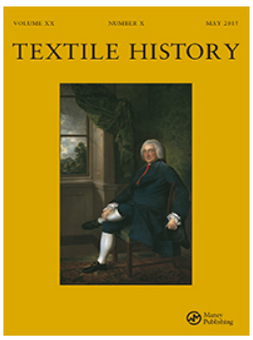

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Textile History

ISSN: 0040-4969 (Print) 1743-2952 (Online) Journal homepage: http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/ytex20

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To cite this article: Koenraad Brosens, Klara Alen & Astrid Slegten (2018): Claiming Commerce, Quality and Credit: Raisons d'être of the Antwerp and Brussels tapissierspanden (Sixteenth–Eighteenth Centuries), Textile History, DOI: 10.1080/00404969.2018.1440709

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/00404969.2018.1440709

Published online: 22 Mar 2018.

Textile History, 1–17, 2018

Claiming Commerce, Quality and Credit: *Raisons d'être* of the Antwerp and Brussels *tapissierspanden* (Sixteenth–Eighteenth Centuries)

Koenraad Brosens, Klara Alen and Astrid Slegten

Literature on the Antwerp and Brussels tapissierspanden *tends to give a one-dimensional account of the institutions as very similar commercial enterprises that were embraced wholeheartedly by everyone involved in the Antwerp and Brussels tapestry worlds since they all shared the same concerns and a single goal — namely, to develop and secure a central meeting point and marketplace. This essay, however, adopts a different vantage point. It discusses the* tapissierspanden *from the viewpoint of the conflicting business conduct and strategies developed by Antwerp city council and tapestry entrepreneurs on the one hand, and Brussels tapestry entrepreneurs on the other. This essay argues that those who founded the institutions in Antwerp and Brussels established and used them to further completely different objectives — and that their strategies, which both manifested themselves and crystallised in the* panden*, present tapestry scholarship with a fundamental methodological problem, the magnitude of which has yet to be appreciated.*

Since 2000, the number of studies of early modern Flemish tapestry has increased almost exponentially. Fuelled by a handful of acclaimed exhibitions and catalogues, the medium is shaking off the old, deadening mantle of the decorative arts to manifest itself in new, more dynamic guises in the wider art-historical debate.[1] One of these new approaches focuses on tapestry within the force field of the ever-changing social structure that buttressed industry and commerce in Antwerp and Brussels.[2] The development of this vantage point, which revolves around tapestry entrepreneurs and their social and economic behaviour and strategies as opposed to illustrious artists and patrons, is gradually anchoring tapestry in the field of research on the internal dynamics of early modern European art markets.[3] This essay seeks to advance and expand this avenue of research by taking a close look at the Antwerp and Brussels *tapissierspanden* that opened in the mid-sixteenth century and seventeenth century, respectively. The *panden* (the word *pand* means building) can be regarded as the nerve centres of the urban, regional and international tapestry industry and trade as they interfaced people with capital, information and works of art.

To date, these institutions have received surprisingly little concentrated art-historical attention. The earliest archival documents to shed light on the history and organisation of the *panden* were discovered and discussed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Two well-documented and quite colourful events — namely, the sack of the *pand* during

DOI: 10.1080/00404969.2018.1440709

the Spanish Fury (1576) and its slow transformation into a theatre in the early years of the eighteenth century — gave the Antwerp *tapissierspand* a fairly high profile.[4] Its Brussels counterpart, on the other hand, was discussed only once, and then just briefly, in the literature before 1900.[5] After that it would not be until 1977 and 2005, respectively, that any truly innovative research would be done on the Antwerp and Brussels *panden* — Denucé's 1936 milestone study of Antwerp tapestry production and trade being the exception to the rule.[6] Somewhat curiously, from 1977 onwards our understanding of the Antwerp *tapissierspand* was advanced not by tapestry scholars but largely by historians discussing the institution in the context of mid-sixteenth-century urbanisation projects (1977) and the early modern urban textile industry (1987).[7] Contenting itself with distilling information from a selection of the key publications that appeared in 1936, 1977 and/ or 1987, or from studies that themselves present information that has already been distilled, tapestry scholarship has depicted the Antwerp *pand* as a logical emanation of a dual flourishing: Antwerp's ascendancy as Europe's 'capital of capitalism' and that of Brussels as Europe's capital of tapestry production.[8] This view implies, of course, that the (putative) collapse of Antwerp's urban economy from about 1650 onwards cast an ever-greater shadow over the vigour and appeal of the *tapissierspand*.[9] While the Antwerp *pand* acquired a settled place in the art-historical literature — albeit a rather shallow one — its Brussels counterpart would have to wait until 2005 to be rediscovered.[10] This renewed acquaintance was short-lived, however, and treated the opening of the Brussels *pand* primarily as a direct consequence of the Antwerp institution's loss of market power and hence as an attempt to create an auxiliary marketplace.[11] The two *tapissierspanden* were recently discussed together for the first time, if only briefly.[12] Once again, the establishment of the Brussels *pand* was treated as an almost automatic consequence of the decline of its Antwerp counterpart. In addition, this study emphasised that, as incubators of trust where information was pooled and where credit and creditworthiness were shaped and shared, the *panden* were suitable tools to protect the workings of the Flemish tapestry market.[13]

