfant 1935: Frankignoulle, E., and P. Bonenfant, 'Notes pour servir à l'histoire de l'art en Brabant', *Annales de la Société Royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* 39 (1935), pp. 1–204.

Freedberg 1988: Freedberg, D., *Iconoclasm and Painting in the Revolt of the Netherlands 1566–1609* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1988).

Freedberg 1993: Freedberg, D., 'Painting and the Counter-Reformation in the Age of Rubens', in P. C. Sutton and M. E. Wieseman (eds.), *The Age of Rubens*, exh. cat., Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1993), pp. 131–145.

Freedberg and De Vries 1991: Freedberg, D., and J. De Vries (eds.), *Art in History, History in Art: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Culture* (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1991).

Gachard 1873: Gachard, L. P., 'L'incendie du palais royal de bruxelles (3 fevrier 1731)', *Bulletins de l'Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique* 35 (1873), pp. 109–147.

Gaddi 2012: Gaddi, S. (ed.), *La dinastia Brueghel*, exh. cat., Como, Villa Olmo/Tel Aviv, Museum of Art (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2012).

Galesloot 1867a: Galesloot, L., 'Documents rélatifs à la formation et la publication de l'ordonnance de Marie-Thérèse, du 20 mars–13 novembre 1773, qui affranchit les peintres, les sculpteurs et les architects, aux Pays-Bas, de l'obligation de se faire inscrire dans les corps de métiers', *Annales de l'Académie d'Archéologie de Belgique* 23, 2 (1867), pp. 451–558.

Galesloot 1867b: Galesloot, L., 'Vol de tableaux de la galerie de l'archiduc Albert au château de Tervuren, en mars 1624', *Messager des sciences historiques* (1867), pp. 373–395.

Galesloot 1870: Galesloot, L., 'Vol de tableaux de la galerie de l'archiduc Albert au château de Tervuren: Réparation d'une erreur judiciaire (1624–1629)', *Messager des sciences historiques* (1870), pp. 413–429.

Geeroms 1985: Geeroms, L., *Lodewijk de Vadder (1605–1655)*, MA thesis (Ghent: Universiteit Gent, 1985).

Gelfert 2012: Gelftert, A., 'Art History, the Problem of Style, and Arnold Hauser's Contribution to the History and Sociology of Knowledge', *Studies in East European Thought* 64, 1/2 (2012), pp. 121–142.

Génard 1865: Génard, P., 'De Nalatenschap van P. P. Rubens', *Antwerpsch Archievenblad* 2 (1865), pp. 69–179.

Génard 1869: Génard, P., 'Intrede van den Prins-Kardinaal Ferdinand van Spanje te Antwerpen, op 17 April 1655', *Antwerpsch Archievenblad* 6 (1869), pp. 400–472.

Gersick, Davis, McCollom Hampton, et al. 1997: Gersick, K. E., J. A. Davis, M. McCollom Hampton, and I. Lansberg (eds.), *Generation to Generation: Life Cycles of the Family Business* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1997).

Glück 1945: Glück, G., *Die Landschaften von Peter Paul Rubens* (Vienna: Schroll, 1945).

Göbel 1923: Göbel, H., *Wandteppiche I: Die Niederlande* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1923).

Goddard 2013: Goddard, R., 'Medieval Business Networks: St Mary's Guild and the Borough Court in Later Medieval Nottingham', *Urban History* 40, 1 (2013), pp. 3–27.

Goddard 1985: Goddard, S. H., 'Brocade Patterns in the Shop of the Master of Frankfurt: An Accessory to Stylistic Analysis', *The Art Bulletin* 67, 3 (1985), pp. 401–417.

Golahny, Mochizuki, and Vergara 2006: Golahny, A., M. M. Mochizuki, and L. Vergara, 'Art-Historical Publications by John Michael Montias', in A. Golahny, M. M. Mochizuki, and L. Vergara (eds.), *In His Milieu: Essays on Netherlandisch Art in Memory of John Michael Montias* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), pp. 23–28.

Goldthwaite 1982: Goldthwaite, R. A., *The Building of Renaissance Florence: An Economic and Social History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982).

Goldthwaite 1993: Goldthwaite, R. A., *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300–1600* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1993).

Gombrich 1950: Gombrich, E. H., *The Story of Art* (London: Phaidon Press, 1950).

Gombrich 1953: Gombrich, E. H., 'Reviewed Work(s): The Social History of Art by Arnold Hauser', *The Art Bulletin* 35, 1 (1953), pp. 79–84.

Gombrich 1960: Gombrich, E. H., 'The Early Medici as Patrons of Art: A Survey of Primary Sources', in E. F. Jacob and C. M. Aby (eds.), *Italian Renaissance Studies* (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), pp. 291–311.

Gombrich 1979: Gombrich, E. H., *Ideals and Idols: Essays on Values in History and in Art* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1979).

Goody 1983: Goody, J., *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

Goubert 1977: Goubert, P., 'Family and Province: A Contribution to the Knowledge of Family Structure in Early Modern France', *Journal of Family History* 2, 3 (1977), pp. 175–195.

Gozzano 2014: Gozzano, N., 'From Flanders to Sicily: The Network of Flemish Dealers in Italy and the International (Art) Market in the Seventeenth Century', in N. De Marchi and S. Raux (eds.), *Moving Pictures: Intra-European Trade in Images, 16th–18th Centuries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 151–188.

Graffart 1980: Graffart, A., 'Register van het schilders-, goudslagers- en glazenmakersambacht van Brussel, 1707–1794', in *Doorheen de Nationale Geschiedenis: Permanente tentoonstelling* (Brussels: Algemeen Rijksarchief, 1980), pp. 267–271.

Grandjean 2015: Grandjean, M., 'Gephi – Introduction to Network Analysis and Visualization', *Martin Grandjean* (2015), last visited 11 June 2021, www.martingeandjean.ch.

Granovetter 1973: Granovetter, M., 'The Strength of Weak Ties', *American Journal of Sociology* 78, 6 (1973), pp. 1360–1380.

Granovetter 1985: Granovetter, M., 'Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness', *American Journal of Sociology* 91, 3 (1985), pp. 481–510.

Greenwald 2021: Greenwald, D., *Painting by Numbers: Data-Driven Histories of Nineteenth-Century Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021).

Griffiths 1996: Griffiths, P., *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560–1640* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

Groenendijk 2008: Groenendijk, P., *Beknopt biografisch lexicon van Zuid- en Noord-Nederlandse schilders, graveurs, glasschilders, tapijtwevers et cetera van ca. 1350 tot ca. 1720* (Utrecht: Pieter Groenendijk, 2008).

Gudlaugsson 1957: Gudlaugsson, S. J., 'Lancelot Volders als portret- en genreschilder', in *Miscellanea Prof. dr. D. Roggen* (Antwerpen: Uitgeverij de Sikkel, 1957), pp. 121–124.

Hajnal 1965: Hajnal, J., 'European Marriage Patterns in Perspective', in D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley (eds.), *Population in History: Essays in Historical Demography* (London: Arnold, 1965), pp. 101–143.

Hajnal 1982: Hajnal, J., 'Two Kinds of Preindustrial Household Formation System', *Population and Development Review* 8, 3 (1982), pp. 449–494.

Harris 2001: Harris, J., *The New Art History: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2001).

Haskell 1963: Haskell, F., *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1963).

Hauser 1951: Hauser, A., *The Social History of Art*, 2 vols. (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1951).

Haverkamp-Begemann 1975: Haverkamp-Begemann, E., *The Achilles Series,* Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard 10 (Brussels: Arcade Press, 1975).

Hefford 1975: Hefford, W., 'Some Problems Concerning the "Art of War" Tapestries', *Bulletin de liaison du Centre International d'Etude des Textiles Anciens* 41–42 (1975), pp. 101–18.

Hefford 2003: Hefford, W., 'Brussels Horsemanship Tapestries Owned by Charles I and Frederick Prince of Wales', in K. Brosens (ed.), *Flemish Tapestry in European and American Collections: Studies in Honour of Guy Delmarcel* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 117–131.

Hell 2017: Hell, M., *De Amsterdamse herberg 1450–1800: Geestrijk centrum van het openbare leven* (Nijmegen: Uitgeverij Vantilt, 2017).

Helmreich 2021: Helmreich, A., 'Introducción a la historia del arte digital: Una conversación colaborativa', *H-ART: Revista de historia, teoría y crítica de arte* 9 (2021), pp. 161–182.

Helmus 2023: Helmus, L. M., *De Bentvueghels: Een berucht kunstgenootschap in Rome 1620–1720* (Amsterdam: Spectrum, 2023).

Hemingway 1994: Hemingway, A., 'Meyer Schapiro and Marxism in the 1930s', *Oxford Art Journal* 17, 1 (1994), pp. 13–29.

Hemingway 2006: Hemingway, A. (ed.), *Marxism and the History of Art: From William Morris to the New Left* (London: Pluto Press, 2006).

Hendrickx 2005: Hendrickx, F., 'West of the Hajnal Line: North-Western Europe', in T. Engelen and P. Wolf (eds.), *Marriage and the Family in Eurasie: Perspectives on the Hajnal Hypothesis* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2005), pp. 73–104.

Henne and Wauters 1845: Henne, A., and A. Wauters, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles*, 3 vols. (Brussels: Culture et civilization, 1845).

Hermesdorf 1977: Hermesdorf, B. H. D., *De Herberg in de Nederlanden: Een blik in de beschabings-geschiedenis* (Arnhem: Gysbers & Van Loon, 1977).

Honig 1995: Honig, E., 'The Beholder as Work of Art: A Study in the Location of Value in Seventeenth-Century Flemish Painting', *Nederlands Kunsthistorish Jaarboek* 46 (1995), pp. 252–297.

Honig 1998: Honig, E., *Painting & the Market in Early Modern Antwerp* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

Hoogewerff 1911–1917: Hoogewerff, G. J., *Bescheiden in Italië omtrent Nederlandsche kunstenaars en geleerden in Italië*, 3 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1911–1917).

Hoogewerff 1912: Hoogewerff, G. J., *Nederlandsche schilders in Italie in de XVIe eeuw: De geschiedenis van het Romanisme* (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1912).

Hoogewerff 1926: Hoogewerff, G. J., 'De Nederlandsche kunstenaars te Rome in de XVIIe eeuw en het conflict met de Academie van St. Lucas', *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, afdeeling Letterkunde* 62, 4 (1926), pp. 117–150.

Hoogewerff 1942: Hoogewerff, G. J., *Nederlandsche kunstenaars te Rome, 1600–1725: Uittreksels uit de parochiale archieven* (The Hague: Algemeene Landsdrukkerij, 1942).

Hoogewerff 1952: Hoogewerff, G. J., *De Bentvueghels* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1952).

Hortal Muñoz 2013: Hortal Muñoz J. E., 'The Household of Archduke Albert of Austria from His Election as Governor of the Habsburg Netherlands until His Investiture as Sovereign Prince of the Low Countries (1595–1598)', *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 91, 4 (2013), pp. 1011–1055.

Howarth 2009: Howarth, J., *The Steenwyck Family as Masters of Perspective*, Pictura Nova 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009).

Howarth 2012: Howarth, J., 'The Steenwyck Paintings, Products of Family Enterprise' in K. Brosens, L. Kelchtermans, and K. Van der Stighelen (eds.), *Family Ties: Art Production and Kinship Patterns in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 145–158.

Howell 2018: Howell, M., 'Michaelina Wautier en werkende vrouwen in het vriegmoderne Europa', in K. Van der Stighelen (ed.), *Michaelina Wautier 1604–1689: Triomf van een vergeten talent,* exh. cat. Antwerp, Rubenshuis (Kontich: BAI, 2018), pp. 101–119.

Hupperetz 1997: Hupperetz, W., 'Nieuwe gegevens over de 17de eeuwse Zuid-Nederlandse schilder Theodorus van Loon', *De Maasgouw* 116 (1997), pp. 137–144.

Huygens 1994: Huygens, F., 'Mozes in de Zuidnederlandse tapissierskunst: Traditie en vernieuwing in twee tapijten van Jasper Van der Borcht', *Bulletin des Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire* 65 (1994), pp. 257–304.

Hyde 1924: Hyde, J. H., 'L'iconographie des quatre parties du monde dans les tapisseries', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 66 (1924), pp. 253–272.

Hymans 1889: Hymans, H., 'Melchior Wyntgis', *Dietsche Warande: Tijdschrift voor kunst en zedegeschiedenis* 2 (1889), pp. 152–158, 268–277.

Hymans 1920: Hymans, H., *Œuvres de Henri Hymans: Près de 700 biographies d'artistes Belges parues dans la biographie nationale dans l'art Flamand et Hollandais dans le dictionnaire des Drs Thieme et Becker et dans diverses publications du pays et de l'étranger*, vol. 2 (Brussels: M. Hayez, 1920).

Ihaka and Gentleman 1996: Ihaka, R., and R. Gentleman, 'R: A Language for Data Analysis and Graphics', *Journal of Computational and Graphical Statistics* 5, 3 (1996), pp. 299–314.

Jacobs 1989: Jacobs, L. F., 'The Marketing and Standardization of South Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces: Limits on the Role of the Patron', *The Art Bulletin* 71, 2 (1989), pp. 208–229.

Jacobs 1997: Jacobs, L. F., 'Guilds and the Open Market: The Example of the Netherlands, 15th and 16th Centuries', in D. Gaze (ed.), *Dictionary of Women Artists: Introductory Surveys: Artists, A-I* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1997), pp. 28–30.

Jacobs 2004: Jacobs, R., *Een geschiedenis van Brussel* (Tielt: Lannoo, 2004).

Jacobs and Vanbellinghen 1999: Jacobs, M., and M. Vanbellinghen, 'Ambachten in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (voor 1795): Een bijdrage tot de samenstelling van een bibliografische lijst van studies verschenen in de 19de en 20ste eeuw', *Oostvlaamse Zanten* 74, 3 (1999), pp. 185–320.

Jansen 2006: Jansen, L., 'Shop Collaboration in the Painting of Background Landscapes in the Workshop of Pieter Coecke van Aelst', in M. Faries (ed.), *Making and Marketing. Studies of the Painting Process in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Workshop* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 119–142.

Janssens 2014: Janssens, P., 'De Spaanse en Oostenrijkse Nederlanden (1579–1780)', in J. C. H. Blom and E. Lamberts (eds.), *Geschiedenis van de Nederlanden* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2014), pp. 221–268.

Janssens and Meurrens 1992: Janssens, L., and M. Meurrens, 'Vorstelijke en Private Post in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden: Organisatie en Problemen', in L. Janssens and M. Meurrens (eds.), *De post van Thurn und Taxis 1489–1794*, exh. cat., Brussels, National Archives of Belgium (Brussels: National Archives of Belgium, 1992), pp. 69–98.

Jarry 1958: Jarry, M., 'Les Tentures du Nouveau Testament de l'église Saint-Jean de Malte', *Le Jardin des Arts* 41 (1958), pp. 329–338.

Jaskot 2019: Jaskot, P. B., 'Digital Art History as the Social History of Art: Towards the Disciplinary Relevance of Digital Methods', *Visual Resources* 35, 1–2 (2019), pp. 21–33.

Jaskot 2020: Jaskot, P. B., 'Digital Methods and the Historiography of Art', in K. Brown (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Digital Humanities and Art History* (New York: Routledge, 2020), pp. 9–17.

Jeanmougin 2005: Jeanmougin, B., *Louis XIV à la conquête des Pays-Bas espagnols: La guerre oubliée 1678–1684* (Paris: Economica, 2005).

Johnson and Sethares 2017: Johnson, C. R., and W. A. Sethares (eds.), *Counting Vermeer: Using Weave Maps to Study Vermeer's Vanvases* (The Hague: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History, 2017).

Joyeux-Prunel 2012: Joyeux-Prunel, B., 'Artl@s: A Spatial and Trans-National Art History: Origins and Positions of a Research Program', *Artl@s Bulletin* 1, 1 (2012), p. 1.

Junquera 1982: Junquera, P., 'El pinto Antoine Sallaert en el Patrimonio Nacional', *Reales Sitios* 71 (1982), pp. 29–36.

Junquera de Vega 1973: Junquera de Vega, P., 'Un "pequeno patron" de Antonio Sallaert y su traduccion en tapices', *Artes Textiles* 8 (1973), pp. 114–122.

Junquera de Vega 1981: Junquera de Vega, P., 'La historia de Teseo en dos series de tapices de la Coleccion del Patrimonio Nacional de España', *Artes Textiles* 10 (1981), pp. 169–178.

Kalf 1981: Kalf, E. J., 'Vier deelen van de weereldt als andersints', *Artes Textiles* 10 (1981), pp. 235–247.

Kamen 2001: Kamen, H., *Philips V of Spain: The King who Reigned Twice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

Kaplan 1986: Kaplan, S. L., 'The Character and Implications of Strife among the Masters inside the Guilds of Eighteenth-Century Paris', *Journal of Social History* 19, 4 (1986), pp. 631–647.

Kaplan 1993: Kaplan, S. L., 'L'apprentissage au XVIIIe siècle: Le cas de Paris', *Revue d'histoire modern et contemporaine* 40, 3 (1993), pp. 436–479.

Keblusek 2003: Keblusek, M., 'Cultural and Political Brokerage in Seventeenth-Century England: The Case of Balthazar Gerbier', in J. Roding, E. J. Sluijter, B. Westerweel, et al., *Dutch and Flemish Artists in Britain 1550–1800* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2003), pp. 73–82.

Keene 2006: Keene, D., 'English Urban Guilds, c. 900–1300: The Purpose and Politics of Association', in I. A. Gadd and P. Wallis (eds.), *Guilds and Association in Europe, 900–1900* (London: University of London, 2006), pp. 3–26.

Kelchtermans 2013a: Kelchtermans, L., *Geschilderde gevechten, gekleurde verslagen: Een contextuele analyse van Peter Snayers' (1592–1667) topografische strijdtafereelen voor de Habsburgse elite tussen herinnering en verheerlijking*, PhD diss. (Leuven: KU Leuven, 2013).

Kelchtermans 2013b: Kelchtermans, L., 'Portret van een zeventiende-eeuwse schildersvrouw: Anna Schut, huisvrouw en weduwe van Peter Snayers', *Oud Holland* 126, 4 (2013), pp. 178–197.

Kelchtermans 2013c: Kelchtermans, L., 'Brussel – Leeuwarden: Nieuwe gegevens over de Brusselse schilders Lancelot en Louis Volders', in K. Van der Stighelen, L. Kelchtermans, and K. Brosens (eds.), *Embracing Brussels: Art and Culture in the Court City, 1600–1880* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 213–238.

Kelchtermans 2018: Kelchtermans, L., *Peter Snayers (1592–1667): Between Remembrance and Glorification,* Pictura Nova 22 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018).

Kelchtermans and Van Cauteren 2019: Kelchtermans, L., and K. Van Cauteren, 'Business Partner in The Hague: New Archival Document about Jacques Jordaens', *Oud Holland* 132, 2/3 (2019), pp. 79–86.

Keramidas and Prokop 2018: Keramidas, K., and E. Prokop, 'Introduction', *The Journal of Interactive Technology & Pedagogy* 12 (2018), p. 1.

Kertzer 1984: Kertzer, D., *Family Life in Central Italy, 1880–1910: Sharecropping, Wage Labor, and Coresidence* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1984).

Kervyn de Meerendré 1971: Kervyn de Meerendré, M., *Le peintre Jacques d'Arthois (1613–1686)*, MA thesis (Louvain: UC Louvain, 1971).

Kervyn de Meerendré 1973: Kervyn de Meerendré, M., 'L'évolution de la Corporation des Peintres, Vitriers et Batteurs d'or de Bruxelles au XVIIe siècle', *Revue des archéologues et historiens d'art de Louvain* 6 (1973), pp. 147–155.

Kervyn de Meerendré 1976: Kervyn de Meerendré, M., 'Jacques d'Arthois (1613–1686)', in G. Janssens de Varebeke (ed.), *XLIVe Session, Congrès de Huy, Annales, Fédération des Cercles d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de Belgique* (Brussels: Fédération des Cercles d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de Belgique, 1976), pp. 841–847.

Kervyn de Meerendré 1987: Kervyn de Meerendré, M., 'Het Zoniënbos in de 17de-eeuwse tapijtweefkunst', in A. Maes and M. Maziers (eds.), *Het Zoniënwoud: Kunst en geschiedenis van oorsprong tot 18de eeuw*, exh. cat. Watermaal-Bosvoorde, Royale Belge and Oudergem, Kasteel Drij Borren (Brussel: Royale belge, 1987), pp. 59–60.

Kienle 2017: Kienle, M., 'Between Nodes and Edges: Possibilities and Limits of Network Analysis in Art History', *Artl@s Bulletin* 6, 3 (2017), pp. 4–22.

Kleinert 2014: Kleinert, C., *Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) and his Landscapes: Ideas on Nature and Art*, Pictura Nova 20 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014).

Klep 1981: Klep, P. M. M., *Bevolking en arbeid in transformative: Een onderzoek naar de ontwikkelingen in Brabant 1700–1900* (Nijmegen: Socialistiese Uitgeverij, 1981).

Klep 1988: Klep, P. M. M., 'Urban Decline in Brabant: The Traditionalization of Investments and Labour (1374–1806)', in H. Van der Wee (ed.), *The Rise and Decline of Urban Industries in Italy and in the Low Countries* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1988), pp. 261–286.

Klinke 2020: Klinke, H., 'The Digital Transformation of Art History', in K. Brown (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Digital Humanities and Art History* (New York: Routledge, 2020), pp. 32–42.

Klinke and Surkemper 2015: Klinke, H., and L. Surkemper, 'Editorial: What is Digital Art History?', *International Journal for Digital Art History* 1 (2015), pp. 6–9.

Kloek 1998: Kloek, E., 'Vrouwen en het kunstenaarsleven van de republiek: Een inleiding', in E. Kloek, C. Peters-Sengers, and E. Tobé (eds.), *Vrouwen en kunst in de Republiek, een overzicht* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 1998), pp. 10–19.

Kloek 2009: Kloek, E., *Vrouw des huizes: Een cultuurgeschiedenis van de Hollandse huisvrouw* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2009).

Kohle 2016: Kohle, H., 'Art History and the Digital Humanities Invitation to a Debate', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 79 (2016), pp. 151–154.

Kok 1994: Kok, J., 'Collectieve strategie en individuele levensloop', in M. Baud and T. Engelen (eds.), *Samen wonen, samen werken? Vijf essays over de geschiedenis van arbeid en gezin* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1994), pp. 97–121.

Krugman 1991: Krugman, P., *Geography and Trade* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991).

Kümin 1999: Kümin, B., 'Useful to Have, but Difficult to Govern: Inns and Taverns in Early Modern Bern and Vaud', *Journal of Early Modern History* 3 (1999), pp. 153–175.

Kümin 2007: Kümin, B., *Drinking Matters: Public Houses and Social Exchange in Early Modern Central Europe* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007).

Kümin and Tlusty 2002a: Kümin, B., and B. A. Tlusty, 'The World of the Tavern: An Introduction', in B. Kümin, and B. A. Tlusty (eds.), *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 3–11.

Kümin and Tlusty 2002b: Kümin, B., and B. A. Tlusty (eds.), *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2002).

Kuroczyński, Bell, and Dieckmann 2018: Kuroczyński, P., P. Bell, and L. Dieckmann (eds.), *Computing Art Reader: Einführung in die digitale Kunstgeschichte* (Heidelberg: arthistoricum.net, 2018).

Laes 1944: Laes, A., 'On Flemish Landscape Art in the Seventeenth Century', *The Burlington Magazine* 85, 501 (1944), pp. 307–308.

Laes 1949: Laes, A., 'Le paysage flamand: Notes – Remarques – Réflexions', in G. Theunis (ed.), *Miscellanea Léo van Puyvelde* (Bruxelles: Éditions de la Connaissance, 1949), pp. 166–182.