In short, the art-historical literature on the *panden* is very limited. It tends to give a one-dimensional account of the two institutions as very similar commercial enterprises that were embraced wholeheartedly by everyone involved in the Antwerp and Brussels tapestry worlds, since they all shared the same concerns and a single goal — namely, to develop and secure a central meeting point and marketplace. This essay, however, adopts a different vantage point. Drawing not just on the relatively small number of archival sources that are being constantly recycled in the literature but also on documents that have surfaced only recently, it discusses the *tapissierspanden* from the viewpoint of the conflicting business conduct and strategies developed by Antwerp city council and tapestry entrepreneurs on the one hand, and Brussels tapestry entrepreneurs on the other. Closely examining the *raisons d'être* of the *panden*, this essay argues that those who founded the institutions in Antwerp and Brussels established and used them to further completely different ambitions and objectives — and that their strategies, which both manifested themselves and crystallised in the *panden*, present tapestry scholarship with a fundamental methodological problem, the magnitude of which has yet to be appreciated.

The Antwerp *pand*: Claiming Commerce and Quality

In Antwerp, it was the city council that decided to establish a new *tapissierspand*. The initiative can be regarded as an element in a master plan to upgrade and modernise the organisation of Antwerp's booming and multi-faceted art market.[14] This market had traditionally been conducted, as a rule, in the buildings of religious institutions, and followed the rhythm of the biannual fairs. A prime example was Our Lady's *pand*, in which paintings and retables were bought and sold.[15] Between about 1480 and 1550, the market for tapestries was heavily concentrated in the *Predikherenpand* and the house called *De Vette Hinne* adjoining Our Lady's *pand*.[16] In the 1540s the city fathers decided to take the market out of the hands of the religious institutions and to replace its seasonal ebb and flow with a more permanent structure.[17] New and exclusive outlets, rented out to art entrepreneurs and catering to the needs of local, regional and international buyers and sellers, constituted the nexus of this plan. In the early 1540s, Antwerp city council converted the upper floor of the new exchange (est. 1531–1532) into a *schilderspand*.[18] In the late 1540s, it decided to set up a *tapissierspand* along the same lines.[19] After investigating four possible locations and taking advice from Gilbert van Schoonbeke (1519–1556), an entrepreneur and speculator who played a pivotal role in the new plans for the city centre and the expansion of Antwerp, the decision was made on 11 March 1550 to build a *tapissierspand* in the *Schuttershoven*, very

Fig. 1. Jacques Le Roy, *Antverpia, constructionis eius primordia et incrementa*, 1678. Engraving, 340 × 495 mm.
Courtesy of Stadsarchief, Antwerp.

close to the new exchange and the fashionable *schilderspand* (Fig. 1).[20] By these means, the city fathers created a convenient cluster at the interface between capital and art. To avoid the new building becoming an empty box (hence leaving a hole in the city's coffers), the city council defined the *tapissierspand* as the sole location for the tapestry trade.[21]

By October 1551 all the necessary land had been obtained and construction could begin.[22] The building was probably largely complete by the beginning of 1553.[23] It was an impressive brick building, measuring no less than 37 by 80 metres, roughly equivalent in size to two ice hockey rinks or seventeen tennis courts (Fig. 2).[24] Visitors entered the *pand* through large gates measuring 2.8 by 2.8 metres in the east and west sides of the building. The ground floor interior was composed of stalls, some of them against the outer walls while others were set up to form a central aisle.[25] The cellars were used as living space and for storage, and the upper floor consisted of a 23-metre-long hall where ensembles could be shown.[26] A *pandmeester* (or *facteur van het pand*) was in charge of general management. He employed a caretaker and workers (*arbeiders*) who took care of a range of practical tasks in the building as well as transporting tapestries to, around, and from the *pand*.