Laes 1958: Laes, A., 'Le paysage flamand au musée de Glasgow: Jacques d'Artois, Corneille Huysmans dit de Malines, Jean-François van Bloemen dit Orizzonte', *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 27 (1958), pp. 3–28.

Langdale 1998: Langdale, A., 'Aspects of the Critical Reception and Intellectual History of Baxandall's Concept of the Period Eye', *Art History* 21, 4 (1998), pp. 479–497.

Langmead, Berg-Fulton, Lombardi, et al. 2018: Langmead, A., T. Berg-Fulton, T. Lomardi, D. Newbury, and C. J. Nygren, 'A Role-Based Model for Successful Collaboration in Digital Art History', *International Journal for Digital Art History* 3 (2018), pp. 152–179.

Langusi 2014: Langusi, D., *The Making of a Court Artist: Wenzel Cobergher and His Neapolitan Years, 1580–1597*, PhD diss. (Houghton: Penn State, 2014).

Lanoye 1998: Lanoye, D., 'Structure and Composition of the Household of the Archdukes', in W. Thomas and L. Duerloo (eds.), *Albert & Isabella, 1598–1621: Essays*, exh. cat., Brussels, Royal Museum of Art and History (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 107–119.

Lansbergen 2010: Lansbergen, L., *Lanceloot Lefebure (1585–na 1650): Een verruimende blik op de wandtapijtkunst en –productie in de zeventiende eeuw te Brussel*, MA thesis (Leuven: KU Leuven, 2010).

Laslett 1965: Laslett, P., *The World We Have Lost: England before the Industrial Age* (London: Methuen, 1965).

Laslett 1977: Laslett, P., *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations: Essays in Historical Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

Laslett 1988: Laslett, P., 'Family, Kinship and Collectivity as Systems of Support in Pre-Industrial Europe: A Consideration of the "Nuclear-Hardship" Hypothesis', *Continuity and Change* 3, 2 (1988), pp. 153–175.

Laslett and Wall 1972: Laslett, P., and R. Wall (eds.), *Household and Family in Past Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

Laurent 1963: Laurent, R., 'Les limites des paroisses à Bruxelles aux XIVe et XVe siècles', *Cahiers bruxellois* 8, 3–4 (1963), pp. 161–234.

Laureyssens 1967: Laureyssens, W., 'De samenwerking van Hendrik de Clerck en Denijs van Alsloot', *Bulletin des Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 16 (1967), pp. 163–178.

Laureyssens 1985–1988: Laureyssens, W., 'Enkele nieuwe gegevens over Hendrik de Clerk', *Bulletin des Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 34–37 (1985–1988), pp. 111–117.

Lefèvre 1936: Lefèvre, P., 'A propos de l'obit du peintre Vrancken van der Stoct et de son tombeau à Sainte-Gudule', *Archives bibliothèques et musées de Belgique* 13 (1936), pp. 54–58.

Lefèvre 1975: Lefèvre, P., 'Relations des peintres Roger vander Weyden († 1464) et Francon vander Stoct († 1491) avec la cathédrale bruxelloise', *Arca Lovaniensis* 4 (1975), pp. 352–360.

Lelarge 2001: Lelarge, A., *Bruxelles, l'émergence de la ville contemporaine: La démolition du rempart et des fortifications aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* (Brussels: CIVA, 2001).

Lesaffer 2014: Lesaffer, R. C. H. (ed.), *The Twelve Years' Truce (1609), Peace, Truce, War, and Law in the Low Countries at the Turn of the 17th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

Libois 1953: Libois, A., 'Quatre textes inédits concernant la Confrérie de Saint-Éloy de Bruxelles', *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire* 118 (1953), pp. 333–355.

Libois 1967: Libois, A., 'La confrérie de Saint-Eloy de Bruxelles, des origins à 1477: I. Les Origines', *Annales de la Société Belge d'Histoire des Hôpitaux* 5 (1967), pp. 45–75.

Libois 1968: Libois, A., 'La confrérie de Saint-Eloy de Bruxelles, des origins à 1477: II. Les statuts de 1363. III. L'ordonnance de 1447', *Annales de la Société Belge d'Histoire des Hôpitaux* 6 (1968), pp. 29–77.

Libois 1969: Libois, A., 'La confrérie de Saint-Eloy de Bruxelles, des origins à 1477: IV. Conclusions: Aperçu sur quelques confréries de forgerons de Flandre et de Brabant', *Annales de la Société Belge d'Histoire des Hôpitaux* 7 (1969), pp. 85–112.

Lincoln 2016: Lincoln, M. D., 'Social Network Centralization Dynamics in Print Production in the Low Countries, 1550–1750', *International Journal for Digital Art History* 2 (2016), pp. 134–157.

Lincoln 2017: Lincoln, M. D., 'Continuity and Disruption in European Networks of Print Production, 1550–1750', *Artl@s Bulletin* 6, 3 (2017), pp. 23–40.

Lincoln 2020: Lincoln, M. D., 'Tangled Metaphors: Network Thinking and Network Analysis in the History of Art', in K. Brown (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Digital Humanities and Art History* (New York: Routledge, 2020), pp. 73–87.

Lis and Soly 1994: Lis, C., and H. Soly (eds.), *Werken volgens de regels: Ambachten in Brabant en Vlaanderen 1500–1800* (Brussels: VUB Press, 1994).

Lis and Soly 1997: Lis, C., and H. Soly (eds.), *Werelden van verschil: Ambachtsgilden in de Lage Landen* (Brussels: VUB Press, 1997).

Lis and Soly 2006: Lis, C., and H. Soly, 'Craft Guilds in Comparative Perspective: The Northern and Southern Netherlands, a Survey', in M. Prak, C. Lis, J. Lucassen, and H. Soly (eds.), *Craft Guilds in the Early Modern Low Countries: Work, Power, and Representation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 1–31.

Loones 1995: Loones, M., 'Jacques d'Arthois en de XVIIde eeuwse landschapschilders te Watermaal-Bosvoorde', *Eigen schoon en de Brabander* 78 (1995), pp. 129–164.

Lorthiois 1966: Lorthiois, J., '*Note sur les proprietes du peintre Jacques d'Arthois a Boitsfort et a Bruxelles', L'intermédiaire des généalogistes* 125 (1966), pp. 265–267.

Lozano 2017: Lozano, J. S., 'Digital Art History at the Crossroad', *kunsttexte.de* 4 (2017), pp. 1–14.

Lucassen, De Moor, and Van Zanden 2008: Lucassen, J., T. De Moor, and J. L. Van Zanden (eds.), *The Return of the Guilds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Luyten 1993: Luyten, D., 'Ontstaansvoorwaarden voor het corporatisme: Het model van het neo-corporatisme in het licht van de Belgische ervaring uit de jaren dertig', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis* 19, 3 (1993), pp. 52–74.

Lynch 1986: Lynch, J. H., *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

Lynch 2003: Lynch, K. A., *Individuals, Families, and Communities in Europe, 1200–1800: The Urban Foundations of Western Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Lynch and Lee 1997–1999: Lynch, K. A., and W. R. Lee, 'Permanences et changements de la vie familiale', in J.-P. Bardet and J. Dupâquier (eds.), *Histoire de populations de l'Europe, II: La révolution démographique 1750–1914* (Paris: Fayard, 1997–1999), pp. 103–130.

Lynn 1999: Lynn, J. A., *The Wars of Louis XIV, 1667–1714* (London: Longman, 1999).

Maes 1987: Maes, A., 'De priorij Rood Klooster', in A. Maes and M. Maziers (eds.), *Het Zoniënwoud: Kunst en geschiedenis van oorsprong tot 18de eeuw*, exh. cat., Watermaal-Bosvoorde, Royale Belge and Oudergem, Kasteel Drij Borren (Brussel: Royale belge, 1987), pp. 213–215.

Maes and Maziers 1987: Maes, A., and M. Maziers (eds.), *Het Zoniënwoud: Kunst en geschiedenis van oorsprong tot 18de eeuw*, exh. cat., Watermaal-Bosvoorde, Royale Belge and Oudergem, Kasteel Drij Borren (Brussel: Royale belge, 1987).

Manovich 2017: Manovich, L., 'Cultural Data: Possibilities and Limitations of Digitized Archives', in O. Grau, W. Coones, and V. Rühse (eds.), *Museum and Archive on the Move: Changing Cultural Institutions in the Digital Era* (Boston: De Gruyter, 2017), pp. 259–276.

Manzano Baene 2007: Manzano Baene, L., 'Negotiating Sovereignty: The Peace Treaty of Münster, 1648', *History of Political Thought* 28, 4 (2007), pp. 617–641.

Marillier 1932: Marillier, H. C., *Handbook to the Teniers Tapestries*, Tapestry Monographs 2 (London: Oxford University, 1932).

Marinus 1995: Marinus, M. J., *De contrareformatie te Antwerpen: Kerkelijk leven in een grootstad* (Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België, 1995).

Marnef 2004: Marnef, G., 'Roerig Brabant', in R. Van Uytven, C. Bruneel, A. N. Koldeweij, et al. (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Brabant: Van hertogdom tot heden* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2004), pp. 291–307.

Marnef and Van Bruaene 2016: Marnef, G., and A.-L. Van Bruaene, 'Civic religion: Gemeenschap, identiteit en religieuze vernieuwing', in A.-L. Van Bruaene, B. Blondé, and M. Boone (eds.), *Gouden eeuwen: Stad en samenleving in de Lage Landen, 1100–1600* (Ghent: Academia Press, 2016), pp. 165–206.

Martens 1998: Martens, M. P. J., 'Some Aspects of the Origins of the Art Market in Fifteenth-Century Bruges', in M. North and D. Ormrod (eds.), *Art Markets in Europe, 1400–1800* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 19–27.

Martens and Peeters 2006a: Martens, M. P. J., and N. Peeters, 'Artists by Numbers: Quantifying Artists' Trades in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp', in M. Faries (ed.), *Making and Marketing. Studies of the Painting Process in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-century Netherlandish workshops* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 211–222.

Martens and Peeters 2006b: Martens, M. P. J., and N. Peeters, 'Masters and Servants: Assistants in Antwerp Artists' Workshops (1453–1579): A Statistical Approach to Workshop Size and Labor Division', in H. Verougstraete and J. Couvert (eds.), *La peinture ancienne et ses procédeés: Copies, répliques, pastiches* (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), pp. 115–120.

Martin 1905a: Martin, W., 'The Life of a Dutch Artist in the Seventeenth Century: Part I Instruction in Drawing', *The Burlington Magazine* 7, 26 (1905), pp. 125–129, 131.

Martin 1905b: Martin, W., 'The Life of a Dutch Artist in the Seventeenth Century: Part II-Instruction in Painting', *The Burlington Magazine* 7, 30 (1905), pp. 416–419, 422–425, 427.

Martin 1905c: Martin, W., 'The Life of a Dutch Artist in the Seventeenth Century: Part III The Painter's Studio', *The Burlington Magazine* 7, 31 (1905), pp. 13–15, 17–19, 22–24.

Marx 2012: Marx, A., 'Why Social Network Analysis Might be Relevant for Art Historians: A Sociological Perspective', in K. Brosens, L. Kelchtermans, and K. Van der Stighelen (eds.), *Family Ties: Art Production and Kinship Patterns in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 25–42.

Mathieu 1953: Mathieu, C., 'Le Métier des Peintres à Bruxelles aux XIVme et XVme siècles', in *Bruxelles au XVme siècle*, exh. cat., Brussels, Musée de la Ville (Brussels: Librairie encyclopédique, 1953), pp. 219–235.

Mautner 1941: Mautner, W., 'Documentatie: Onbekende meesters – onbekende werken', *Oud Holland* 58, 1 (1941), pp. 38–48.

McKeown 2012: McKeown, S. (ed.), *Otto Vaenius and his Emblem Books*, Glasgow Emblem Studies 15 (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2012).

McRee 1993: McRee, B. R., 'Charity and Gild solidarity in late medieval England', *Journal of British Studies*, 32, 3 (1993), 195-225.

Medick and Sabean 1984: Medick, H., and W. Sabean, 'Interest and Emotion in Family and Kinship Studies: A Critique of Social History and Anthropology', in H. Medick and W. Sabean (eds.), *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 9–27.

Meganck 1998a: Meganck, T. L., *De kerkelijke architectuur van Wensel Cobergher (1557/61–1634) in het licht van zijn verblijf te Rome* (Brussel: Koninklijke academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België, 1998).

Meganck 1998b: Meganck, T. L., 'Court Artist Wenzel Coebergher (1557 to 1561?–1634)', in W. Thomas and L. Duerloo (eds.), *Albert & Isabella, 1598–1621: Essays*, exh. cat., Brussels, Royal Museum of Art and History (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 204–210.

Meganck and Van Sprang 2015: Meganck, T. L., and S. Van Sprang, 'Reforming the Seven Sorrows: Paintings by Wensel Cobergher and Theodoor van Loon for the Brussels Chapel of Our Lady of Seven Sorrows', in E. S. Thelen (ed.), *The Seven Sorrows Confraternity of Brussels: Drama, Ceremony, and Art Patronage (16th–17th Centuries)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 145–168.

Merten 1979: Merten, E., *Bruegel, die Malerfamilie* (Ramerding: Berghaus-Verslag, 1979).

Mertens and Aumann 2003: Mertens, J., and F. Aumann (eds.), *Krijg en kunst: Leopold Willem (1614–1662), Habsburger, landvoogd en kunstverzamelaar*, exh. cat., Bilzen, Landcommanderij Alden Biesen (Bilzen: Landcommanderij Alden Biesen, 2003).

Meynen 2015: Meynen, S., 'L'école des peintres de la forét de soignes: Un paysage identitaire à bruxelles au XVIIe siècle', *Koregos: Revue et encyclopédie multimédie des arts* 128, 1 (2015).

Michel and Charles 2007: Michel, E., and V. Charles, *The Brueghels* (New York: Parkstone Press, 2007).

Michiels 1877: Michiels, A., *Rubens et l'école d'Anvers* (Paris: Renouard, 1877).

Michielssen 1994: Michielssen, P.-A., *De 17de eeuwse burgermoraal, geformuleerd in drie Brusselse wandtapijtreeksen naar patronen van Antoon Sallaert (voor 1590–1650): Bronnenonderzoek van de emblemensymboliek*, MA thesis (Leuven: KU Leuven 1994).

Miedema 1987: Miedema, H., 'Over kwaliteitsvoorschriften in het St. Lucasgilde: Over "doodverf"', *Oud Holland* 101, 3 (1987), pp. 141–147.

Miedema 2012: Miedema, H., 'Kinship and Network in Karel van Mander', in K. Brosens, L. Kelchtermans, and K. Van der Stighelen (eds.), *Family Ties: Art Production and Kinship Patterns in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 11–23.

Miedema 2014: Miedema, H., 'What's in a Name?' *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 83 (2014), pp. 87–100.

Miraeus 1622: Miraeus, A., *De vita Albert PII, sapientis, prudentis Belgarum principis commentarius* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1622).

Mitterauer 2004: Mitterauer, M., *Warum Europa? Mittelalterliche Grundlagen eines Sonderwegs* (München: Beck, 2004).

Montanari 1994: Montanari, M., *Honger en overvloed* (Amsterdam: Agon, 1994).

Montias 1982: Montias, J. M., *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth-Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press: 1982).

Montias 1987: Montias, J. M., 'Cost and Value in Seventeenth-century Dutch Art', *Art History* 10, 4 (1987), pp. 93–105.

Montias 1990a: Montias, J. M., 'Socio-Economic Aspects of Netherlandish Art from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century: A Survey', *The Art Bulletin* 72, 3 (1990), pp. 358–373.

Montias 1990b: Montias, J. M., 'The Influence of Economic Factors on Style', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 6 (1990), pp. 49–57.

Morgan 2007: Morgan, L., *Nature as Model: Salomon de Caus and Early Seventeenth-Century Landscape Design* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

Müller-Hofstede 1957: Müller-Hofstede, J., 'Zum Werke des Otto van Veen 1590–1600', *Bulletin Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts/Bulletin Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten* 6 (1957), pp. 127–174.

Neeffs 1875: Neeffs, E., 'Corneille Huysmans', *Bulletins des Commissions royales d'art et archéologie* 14 (1875), pp. 24–40.

Nelson 1998: Nelson, K., *Jacob Jordaens: Design for Tapestry*, Pictura Nova 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998).

Newman 2010: Newman, M. E. J., *Networks: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Nica 1994: Nica, J., *Bijdrage tot de studie van het werk van Pieter Bout (–1689),* MA thesis (Brussels: Vrije Universiteit Brussel, 1994).

Nica 2020: Nica, J., *Verzamelde kunsthistorische gegevens: Kunsthistorische gegevens ontleend aan de archieffondsen en schriftverzamelingen van het Algemeen Rijksarchief, de Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, et Rijksarchief te Brussel en het Stadsarchief te Brussel* (Vilvoorde: Joan Nica, 2020).

Ogilvie 2004a: Ogilvie, S., 'Guilds, Efficiency, and Social Capital: Evidence from German Proto-Industry', *The Economic History Review* 57, 2 (2004), pp. 286–333.

Ogilvie 2004b: Ogilvie, S., 'The Use and Abuse of Trust: Social Capital and its Deployment by Early Modern Guilds', *CESifo Working Paper Series* 1302 (2004), pp. 1–45.

Ogilvie 2004c: Ogilvie, S., 'How Does Social Capital Affect Women? Guilds and Communities in Early Modern Germany', *The American Historical Review* 109, 2 (2004), pp. 325–359

Ogilvie 2008: Ogilvie, S., 'Rehabilitating the Guilds: A Reply', *The Economic History Review* 61, 1 (2008), pp. 175–182.

Ogilvie 2019: Ogilvie, S., *The European Guilds: An Economic Analysis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019).

O'Hagan and Hellmanzik 2008: O'Hagan, J., and C. Hellmanzik, 'Clustering and Migration of Important Visual Artists: Broad Historical Evidence', *Historical Methods* 41, 3 (2008), pp. 121–136.

Oldenburg 1989: Oldenburg, R., *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Community Centers, General Stores, Bars, Hangouts, and How They Get You Through the Day* (New York: Paragon House, 1989).

Op de Beeck 2020: Op de Beeck, J., *Pieter Bruegel, Mayken Verhulst en Mechelen: Het Begin van een wonderlijke Schildersdynastie*, exh. cat., Mechelen, Museum het Zotte Kunstkabinet (Mechelen: Jan op de Beeck, 2020).

Orlando 2018: Orlando, A., 'Guilliam van Deynen, detto Guglielmo Fiammingo', in A. Orlando (ed.), *Van Dyck e i suoi amici: Fiamminghi a Genova 1600–1640*, exh. cat., Genova, Palazzo della Meridiana (Genova: Sagep, 2018), pp. 304–311.

Orwicz 1985: Orwicz, M. R., 'Critical Discourse in the Formation of a Social History of Art: Anglo-American Response to Arnold Hauser', *Oxford Art Journal* 8, 2 (1985), pp. 52–62.

Overlaet 2011: Overlaet, K., '"Ghehouden ende gheacht voor een coopwijf" in Antwerpen rond 1600: Een vloek of zegen voor Antwerpse handelsvrouwen en hun handelspartners?', *Historica Amsterdam* 2 (2011), pp. 16–21.

Padgett and Powell 2012: Padgett, J. F., and W. W. Powell, 'The Problem of Emergence', in J. F. Padgett and W. W. Powell (eds.), *The Emergence of Organizations and Markets* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 1–29.

Parker 1975: Parker, G., *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road 1567–1659: The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries' Wars* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

Patigny 2014: Patigny, G., 'Le sculpteur, le peintre et lárchitecte: Le cas de Bruxelles au XVIIe siècle', *Annales d'Histoire de l'Art et d'Archéologie* 36 (2014), pp. 95–109.

Peeters 1999a: Peeters, N., 'Brothers in Art: Hieronymus and Frans Francken I and their Family: Portraits and Crypto-Portraits in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century', *Dutch Crossing: Journal of Low Country Studies* 23, 2 (1999), pp. 80–102.

Peeters 1999b: Peeters, N., 'Marked for the Market? Continuity, Collaboration and the Mechanics of Artistic Production of History Painting in the Francken Workshops in Counter Reformation Antwerp', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 50 (1999), pp. 59–80.

Peeters 2007: Peeters, N. (ed.), *Invisible Hands? The Role and Status of the Painter's Journeyman in the Low Countries c. 1450–c. 1650* (Leuven: Peeters, 2007).

Peeters 2008: Peeters, N., 'Family Matters: An Integrated Biography of Pieter Brueghel II', *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 77 (2008), pp. 45–74.

Peeters 2009: Peeters, N., 'The Guild of St. Luke and the Painter's Profession in Antwerp between c. 1560 and 1585: Some Social and Economic Insights', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 59 (2009), pp. 137–162.

Peeters 2012: Peeters, N., 'From Nicolaas to Constantijn: The Francken Family and their Rich Artistic Heritage (c. 1550–1717)', in K. Brosens, L. Kelchtermans, and K. Van der Stighelen (eds.), *Family Ties: Art Production and Kinship Patterns in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 103–118.

Pelling 1994: Pelling, M., 'Apprenticeship, Health and Social Cohesion in Early Modern London', *History Workshop Journal* 37, 1 (1994), pp. 33–56.

Pérez Preciado 2005: Pérez Preciado, J. J., 'Aarschot and Solre: The Collections, Patronage and Influence in Spain of two Flemish Noblemen', in K. Van der Stighelen and H. Vlieghe (eds.), *Sponsors of the Past: Flemish Art and Patronage 1550–1700* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 17–36.

Pérez Preciado 2010: Pérez Preciado, J. J., *El Marqués de Leganés y las Artes*, PhD diss. (Madris: Complutense University of Madrid, 2010).

Pfister 1998: Pfister, U., 'Craft Guilds and Proto-Industrialization in Europe, 16th to 18th Centuries', in S. R. Epstein, H. G. Haupt, C. Poni, and H. Soly (eds.), *Guilds, Economy and Society* (Madrid: Fundacion Fomento de la Historia Economica, 1998), pp. 11–23.

Pierron 1935-1938: Pierron, S., *Histoire illustrée de la Forêt de Soignes*, 3 vols. (Bruxelles: La pensée belge, 1935–1938).

Pinchart 1860: Pinchart, A., *Archives des arts, sciences et lettres: Documents inédits*, vol. 1 (Ghent: Hebbelynck, 1860).

Pinchart 1863: Pinchart, A., *Archives des arts, sciences et lettres: Documents inédits*, vol. 2 (Ghent: Hebbelynck, 1863).

Pinchart 1877: Pinchart, A., 'La corporation des peintres de Bruxelles', *Messager des sciences historiques, ou Archives des arts et de la bibliographie de Belgique* (1877), pp, 289–331.

Pinchart 1878a: Pinchart, A., 'Arthois', in J. Meyer (ed.), *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1878), pp. 310–314.

Pinchart 1878b: Pinchart, A., 'La corporation des peintres de Bruxelles', *Messager des sciences historiques, ou Archives des arts et de la bibliographie de Belgique* (1878), pp. 315–332, 475–490.

Pinchart 1879: Pinchart, A., 'La corporation des peintres de Bruxelles', *Messager des sciences historiques, ou Archives des arts et de la bibliographie de Belgique* (1879), pp. 459–470.

Pinchart 1881: Pinchart, A., *Archives des arts, sciences et lettres: Documents inédits*, vol. 3 (Ghent: Vanderhaeghen, 1881).

Pirenne 1910: Pirenne, H., *Les anciennes démocraties des Pays-Bas* (Parijs: Flammarion, 1910).

Pirenne 1922: Pirenne, H., *Histoire de Belgique, tome II: Du commencement du XIVe siècle à la mort de Charles le Téméraire* (Brussels: Maurice Lamertin, 1922).