The *pand* opened in the spring of 1554 at the latest. It survived the troubled last quarter of the sixteenth century, which was marked not only by the sack of Antwerp (1576) and the *tapissierspand*, but also by the emigration of Flemish tapestry designers, entrepreneurs and weavers from Antwerp.[27] The institution naturally profited from the revival of the Flemish economy and the tapestry industry in the first few decades of the seventeenth century.[28]

Fig. 2. Jan Jacob Croegaert-Van Bree, *The Antwerp* tapissierspand, 1877. Oil on wood, 66.5 × 95.5 cm.
Courtesy of Museum Vleeshuis, Antwerp.

It retained at least part of its initial appeal until the late seventeenth century, to be finally extinguished in the first quarter of the eighteenth century.[29]

The *tapissierspand* was a marketplace and meeting point for tapestry entrepreneurs, agents and consumers, who stored and displayed tapestries, carpets and table rugs, made agreements and clinched sales.[30] Major and minor players alike working in Antwerp as tapestry entrepreneurs or weavers moved to the basements or houses in the immediate vicinity of the *pand*, and/or rented stalls in the building.[31] Those working in the same sectors elsewhere, such as the Marottes/Van der Planckens from Oudenaarde and Jan I Raes (1574–1651) and François van den Hecke from Brussels, flocked to the *pand* and the new quarter.[32] In this way, the *pand* fostered personal relationships between people in different cities. In 1595, for example, the Antwerp tapestry entrepreneur Hendrik Vranckx married Judith Geubels, the sister of the Brussels *tapissier* Jacob Geubels (d. 1604/1605).[33] Geubels's business associate Jan I Raes asked the Antwerp tapestry dealer and humanist François II Sweerts (1567–1629) to act as godfather to his daughter Catharina in 1611.[34]

The dynamics of commerce ensured that the *tapissierspand* was not just a vibrant hub of information, trust and credit, but also what must have been an exceptional gallery of contemporary tapestries produced in Antwerp, Brussels and Oudenaarde.[35] It is therefore not surprising to see that members of European high society, such as Queen Christina of Sweden (1654) and Cosimo de' Medici (1669), visited the Antwerp *pand*.[36] The gallery undoubtedly also attracted painters and tapestry designers, including Rubens, who lived close by and whose first tapestry series, the *Story of Decius Mus*, was most probably commissioned by François II Sweerts.[37]

However, the dynamic interaction revealed by the sources does not mean that the city council succeeded in its intention of centralising *all* trading activity in the *pand* in the long term.[38] It is clear from a small number of sources dating from after 1650 that tapestry entrepreneurs, who were not bound by the rules of a corporate framework, also showed and sold tapestries at their homes.[39] Yet, on the basis of the available sources, it is safe to assume that the *pand* was indeed the primary magnet and marketplace for tapestries in Antwerp, certainly until c. 1650. In this sense, it did fulfil the city council's main aspiration.

It is plausible, however, that the establishment of the *pand* was also a key element in a second master plan, namely to facilitate and support the development of tapestry *production* in Antwerp. Tapestry production was a capital-intensive undertaking.[40] Weaving was exceptionally time-consuming, so the labour cost was substantial. The coloured weft threads, expensive silk threads and precious silver- and gilt-metal-wrapped threads raised the cost, just like the investments in cartoons painted by one or more painters and their assistants. The recovery of the invested capital was usually slow and often uncertain, which of course threatened future activities. Given all this, tapestry producers could use all possible support. In the years prior to the establishment of the *pand*, we find the city council enticing and pampering *tapissiers* and tapestry weavers from Brussels, as well as the Brussels tapestry designer Pieter Coecke van Aalst.[41] Antwerp's commercial élan, amplified by this growing and stimulated production outside a corporate framework, naturally aroused concern among the Brussels *tapissiers*. Their products had been in great demand throughout Europe since around 1500 on account of their exceptional quality, which was the combined result of the best and most powerful designs and materials as well as the finest craftsmanship.[42] This unique high standard was both the strength and the Achilles heel of the Brussels industry, as is painfully illustrated by the developments in Antwerp. First, the migration of

designs, materials and craftsmanship from Brussels to Antwerp obviously posed a threat to the Brussels industry, which risked becoming marginal or even obsolete in the longer term. Second, counterfeit 'Brussels' tapestries of lower quality made in Antwerp might be churned out in large numbers, disrupting or even ruining the market for Brussels tapestries.[43]