Poelhekke 1948: Poelhekke, J. J., *De vrede van Munster* (Den Haag, 1948).

Polverari 2014: Polverari, M., *Per amor di Margherita: Due fiamminghi nell'ancona del seicento: Il mercante Baldassarre Vandergoes e il pittore Luigi Primo da Bruxelles* (Ancona: Lavoro, 2014).

Porras 2017: Porras, S., 'Keeping Our Eyes Open: Visualizing Networks and Art History', *Artl@s Bulletin* 6, 3 (2017), pp. 41–49.

Posner 1959: Posner, D., 'Charles Lebrun's *Triumphs of Alexander*', *The Art Bulletin* 41, 3 (1959), pp. 237–248.

Pourziouris, Smyrnios, and Klein 2006: Pourziouris, P. Z., K. X. Smyrnios, and S. B. Klein (eds.), *Handbook of Research on Family Business* (Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2006).

Prak 2003: Prak, M., 'Guilds and the Development of the Art Market during the Dutch Golden Age', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 30, 3 (2003), pp. 236–251.

Prak 2008a: Prak, M., 'Preface: S.R. Epstein (1960–2007) and the Guilds', in J. Lucassen, T. De Moor, and J. L. Van Zanden (eds.), *The Return of the Guilds* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 1–3.

Prak 2008b: Prak, M., 'Painters, Guilds, and the Art Market during the Dutch Golden Age', in S. R. Epstein and M. Prak (eds.), *Guilds, Innovation, and the European Economy, 1400–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 143–171.

Prak 2014: Prak, M., 'Corporatism and Social Models in the Low Countries', *Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History* 11, 2 (2014), pp. 281–304.

Prak, Crowston, De Munck, et al. 2018: Prak, M., C. Crowston, B. De Munck, C. Kissane, C. Minns, R. Schalk, and P. Wallis, 'Access to the Trade: Monopoly and Mobility in European Craft Guilds, 17th and 18th Centuries', *Economic History Working Papers* 282 (2018), pp. 1–45.

Prak, Crowston, Kissane, et al. 2014: Prak, M., C. Crowston, C. Kissane, C. Minns, and P. Wallis, 'Access to the Trade: Citizens, Craft Guilds and Social and Geographical Mobility in Early Modern Europe – A Survey of the Literature, with Additional New Data', *BEUCITIZEN Working Paper* 1 (2014), pp. 3–32.

Prosperetti 2009: Prosperetti, L., *Landscape and Philosophy in the Art of Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568–1625)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009).

Puraye 1950: Puraye, J., 'Le portrait de Jacques d'Arthois', *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 19 (1950), p. 169.

Quemin 2017: Quemin, A., 'The Sociology of Art', in K. Korgen (ed.), *Cambridge Handbook of Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 293–303.

Querol Torelló 2019: Querol Torelló, C., *Painters-Advisors: The Seventeenth-Century Spanish Purchase from Rubens's Estate Sale*, MA thesis (Leiden: Universiteit van Leiden, 2019).

Raeymaekers 2013: Raeymaekers, D., *One Foot in the Palace: The Habsburg Court of Brussels and the Politics of Access in the Reign of Albert and Isabella, 1598–1621* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013).

Raeymaekers 2019: Raeymaeckers, D., '"A La Mode De Bourgoigne?" The "Burgundian": Ceremonial at the Court of Albert and Isabella in Brussels (1598–1621)', *Dutch Crossing: Journal of Low Countries Studies* 43, 1 (2019), pp. 47–62.

Rallet and Torre 2008: Rallet, A., and A. Torre, 'On Geography and Technology: Proximity Relations in Localised Innovation Networks' in M. Steiner (ed.), *Clusters and Regional Specialisation: On Geography, Technology and Networks* (London: Pion, 2008).

Ramakers 1996: Ramakers, B. A. M., 'Bruegel en de rederijkers: Literatuur en schilderkunst in de zestiende eeuw', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 47 (1996), pp. 81–105.

Rappaport 1989: Rappaport, S., *Worlds within worlds: Structure of Life in Sixteenth-century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University. Press, 1989).

Rasterhoff 2016: Rasterhoff, C., 'Economic Aspects of Dutch Art', in W. Franits (ed.), *Ashgate Research Companion to Dutch Art of the Seventeenth-Century* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 355–371.

Rasterhoff 2017: Rasterhoff, C., *Painting and Publishing as Cultural Industries: The Fabric of Creativity in the Dutch Republic, 1580–1800* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017).

Rasterhoff and Van Ginhoven 2020: Rasterhoff, C., and S. Van Ginhoven (eds.), *Art Markets and Digital Histories* (Basel: MDPI, 2020).

Rasterhoff and Vermeylen 2014: Rasterhoff, C., and F. Vermeylen, 'The Zeeland Connection: The Art Trade between the Northern and Southern Netherlands during the Seventeenth Century', in N. De Marchi and S. Raux (eds.), *Moving Pictures: Intra-European Trade in Images, 16th–18th Centuries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 123–150.

Raux 2014: Raux, S., 'Circulation, Distribution and Consumption of Antwerp Paintings on the Markets of the Southern Low Countries and Northern France', in N. De Marchi and S. Raux (eds.), *Moving Pictures: Intra-European Trade in Images, 16th–18th Centuries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 93–122.

Raux 2018: Raux, S., *Lotteries, Art Markets, and Visual Culture in the Low Countries, 15th–17th Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

Reid 2003: Reid, D., 'Measuring the Impact of Brotherhood: Robert Putnam's *Making Democracy Work* and Confraternal Studies', *Confraternitas* 14, 1 (2003), pp. 3–12.

Rice 2017: Rice, Y., 'Workshop as Network: A Case Study from Mughal South Asia', *Artl@s Bulletin* 6, 3 (2017), pp. 50–65.

Rodríguez Ortega 2013: Rodríguez Ortega, N., 'Digital Art History: An Examination of Conscience', *Visual Resources*, 29, 1–2 (2013), pp. 129–133.

Rodríguez Ortega 2019: Rodríguez-Ortega, N., 'Digital Art History: The Questions that Need to Be Asked', *Visual Resources* 35, 1–2 (2019), pp. 6–20.

Roobaert 2002: Roobaert, E., 'Meester Lucas van Nevele en de Brusselse kunstenaarsfamilie van Nevele in de 16e eeuw', *Archief- en bibliotheekwezen in België* 73 (2002), pp. 369–458.

Roobaert 2012: Roobaert, E., 'Robert Staes, goudsmid van de aartshertogen Albert en Isabella en meester-generaal van de munt in de Nederlanden (†1612)', *Oud Holland* 125, 2–3 (2012), pp. 117–130.

Roobaert 2014: Roobaert, E., 'David Teniers de Jonge, kerkganger in de Coudenbergparochie en bevoorrecht porter te Brussel', *Oud Holland* 127, 4 (2014), pp. 215–222.

Roobaert 2015: Roobaert, E., *Goud- en zilversmeden te Brussel in de 16de eeuw* (Brussel: Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, 2015).

Roobaert and Jacobs 2015: Roobaert, E., and T. R. Jacobs, 'An Uncelebrated Patron of Brussels Artists: St Gorik's Confraternity of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows (1499–1516)', in E. S. Thelen (ed.), *The Seven Sorrows Confraternity of Brussels: Drama, Ceremony, and Art Patronage (16th–17th Centuries)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 93–112.

Rooses 1888: Rooses, M., *L'oeuvre de P. P. Rubens: Histoire et description de ses tableaux et dessins*, vol. 2 (Antwerp: Jos Maes, 1888).

RStudio Team 2016: RStudio Team, 'RStudio: Integrated Development Environment for R', *RStudio* (2016), last visited 11 June 2021, www.rstudio.com.

Rübsam 1894: Rübsam, J., 'Taxis, Lamoral Graf von', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 37 (1894), pp. 508–509.

Ruelens 1871: Ruelens, K., 'Iets over de rederykkamer het Boeck of de Tytelooskens, te Brussel', in E. Van Even (ed.), *Mengelingen voor de geschiedenis van Brabant* (Brussels: Fonteyn, 1871), pp. 81–90.

Rupert Martin 1972: Rupert Martin, J., *The Decorations for the Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard 16 (Brussels: Arcade Press, 1972).

Saintenoy 1923: Saintenoy, P., 'Wenceslas Cobergher, peintre 1557(?) †1634', *Bulletin de l'Académie royale d'archéologie de Belgique* 1 (1923), pp. 218–256.

Saintenoy 1927: Saintenoy, P., 'Les peintres de la Cour de Bruxelles au XVIIe siècle', *Annales de la société novale d'archéologie de Bruxelles* (1927), pp. 263–273.

Saintenoy 1935: Saintenoy, P., *Les arts et les artistes à la cour de Bruxelles: Le palais royal du Coudenberg du règne d'Albert et Isabelle à celui d'Albert Ier, roi de Belges* (Brussels: Hayez, Imprimeur de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, 1935).

Salomon 2012: Salomon, X. F., *Van Dyck in Sicily: 1624–1625 Painting and the Plague* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2012).

Sanzsalazar 2018: Sanzsalazar, J., 'De invloed van anderen: De Wautiers, David Teniers en het *Theatrum Pictorium* van aartshertog Leopold Wilhelm', in K. Van der Stighelen (ed.),

Michaelina Wautier 1604–1689: Triomf van een vergeten talent, exh. cat., Antwerp, Rubenshuis (Kontich: BAI, 2018), pp. 66–83.

Schalk, Wallis, Crowston, et al. 2017: Schalk, R., P. Wallis, C. Crowston, and C. Lemercier, 'Failure or Flexibility? Apprenticeship Training in Premodern Europe', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 48, 2 (2017), pp. 131–158.

Schich 2013: Schich, M., 'Netzwerke von Komplexen Netzwerken in Der (Kunst) Wissenschaft', in B. Frank-Job, A. Mehler, and T. Sutter (eds.), *Die Dynamik Sozialer Und Sprachlicher Netzwerke Konzepte, Methoden Und Empirische Untersuchungen an Beispielen Des WWW* (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2013), pp. 161–178.

Schich, Huemer, Adamczyk, et al. 2017: Schich, M., C. Huemer, P. Adamczyk, L. Manovich, and Y.-Y. Liu, 'Network Dimensions in the Getty Provenance Index', *arXiv* (2017), pp. 1–13.

Schwarzberg 2016: Schwarzberg, R., 'The Openness of the London Goldsmiths' Company in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century: An Empirical Study', *Financial History Review* 23, 2 (2016), pp. 245–271.

Sennewald 2018: Sennewald, R., *Pieter Snayers: Battle Painter 1592–1667* (Berlin: Zeughausverslag, 2018).

Silver 1999: Silver, L., 'Second Bosch Family Resemblance and the Marketing of Art', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 50 (1999), pp. 31–58.

Slegten (forthcoming): Slegten, A., 'Beer, Wine & Tapestry: Lessons to be Learned from the Privileges Granted to Tapissiers in Brussels', in *Woven Paintings? Flemish and French Tapestry 1660–1770* (forthcoming).

Sleiderink 2014: Sleiderink, R., 'Der schandaleuze spelen van 1559 en de leden van De Corenbloem: Het socioprofesionele, literaire en religieuze profile van de Brusselse rederijkerskamer', *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 92, 3 (2014), pp. 847–875.

Sluijter 1999: Sluijter, E. J., 'Over Brabantse vodden, economische concurrentie, artistieke wedijver en de groei van de markt voor schilderijen in de eerste decennia van de zeventiende eeuw', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 50 (1999), pp. 112–143.

Smeyers 1991: Smeyers, M., 'Bidden en pronken: Devotie en beeldgebruik 15de-16de eeuw', in J. Van der Stock (ed.), *Stad in Vlaanderen: Cultuur en maatschappij 1477–1787* (Brussels: Gemeentekrediet, 1991), pp. 219–237.

Smit 2003: Smit, H., 'New Data on the History of a Set of Scenes of Country Life "after Teniers" in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam', in K. Brosens (ed.), *Flemish Tapestry in European and American Collections: Studies in Honour of Guy Delmarcel* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 153–160.

Smith 1776: Smith, A., *Wealth of Nations* (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1776).

Smith 1981: Smith, S. R., 'The Ideal and Reality: Apprentice-Master Relationships in Seventeenth Century London', *History of Education Quarterly* 21, 4 (1981), pp. 449–459.

Smith-Doerr and Powell 2005: Smith-Doerr, L., and W. W. Powell, 'Networks and Economic Life', in N. J. Smelser and R. Swedberg (eds.), *The Handbook of Economic Sociology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), pp. 379–402.

Smuts and Duerloo 2016: Smuts, M., and L. Duerloo, 'Occasio's Lock of Hair: The Artist and the Ruler in Pursuit of Opportunity', in L. Duerloo and R. M. Smuts (eds.), *The Age of Rubens: Diplomacy, Dynastic Politics and the Visual Arts in Early Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), pp. 5–19.

Soenen 1991: Soenen, M., 'De collecties', in A. Smolar-Meynart, A. Vanrie, M. Soenen, et al., *Het Paleis van Brussel: Acht Eeuwen Kunst en Geschiedenis*, exh. cat., Brussels, Royal Palace (Brussel: Gemeentekrediet van België, 1991), pp. 173–266.

Soetaert 1986: Soetaert, P., *De Bergen van Barmhartigheid in de Spaanse, de Oostenrijkse en de Franse Nederlanden (1618–1795)* (Brussels: Gemeentekrediet van België, 1986).

Soly 1983: Soly, H., 'Kroeglopen in Brabant en Vlaanderen', *Spiegel Historiael* 18, 11 (1983), pp. 569–577.

Soly 2008: Soly, H., 'The Political Economy of European Craft Guilds. Power Relations and Economic Strategies of Merchants and Master Artisans in the Medieval and Early Modern Textile Industries', *IRSH* 53 (2008), pp. 45–71.

Sosson 1962: Sosson, J.-P., '*L'artisanat* bruxellois du metal: Hiérarchie sociale, salaires et puissance économique (1360–1500)', *Cahiers bruxellois* 7 (1962), pp. 225–258.

Sosson 1966: Sosson, J.-P., 'La structure sociale de la corporation médiévale: L'exemple des tonneliers de Bruges de 1350 à 1500', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 44 (1966), pp. 457–478.

Sosson 1970: Sosson, J.-P., 'Une approche des structures économiques d'un métier d'art: La corporation des Peintres et Selliers de Bruges (XVe–XVIe siècles)', *Revue des archéologues et historiens d'art de Louvain* 3 (1970), pp. 91–100.

Speakman Sutch 2015: Speakman Sutch, S., 'Patronage, Foundation History, and Ordinary Believers: The Membership Registry of the Brussels Seven Sorrows Confraternity', in E. S. Thelen (ed.), *The Seven Sorrows Confraternity of Brussels: Drama, Ceremony, and Art Patronage (16th–17th Centuries)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 19–48.

Sperling 2004: Sperling, J., 'Marriage at the Time of the Council of Trent (1560–70): Clandestine Marriages, Kinship Prohibitions, and Dowry Exchange in European Comparison', *Journal of Early Modern History* 8, 1 (2004), pp. 67–108.

Speth-Holterhoff 1957: Speth-Holterhoff, S., *Les peintres flamands de cabinets d'amateurs au XVIIe siècle* (Bruxelles: Elsevier, 1957).

Stabel 2004: Stabel, P., 'Guilds in Late Medieval Flanders: Myths and Realities of Guild Life in an Export Oriented Environment', *Journal of Medieval History* 30 (2004), pp. 187–212.

Stabel 2006: Stabel, P., 'Selling Paintings in Late Medieval Bruges: Marketing Customs and Guild Regulations Compared', in N. De Marchi and H. J. Van Miegroet (eds.), *Mapping Markets for Painting in Europe 1450–1750* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 89–105.

Stabel 2007: Stabel, P., 'Social Mobility and Apprenticeship in Late Medieval Flanders', in B. De Munck, S. L. Kaplan, and H. Soly (eds.), *Learning on the Shop Floor: Historical Perspective on Apprenticeship* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), pp. 158–178.

Starling 1946: Starling, A., 'Weinig bekende portrettisten V: Louis Volders', *Oud Holland* 61 (1946), pp. 177–184.

State Archives of Belgium 2015: State Archives of Belgium, 'Het Notariaat van Brussel ontsloten voor de 17de en 18de eeuw', *Rijksarchief in België* (2015), last visited 17 August 2021, www.arch.be.

State Archives of Belgium 2020: State Archives of Belgium, 'Kunsthistorici opgelet! Verzameling notities van kunsthistoricus Joan Nica raadpleegbaar', *Rijksarchief in België* (2020), last visited 17 August 2021, www.arch.be.

Steidl 2007: Steidl, A., 'Silk Weaver and Purse Maker Apprentices in Eighteenth-Century and Nineteenth-Century Vienna', in B. De Munck, S. L. Kaplan, and H. Soly (eds.), *Learning on the Shop Floor: Historical Perspective on Apprenticeship* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), pp. 133–157.

Stone 1981: Stone, L., 'Past Achievements and Future Trends', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 12, 1 (1981), pp. 51–87.

Storme 1992: Storme, H., *Die trouwen wilt voorsichtelijck: Predikanten en moralisten over de voorbereiding op het huwelijk in de Vlaamse bisdommen (17e–18e eeuw)* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992).

Stroobant 1670: Stroobant, J., *Brusselsche eer-triumphen* (Brussels: Peeter de Dobbeleer, 1670).

Sutton 1993: Sutton, P. C., 'The Spanish Netherlands in the Age of Rubens', in P. C. Sutton and M. E. Wieseman (eds.), *The Age of Rubens*, exh. cat., Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1993), pp. 106–130.

Swinnen 2018: Swinnen, H., *De volkstelling van 1702 in Brussel en omgeving* (Leuven: Familiekunde Vlaanderen, 2018).

Szanto 2002: Szanto, M., 'Libertas artibus restitute: La foire Saint-Germain et le commerce des tableaux au Grand Siècle, des frères Goetkindt à Jean Valdor (1600–1660)', in S. Cavaciocchi (ed.), *Economia e Arte Secc. XIII–XVIII* (Florence: Le Monnier, 2002), pp. 149–185.

Szanto 2006: Szanto, M., 'Antwerp and the Paris Art Market in the Years 1620–1630', in N. De Marchi and H. J. Van Miegroet (eds.), *Mapping Markets for Painting in Europe 1450–1750* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 329–342.

Tanner 2003: Tanner, J. (ed.), *Sociology of Art: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

Tanner 2010: Tanner, J., 'Michael Baxandall and the Sociological Interpretation of Art', *Cultural Sociology* 4, 2 (2010), pp. 231–256.

Terlinden 1934: Terlinden, C., 'Le mécénat de *l'archiduchesse*-infante Isabelle', *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 4 (1934), pp. 211–223.

Terlinden 1958: Terlinden, C., 'Victor Janssens, peintre Bruxellois (1658–1736)', *Bulletin des Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 7, 1 (1958), pp. 33–48.

Thelen 2015: Thelen, E. S., *The Seven Sorrows Confraternity of Brussels: Drama, Ceremony, and Art Patronage (16th–17th Centuries)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

Theys 1952: Theys, C., 'Nog over schilderijen in de kerk van Alsemberg', *Eigen schoon en de Brabander* 40 (1952), pp. 401–408.

Theys 1960: Theys, C., *Geschiedenis van Alsemberg* (Brussels: Geschied- en oudheidkundig genootschap van Vlaams Brabant, 1960).

Thiery and Kervyn de Meerendré 1987: Thiery, Y., and M. Kervyn de Meerendré, *Les paintres flamands de paysage au XVIIe siècle: Le baroque anversois et l'école bruxelloise* (Brussels: Lefebvre et Gillet. 1987).

Thijs 1994: Thijs, A. K. L., 'Les loteries dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux (XVe–XVIIe siècles)', in I. Eggers (ed.), *Geschiedenis van de loterijen in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden*, exh. cat., Brussels, National Archives of Belgium (Brussels, National Archives of Belgium, 1994), pp. 7–46.

Thoen 2007: Thoen, I., *Strategic Affection? Gift Exchange in Seventeenth-century Holland* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007).

Thøfner 1998: Thøfner, M., 'The Court in the City, the City in the Court: Denis van Alsloot's Depictions of the 1615 Brussels "Ommegang"', *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 49 (1998), pp. 185–207.

Thomas 1998: Thomas, W., 'Andromeda Unbound: The Reign of Albert & Isabella in the Southern Netherlands, 1598–1621', in W. Thomas and L. Duerloo (eds.), *Albert & Isabella, 1598–1621: Essays*, exh. cat., Brussels, Royal Museum of Art and History (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 2–7.

Thomas and Duerloo 1998: Thomas, W., and L. Duerloo (eds.), *Albert & Isabella, 1598–1621: Essays*, exh. cat., Brussels, Royal Museum of Art and History (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998).

Tichonius 1635: Tichonius, S., *Bruxellensium Triumphus serenissimo Principi Hispaniarum infanti, Ferdinando Archiduci Austriae S. R. E. Cardinali, Belgium ingredient erectus* (Brussels: J. Mommaert, 1635).

Tierney 1834: Tierney, M. A., *The History and Antiquities of the Castle and Town of Arundel: Including the Biography of its Earls, from the Conquest to the Present Time*, vol. 2 (London: Nicol, 1834).

Timmermans 2008: Timmermans, B., *Patronen van patronage in het zeventiende-eeuwse Antwerpen: Een elite als actor binnen een kunstwereld* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2008).

Tlusty 2001: Tlusty, B. A., *Bacchus and Civic Order: The Culture of Drink in Early Modern Germany* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001).

Trevor-Roper 1976: Trevor-Roper, H., *Princes and Artists: Patronage and Ideology at Four Habsburg Courts 1517–1633* (London: Thames, 1976).

Trio 1993: Trio, P., *Volksreligie als spiegel van een stedelijke samenleving: De broederschappen te Gent in de late middeleeuwen* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993).

Trio 1994: Trio, P., 'Middeleeuwse broederschappen in de Nederlanden: Een balans en perspectiev-en voor verder onderzoek', *Trajecta* 3 (1994), pp. 97–109.

Trio 2019: Trio, P., 'Confraternities as Such, and as a Template for Guilds in the Low Countries during the Medieval and the Early Modern Period', in K. Eisenbichler (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval and Early Modern Confraternities* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 23–44.

Twycross 2010: Twycross, M., 'The Archduchess and the Parrot', in M. Cross (ed.), *Gender and Fraternal Orders in Europe, 1300–2000* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 63–90.

Uzzi 1996: Uzzi, B., 'The Sources and Consequences of Embeddedness for the Economic Performance of Organizations: The Network Effect', *American Sociological Review* 61, 4 (1996), pp. 674–698.

Uzzi 1997: Uzzi, B., 'Social Structure and Competition in Interfirm Networks: The Paradox of Embeddedness', *Administrative Science Quarterly* 41, 1 (1997), pp. 35–67.

Uzzi and Spiro 2005: Uzzi, B., and J. Spiro, 'Collaboration and Creativity: The Small World Problem', *American Journal of Sociology* 111, 2 (2005), pp. 447–504.

Vaccaro 2007: Vaccaro, M., 'Artists as Godfathers: Parmigianino and Correggio in the Baptismal Registers of Parma', *Renaissance Studies* 21, 3 (2007), pp. 366–376.

Van Aert 2005: Van Aert, L., 'Tussen norm en praktijk: Een terreinverkenning over het juridische statuur van vrouwen in het zestiende-eeuwse Antwerpen', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 2 (2005), pp. 22–42.

Vanaise 1966: Vanaise, P., 'Het Nood-Godsdrieluik van de kerk te Watervliet: Materiële geschiedenis', *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique* 9 (1966), pp. 54–72.

Van Bouchaute 2011: Van Bouchaute, S., 'Grenzeloos drinken? De enscenering van de herberg en het drinken in de beeldende kusnt en literatuur tijdens de lange zestiende eeuw', in J. D. Baetens, D. Jacobs, B. Schepers, et al. (eds.), *De kunst van het drinken: Herberg- en drinkscènes in de Belgische schilderkunst* (Hasselt: Van de Wiele, 2011), pp. 11–31.