To shield itself from these dangers and from the potential burgeoning of Antwerp as a copycat production centre, the Brussels *tapissiers* invoked the *Ordonnance impériale sur l'industrie de la tapisserie aux Pays-Bas* issued by Emperor Charles V in 1544.[44] This ordinance, which (among other things) made it mandatory for all tapestry producers in every Flemish production centre to weave their mark and that of the city into their products, was designed to minimise or eradicate abuses, to identify the item's provenance and to inform potential buyers of the quality they could expect.[45] Unsurprisingly, and to the frustration of the Brussels *tapissiers*, who soon became embroiled in a legal battle, Antwerp city council refused for several years to ratify the edict, claiming that it restricted free trade.[46] It should be emphasised, however, that the edict also — indeed, primarily — threatened to curb the growth of Antwerp's tapestry industry, which operated precisely in the grey zone that the *Ordonnance impériale* sought to erase.

The plans for the Antwerp *pand*, which were first proposed in the late 1540s — just when the *Ordonnance impériale* was being hotly debated — can therefore be regarded, at least in part, as the city council's reaction to the *Ordonnance*. For, by establishing the *tapissierspand*, the Antwerp authorities were consolidating the position of their city's own tapestry dealers and entrepreneurs, while further complicating, if not endangering, that of the Brussels *tapissiers*. Tapestry scholars have rightly emphasised that the opening of a centralised marketplace and meeting point had obvious advantages for the Brussels *tapissiers*, but there has been little recognition for the fact that the advent of the *pand* also intensified the growing competition between the Brussels and Antwerp industries.[47] First, the institution increased Antwerp's appeal to Brussels tapestry weavers and designers who were contemplating moving to the great trading centre. And plenty were doing so. In 1553, the year in which the *pand* opened its doors, the Brussels painter and tapestry designer Peter van Uden settled in Antwerp, along with what appears to have been a considerable number of tapestry weavers.[48] From 1559 onwards, migrant tapestry weavers could become burghers of Antwerp free of charge.[49] One year later, the city fathers persuaded the Brussels painter and tapestry designer Jan Collaert to relocate to Antwerp, and many more Brussels tapestry producers and weavers moved to Antwerp in the decades that followed.[50] Second, the establishment of a modern, centralised marketplace in Europe's 'capital of capitalism' compelled Brussels *tapissiers* to display their latest and most fashionable tapestries and designs there. That would make them easy to study, not only for potential buyers, but also for Antwerp's tapestry entrepreneurs, who would have access to an up-to-date 'image database' of examples to be emulated.

Did Antwerp city council succeed in its goal of using the *pand* to place Antwerp on the European map as a centre of production as well as trade? Although we scarcely have any studies of Antwerp tapestries, as a result of which very few editions and tapestries can be confidently attributed to Antwerp, it is clear that the city's tapestry output in the latter half of the sixteenth century and the early decades of the seventeenth century was of exceptionally high quality.[51] That the Antwerp industry posed a serious threat to the Brussels workshops can be inferred from the dispute that raged between the Brussels tapestry corporation and the Antwerp tapestry entrepreneurs from 1617 to 1620.[52] According

to the Brussels *tapissiers*, the distinction between Antwerp and Brussels pieces had become blurred.[53] Furthermore, Antwerp entrepreneurs were accused of weaving the Brussels city mark into their pieces to deliberately mislead customers. Another charge was that Antwerp entrepreneurs were selling amalgamated editions consisting of a mix of pieces from Antwerp and Brussels. Interestingly, in their reply, the Antwerp entrepreneurs did not make the slightest effort to deny these accusations. They noted drily that their Brussels colleagues also marketed mixed editions. They defended their use of the letters 'BB' by stating that this was not a city mark, but designated a workshop.[54] Unmoved by the accusations and taking full advantage of the entrepreneurial freedom that the city offered them, Antwerp tapestry entrepreneurs continued their fraudulent practices. This gave the Brussels *tapissiers* a strong argument in their struggle to establish a *tapissierspand* in their own city a few years later.