Van Bruaene 2004: Van Bruaene, A.-L., 'De contouren van een nieuw cultuurmodel: Rederijkers in Vlaanderen en Brabant in de zeventiende eeuw', *Handelingen: Koninklijke Zuidnederlandse maatschappij voor taal- en letterkunde en geschiedenis* 58 (2004), pp. 221–237.

Van Bruaene 2005: Van Bruaene, A.-L., 'Brotherhood and Sisterhood in the Chambers of Rhetoric in the Southern Low Countries', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 36, 1 (2005), pp. 11–35.

Van Bruaene 2008: Van Bruaene, A.-L., *Om beters wille. Rederijkerskamers en de stedelijke cultuur in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1400–1650)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008).

Van Bruaene 2018: Van Bruaene, A.-L., 'Rederijker, kannenkijker: Adriaen Brouwer en de rederijkerscultuur in de Noordelijke en Zuidelijke Nederlanden', in K. Lichtert (ed.), *Adriaen Brouwer: Meester van emoties. Tussen Rubens en Rembrandt* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), pp. 99–103.

Van Bruaene and Van Bouchaute 2017: Van Bruaene, A.-L., and S. Van Bouchaute, 'Rederijkers, Kannenkijkers: Drinking and Drunkenness in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Low Countries', *Early Modern Low Countries* 1, 1 (2017), pp. 1–29.

Van Cauteren 2009–2010: Van Cauteren, K., 'Eight Unknown Designs by Hendrick de Clerck for Archduke Albert's Entry into Brussels in 1596', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 34, 1 (2009/2010), pp. 18–32.

Van Cauteren 2016: Van Cauteren, K., *Politiek & schilderkunst: Hendrick De Clerck (1560–1630) en de keizerlijke ambities van de aartshertogen Albrecht en Isabella* (Tielt: Lannoo, 2016).

Van Cauwelaert and Vergnes 2019: Van Cauwelaert, A., and B. Vergnes, 'Otto Vaenius: Meester in verbeelde spreuken', *Collect: Arts, Antiques, Auctions* 487 (2019), pp. 74–75.

Van den Brink 2001: Van den Brink, P. (ed.), *De firma Brueghel,* exh. cat. Maastricht, Bonnefantenmuseum/Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium (Ghent: Ludion, 2001).

Vandenbroeke 1981: Vandenbroeke, C., *Sociale geschiedenis van het Vlaamse volk* (Beveren: Orion, 1981).

Van den Heuvel and Van Nederveen Meerkerk 2008: Van den Heuvel, D., and E. Van Nederveen Meerkerk, 'Introduction: Partners in Business? Spousal Cooperation in Trades in Early Modern England and the Dutch Republic', *Continuity and Change* 23, 2 (2008), pp. 209–216.

Van der Linden 2015: Van der Linden, D., 'Coping with Crisis: Career Strategies of Antwerp Painters after 1585', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 31 (2015), pp. 18–54.

Van der Stighelen 1990: Van der Stighelen, K., 'Produktiviteit en samenwerking in het Antwerps kunstenaarsmilieu, 1620–1640', *Gemeentekrediet van België* 172 (1990), pp. 5–15.

Van der Stighelen 2005: Van der Stighelen, K., 'Prima inter pares: Over de voorkeur van aartshertog Leonard-Wilhelm voor Michaelina Woutiers', in K. Van der Stighelen and H. Vlieghe (eds.), *Sponsors of the Past: Flemish Art and Patronage 1550–1700* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 91–116.

Van der Stighelen 2018a: Van der Stighelen, K. (ed.), *Michaelina Wautier 1604–1689: Triomf van een vergeten talent,* exh. cat., Antwerp, Rubenshuis (Kontich: BAI, 2018).

Van der Stighelen 2018b: Van der Stighelen, K., 'Opgroeien tussen acht broers: Een biografische verkenning', in K. Van der Stighelen (ed.), *Michaelina Wautier 1604–1689: Triomf van een vergeten talent,* exh. Cat., Antwerp, Rubenshuis (Kontich: BAI, 2018), pp. 15–39.

Van der Stighelen 2018c: Van der Stighelen, K., 'De veelzijdige hand van Michaelina', in K. Van der Stighelen (ed.), *Michaelina Wautier 1604–1689: Triomf van een vergeten talent,* exh. cat., Antwerp, Rubenshuis (Kontich: BAI, 2018), pp. 135–153.

Van der Stighelen, Kelchtermans, and Brosens 2013: Van der Stighelen, K., L. Kelchtermans, and K. Brosens (eds.), *Embracing Brussels: Art and Culture in the Court City, 1600–1880* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

Van der Stighelen and Van Cauwenberge 1998: Van der Stighelen K., and S. Van Cauwenberge, 'Lijst van Zuid-Nederlandse kunstenaressen, circa 1500-1800', in E. Kloek, C. Peters-Sengers, and E. Tobé, *Vrouwen en kunst in de Republiek, een overzicht* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 1998), pp. 178–180.

Van der Stighelen and Vermeylen 2006: Van der Stighelen, K., and F. Vermeylen, 'The Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke and the Marketing of Paintings, Fifteenth–Eighteenth Centuries', in N.

De Marchi and H. J. Van Miegroet (eds.), *Mapping Markets for Painting in Europe 1450–1750* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 189–208.

Van der Stighelen and Westen 1999: Van der Stighelen K., and K. Westen, *Elck zijn waerom. Vrouwelijke kunstenaars in België en Nederland 1500–1950* (Gent: Ludion, 1999).

Van der Vennet 1960: Van der Vennet, M., 'Un portrait de famille d'Antoine Sallaert a la Pinacotheque de Munich', *Bulletin des Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 1–2 (1960), pp. 183–192.

Van der Vennet 1974–1980: Van der Vennet, M., 'Le peintre bruxellois Antoine Sallaert', *Bulletin des Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 23–29 (1974–1980), pp. 171–198.

Van der Vennet 1978: Van der Vennet, M., 'Deux projets d'Antoine Sallaert pour une tenture de l'histoire de Thésée', *Bulletin des Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire* 50 (1978), pp. 253–256.

Van der Woude 1991: Van der Woude, A., 'The Volume and Value of Paintings in Holland at the Time of the Dutch Republic', in D. Freedberg and J. de Vries (eds.), *Art in History, History in Art: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Culture* (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1991), pp. 285–329.

Van de Staey 2015: Van de Staey, M., *Het Sacrament van Mirakel te Brussel: De jubileumviering van 1670 in beeld gebracht*, MA thesis (Leuven: KU Leuven 2015).

Van Dijck 2012: Van Dijck, M. F., 'Bonding or Bridging Social Capital? The Evolution of Brabantine Fraternities During the Late Medieval and the Early Modern Period', in N. Terpstra, A. Prosperi, and S. Pastore (eds.), *Faith's Boundaries: Laity and Clergy in Early Modern Confraternities* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 143–170.

Van Dixhoorn 2009: Van Dixhoorn, A., *Lustige geesten: rederijkers in de Noordelijke Nederlanden (1480–1650)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009).

Van Dixhoorn and Roberts 2003: Van Dixhoorn, A., and B. Roberts, 'Edifying Youths: The Chambers of Rhetoric in Seventeenth-Century Holland', *Paedagogica Historica* 39, 3 (2003), pp. 326–337.

Van Elk 2018: Van Elk, M., '"Gezegend zijt gij, lezer, als gij niet van dat geslacht zijt": Publieke vrouwelijkheid in de zeventiende eeuw', in K. Van der Stighelen (ed.), *Michaelina Wautier 1604–1689: Triomf van een vergeten talent,* exh. cat., Antwerp, Rubenshuis (Kontich: BAI, 2018), pp. 120–133.

Van Elslande 1987: Van Elslande, R., 'De geschiedenis van de Vyt Borluutfundatie en het Lam Gods (Vervolg)', *Ghendtsche Tydinghen* 16 (1987), pp. 143–148.

Van Even 1870: Van Even, E., *L'ancienne école de peinture de Louvain* (Bruxelles: Muquardt, 1870).

Van Gelder 1942: Van Gelder, J. G., 'Nieuw werk van Jacob de Punder (Jacques de Poindre)', *Oud Holland* 59, 1 (1942), pp. 129–133.

Van Ginhoven 2011: Van Ginhoven, S., 'Exports of Flemish Imagery to the New World: Guilliam Forchondt and his Commercial Network in the Iberian Peninsula and New Spain, 1644–1678', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* (2011), pp. 119–144.

Van Ginhoven 2017: Van Ginhoven, S., *Connecting Art Markets. Guilliam Forchondt's Dealership in Antwerp (c. 1632–78) and the Overseas Painting Trade* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

Vanhamme 1968: Vanhamme, M., *Brussel: Van landelijke nederzetting tot wereldstad* (Antwerp: Mercurius, 1968).

Van Haver 1985: Van Haver, J., 'De herberg in het volksleven', in W. P. Dezutter and R. Van de Walle (eds.), *Volkskunde in Vlaanderen: Huldeboek Renaat van der Linden* (Brugge: Marc van de Wiele pvba, 1985), pp. 165–169.

Vanhee 2007: Vanhee, P., *Herbergen en brandewijnhuizen in het graafschap Vlaanderen in de tweede helft van de achttiende eeuw*, MA thesis (Ghent: Universiteit Gent, 2007).

Vanhoren 1999: Vanhoren, R., 'Tapisseries bruxelloises d'après les modèles de Charles le Brun: *l'Histoire d'Alexandre le Grand*', in C. Arminjon and N. de Reyniès (eds.), *La tapisserie au XVIIe siècle et les collections européennes: Actes du colloque international de Chambord 18 et 19 octobre 1996* (Paris: Editions du patrimoine, 1999), pp. 61–68.

Van Lerberghe and Van Ronsse 1854: Van Lerberghe, L., and J. Van Ronsse, 'Brieven van patroonschilders voor de tapytfabrieken te Audenaerde', *Audenaerdsche mengelingen* 6 (1854), pp. 248–272, 387–402.

Van Miegroet 1987: Van Miegroet, H. J., 'New Documents Concerning Gerard David', *The Art Bulletin* 69, 1 (1987), pp. 33–44.

Van Miegroet 2015: Van Miegroet, H. J., 'New Data Visualizations on the Mechelen Export Industry and Artist Migration Patterns', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 31 (2015), pp. 179–190.

Van Miegroet and De Marchi 1999: Van Miegroet, H. J., and N. De Marchi, 'Exploring Markets for Netherlandish Paintings in Spain and Nueva España', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 50 (1999), pp. 80–111.

Van Molle 1958: Van Molle, F., 'La justice d'othon de Thierry Bouts: Sources d'archives', *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique* 1 (1958), pp. 7–17.

Vannieuwenhuyze 2008: Vannieuwenhuyze, B., *Brussel, de ontwikkeling van een middeleeuwse stedelijke ruimte*, PhD diss. (Ghent: Universiteit Gent, 2008).

Van Puyvelde 1958a: Van Puyvelde, L., 'De Ommegang te Brussel in 1615 naar de schilderijen van Denys van Alsloot', *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde* (1958), pp. 117–129.

Van Puyvelde 1958b: Van Puyvelde, L., 'Een Vlaamse schilder te Rome in de XVIIe eeuw. Lodewijk Primo', *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde* (1958), pp. 629–637.

Van Puyvelde 1959: Van Puyvelde, L., 'Het aandeel van de voornaamste Vlaamse kunstschilders in de tapijtweverij', in *Het herfsttij van de Vlaamse tapijtkunst: Internationaal colloquium 8–10 october 1959* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1959), pp. 19–68.

Vanrie 1991: Vanrie, A., 'Van Filips II tot het einde van de 18de eeuw', in A. Smolar-Meynart, A. Vanrie, M. Soenen, et al., *Het Paleis van Brussel: Acht Eeuwen Kunst en Geschiedenis*, exh. cat., Brussels, Royal Palace (Brussel: Gemeentekrediet van België, 1991), pp. 91–160.

Van Sprang 2000: Van Sprang, S., 'Van hertogelijk domein naar ideaallandschap: enkele beschouwingen bij gezichten van het Zoniënwoud uit de 16de en 17de eeuw', in E. De Wilde and G. Barrie (eds.), *Met passer en penseel: Brussel en het oude hertogdom Brabant in beeld*, exh. cat., Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium (Tournai: La Renaissance du Livre, 2000), pp. 183–191.

Van Sprang 2005: Van Sprang, S., 'Les peintres à la cour d'Albert et Isabelle: Une tentative de classification', in K. Van der Stighelen and H. Vlieghe (eds.), *Sponsors of the Past: Flemish Art and Patronage 1550–1700* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 37–46.

Van Sprang 2007: Van Sprang, S., 'Rubens and Brussels, More than just Courtly Relations', in J. Vander Auwera and S. Van Sprang (eds.), *Rubens: A Genius at Work*, exh. cat., Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium (Tielt: Lannoo, 2007), pp. 12–17.

Van Sprang 2010: Van Sprang, S., *Schilderijen en sculpturen Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-ter Kapelle Brussel* (Brussel: De Vrienden van de Kapellekerk, 2010).

Van Sprang 2011: Van Sprang, S. (ed.), *Theodoor van Loon: 'Pictor ingenius' en tijdgenoot van Rubens* (Ghent: Snoeck, 2011).

Van Sprang 2014: Van Sprang, S., *Denijs van Alsloot (vers 1568–1625/26), peintre paysagiste au service de la cour des archiducs Albert et Isabelle*, Pictura Nova 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014).

Van Sprang 2018: Van Sprang, S. (ed.), *Theodoor van Loon: Een Caravaggist tussen Rome en Brussel*, exh. cat., Brussels, Centre for Fine Arts (Brussel: Mercatorfonds, 2018).

Van Tichelen 1986: Van Tichelen, I., *Patroonschilders voor Vlaamse wandtapijten werkzaam te Brussel en te Antwerpen tijdens de zeventiende eeuw: Een kritische status quaestionis*, MA thesis (Leuven: KU Leuven, 1986).

Van Tongerloo 1975: Van Tongerloo, D., *Gids van de Sint-Michielskatedraal te Brussel* (Brussels: Dewarichnet, 1975).

Van Uytven 1962: Van Uytven, R., 'Plutokratie in de "oude democratieën der Nederlanden": Cijfers en beschouwingen omtrent de corporatieve organisatie en de sociale structuur in de late Middeleeuwen', *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Zuidnederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde* 17 (1962), pp. 373–409.

Van Uytven 1973: Van Uytven, R., 'De drankcultuur in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tot de XVIIIde eeuw', in *Drinken in het verleden,* exh. cat., Leuven, Stedelijk Museum (Leuven: Sintal, 1973), pp. 17–49.

Van Vaeck 1992: Van Vaeck, M., 'De schadt-kiste der philosophen ende poeten (Mechelen 1621): Een blazoenfeest aan de vooravond van het einde van het bestand', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 8 (1992), pp. 75–80.

Vanwelden 2006: Vanwelden, M., *Productie van wandtapijten in de regio Oudenaarde: Een symbiose tussen stad en platteland (15de–17de eeuw)* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006).

Vanwelden 2016: Vanwelden, M., 'Netwerken en flexibiliteit: De rol van de familie Van Verren in de Oudenaardse tapijtweverij', *Handelingen van de geschied- en oudheidkundige kring van Oudenaarde, van zijn kastelnij en van den lande tusschen Marcke en Ronne* 53 (2016), pp. 7–41.

Velge 1925: Velge, H., *La collégiale des saints Michel et Gudule à Bruxelles* (Brussels: A. De Wit, 1925).

Verberckmoes 2015: Verberckmoes, J., 'Families and Emotion in the Spanish Netherlands', in B. Van Beneden (ed.), *Rubens in Private: The Master Portrays his Family* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2015), pp. 123–131.

Verdon 1998: Verdon, M., *Rethinking Households: An Atomistic Perspective on European Living Arrangements* (New York: Routledge, 1998).

Vergara 1999: Vergara, A. (ed.), *El arte en la corte de la archiduques Alberto de Austria e Isabela Clara Eugenia 1598–1933: Un reino imaginado*, exh. cat., Madrid, Palacio Real (Madrid: Sociedad estatal para la conmemoración de los centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 1999).

Vergara 1982: Vergara, L., *Rubens and the Poetics of Landscape* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982).

Vermeir 2001: Vermeir, R., *In staat van oorlog: Filips IV en de Zuidelijke Nederlanden 1629–1648* (Maastricht: Shaker Publishing, 2001).

Vermeir 2006: Vermeir, R., 'Het Spaanse bestuur te Brussel na 1621', in P. Janssens (ed.), *België in de 17de eeuw: De Spaanse Nederlanden en het prinsbisdom Luik* (Ghent: Snoeck, 2006), pp. 144–151.

Vermeylen 1999: Vermeylen, F., 'Exporting Art Across the Globe: The Antwerp Art Market in the Sixteenth Century', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 50 (1999), pp. 13–29.

Vermeylen 2003: Vermeylen, F., *Painting for the Market: Commercialization of Art in Antwerp's Golden Age* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003).

Vermeylen 2004: Vermeylen, F., 'Antwerp Beckons: The Reasons for Rubens' Return to the Netherlands in 1608', *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 55 (2004), pp. 17–34.

Verschaffel 1996: Verschaffel, T., *Historici in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1715–1794), proeve van repertorium* (Brussels: Facultés universitaires Saint-Louis, 1996).

Vlieghe 1959–1960: Vlieghe, H., 'David Teniers II en David Teniers III als patroonschilders voor de tapijtweverijen', *Artes Textiles*, 5 (1959–1960), pp. 78–102.

Vlieghe 1972: Vlieghe, H., *Gaspar de Crayer, sa vie et ses œuvres* (Brussels: Arcade, 1972).

Vlieghe 1981: Vlieghe, H., 'Rubens and van Veen in Contest: A Marginal Note', in J. A. Chrościcki (ed.), *Ars Auro Prior: Studia Ioanni Bialostocki Sexagenario Dicata* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1981), pp. 477–482.

Vlieghe 1987: Vlieghe, H., *Portraits of Identified Sitters Painted in Antwerp*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard 19, 2 (Brussels: Arcade Press, 1987).

Vlieghe 1998: Vlieghe, H., *Flemish Art and Architecture 1585–1700* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998).

Vlieghe 2005: Vlieghe, H., '"Frayicheyt ende kunst daer syne inclinatie toe stryckt": Beschouwingen over het mecenaat van aartshertog Leopold-Wilhelm tijdens zijn landvoogdij over de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1647–1656)', in K. Van der Stighelen and H. Vlieghe (eds.), *Sponsors of the Past: Flemish Art and Patronage 1550–1700* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 61–90.

Vlieghe 2011: Vlieghe, H., *David Teniers the Younger (1610–1690). A Biography,* Pictura Nova 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

Vlieghe 2012: Vlieghe, H., '"Going their Separate Ways": The Artistic Inclinations and Paths of David Teniers I, II and III', in K. Brosens, L. Kelchtermans, and K. Van der Stighelen (eds.), *Family Ties: Art Production and Kinship Patterns in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 159–170.

Vlieghe 2018: Vlieghe, H., 'Gaspar de Crayer, 1584–1669', in S. Vézilier-Dussart and A. M. Du Bourg (eds.), *Entre Rubens et Van Dyck: Gaspar de Crayer (1584–1669)*, exh. cat., Cassel, Musée départemental de Flandre (Genth: Snoeck, 2018), pp. 27–41.

Wace 1968: Wace, A. J. B., *The Marlborough Tapestries at Blenheim Palace and their Relation to Other Military Tapestries of the War of the Spanish Succession* (London: Phaidon, 1968).

Waele 1911a: Waele, W. H. J., 'A Family of Flemish Painters', *The Burlington Magazine* 19 (1911), pp. 198–204.

Waele 1911b: Waele, W. H. J., 'Peintres brugeois: Les Claeissins (1500–1656)', *Annales de la Société d'émulation de Bruge* 61 (1911), pp. 26–76.

Waite 2000: Waite, G. K., *Reformers on Stage: Popular Drama and Religious Propaganda in the Low Countries of Charles V, 1515–1556* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

Waite 2018: Waite, G. K., 'The Chambers of Rhetoric as Agents of Communication and Change in Sixteenth Century Netherlands', *eHumanista* 39 (2018), pp. 436–446.

Wallerstein 1983: Wallerstein, I., *Mercantilisme en de consolidatie van de Europese wereldeconomie 1600–1750*, Het moderne wereld-systeem II (Weesp: Heureka, 1983).

Waltmans 1998: Waltmans, A., 'Kunstverkoopsters in de Nederlanden, circa 1600–1800: Verslag van een speurtocht', in E. Kloek, C. Peters-Sengers, and E. Tobé (eds.), *Vrouwen en kunst in de Republiek, een overzicht* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 1998), pp. 97–105.

Waterschoot 1989: Waterschoot, W., 'Eenheid van kerk en staat bij de intrede van kardinaal-infant Ferdinand', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 5 (1989), pp. 21–28.

Wauters 1878: Wauters, A., *Les tapisseries bruxelloises. Essai historique sur les tapisseries de haute et de basse-lice de Bruxelles* (Brussel: Baertsoen, 1878).

Wauthier 1989: Wauthier, J., 'Les Neuf Nations', *Anderlechtensia*, 52 (1989), pp. 12–16.

Wellens 1958–1961: Wellens, R., 'Le domaine de Mariemont au XVIe siècle, 1546–1598', *Annales du Cercle archéologique de Mons* 64 (1958–1961), pp. 79–172.

Wickham 2016: Wickham, H., *ggplot2: Elegant Graphics for Data Analysis* (New York: Springer, 2016).

Widenius and Axmark 2002: Widenius, M., and D. Axmark, *MySQL Reference Manual: Documentation from the Source* (Cambridge: O'Reilly, 2002).

Willems 2009: Willems, B., *Leven op de pof: Krediet bij de Antwerpse middenstand in de achttiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Aksant 2009).

Willems 2011: Willems, B., 'Bibliografie van Catharina Lis en Hugo Soly', in M. De Koster, B. De Munck, H. Greefs, B. Willems, and A. Winter (eds.), *Werken aan de stad: Stedelijke actoren en*

structuren in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden 1500–1900: Liber Alumnorum Catharina Lis en Hugo Soly (Brussels: VUB Press, 2011), pp. 31–43.

Wilson 1983: Wilson, J. C., 'The Participation of Painters in the Bruges "Pandt" Market, 1512–1550', *The Burlington Magazine* 125 (1983), pp. 476–479.

Wilson 1990: Wilson, J. C., 'Workshop Patterns and the Production of Paintings in Sixteenth-Century Bruges', *The Burlington Magazine* 132 (1990), pp. 523–527.

Wölfflin 1915: Wölfflin, H., *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Das Problem der Stilentwickelung in der neueren Kunst* (Munich: F. Bruckmann A.-G., 1915).

Wouk 2018: Wouk, E. H., *Frans Floris (1519/20–70): Imagining a Northern Renaissance* (Boston: Brill, 2018).

Wright 2011: Wright, A., 'T. J. Clark's "Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution", 1973', *The Burlington Magazine* 153 (2011), pp. 330–334.

Wynants 1987: Wynants, M., 'Het hertogelijk kasteel van Tervuren' in A. Maes and M. Maziers (eds.), *Het Zoniënwoud: Kunst en geschiedenis van oorsprong tot 18de eeuw*, exh. cat., Watermaal-Bosvoorde, Royale Belge and Oudergem, Kasteel Drij Borren (Brussel: Royale belge, 1987), pp. 139–146.

Yeager-Crasselt 2015: Yeager-Crasselt, L., *Michael Sweerts (1618–1664). Shaping the Artist and the Academy in Rome and Brussels*, Pictura Nova 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).