The Brussels *pand*: Reclaiming Quality, Claiming Credit

While in Antwerp the initiative for a *tapissierspand* originated with the city council, in Brussels it was the tapestry corporation that made a determined effort to achieve a *pand*. In the winter of 1654–1655 it launched a campaign to gain political support. After the advice had been sought of the Officie Fiscaal of the Council of Brabant, an advisory body that was called on to make recommendations whenever local initiatives affected the economies of more than one city, and naturally after consultations with the city councils of Brussels and Antwerp, the Council of Brabant gave the tapestry corporation permission to develop the project, by a decision of 17 August 1655.[55]

In March 1656 the corporation asked the city fathers to allocate it a space, 'either in the city's former fencing school or in other premises'.[56] In June 1656 the city council allocated it part of the former 'fencing school'.[57] This was a hall in the complex of buildings that was dominated by the town hall and the cloth hall, right in the centre of Brussels (Figs. 3 and 4).[58] The corporation was not required to pay rent, but it did have to finance the 'partitions, windows, and other elements that would be needed' to make the space ready for use. In 1661, the corporation testified that these costs had been extremely high and had compelled them to incur heavy debts.[59] None of the sources gives precise information on the location or surface area of the area allocated to the *tapissiers*. The sources do show, however, that the *pand* had a tower, and that it could be accessed by way of steps leading up from the 'blue fountain'.[60] This fountain stood against the wall of the house known as *Boterpot* at the corner of present-day *Kolenmarkt* and *Vruntstraat*.[61] The tower may perhaps have been the onion dome of the house *Boterpot*. The *pand* was therefore situated in the short west wing between the cloth hall and the town hall. This means that the surface area of the Brussels *pand* was only a fraction of the size of its Antwerp counterpart, not to mention the latter's cellars and its large showroom on the upper floor. There, as in Antwerp, a *pandmeester* or *facteur* managed the institution and was assisted by a caretaker.[62] The *pandmeester* earned 2 shillings per ell on every Brussels tapestry that was sold in the *pand*. On pieces made in Antwerp and Oudenaarde, he earned 2 per cent and 3 per cent, respectively, of the sales price. In contrast to its Antwerp counterpart, the Brussels *pand* had only a brief existence: it burned down during the French bombardment of Brussels in 1695.[63]

The request of the Brussels tapestry corporation to establish a *pand* in Brussels was based on three core arguments.[64] First, the *tapissiers* complained of what was by then an old and recurrent problem. The Antwerp *pand* had given the Antwerp tapestry entrepreneurs

Fig. 3. Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, *Brussels*, c. 1600. Engraving, 330 × 475 mm. *Courtesy of Stadsmuseum, Brussels.*

complete control of the market. The institution acted as a magnet, which enabled the city's entrepreneurs to model their new tapestries on the latest Brussels pieces and subsequently to sell them as 'Brussels' products — though of inferior quality. This practice naturally disrupted the already precarious flows of information within the tapestry trade, and could eventually tip the market over the edge into ruin, warned the Brussels *tapissiers*. A *pand* in their own city, where the deans of the corporation would be able to control and inspect not only tapestries from Brussels but those made anywhere in Flanders, could at least curb these fraudulent practices.

Transaction costs were a second reason for the corporation's request for a *tapissierspand* in Brussels. The trips back and forth to Antwerp to meet with potential customers and to show them tapestries consumed a great deal of time and hence also money, they wrote, while these efforts were frequently unsuccessful. A *pand* close at hand could obviously eliminate these costs at a stroke, while at the same time consolidating the market in Brussels. Several documents suggest that the Brussels *pand* was indeed able to generate a substantial commercial dynamic. Just a few years after it opened, in 1661, Brussels *tapissiers* testified that '*tapissiers* of Ghent, Oudenaarde, Edingen, and even from Antwerp itself, have taken the opportunity to bring large quantities of their products to the *pand*'.[65] They therefore successfully petitioned the city council to levy a tax on the non-Brussels tapestries, so as to ensure that tapestry entrepreneurs from elsewhere would help to pay off the debts they

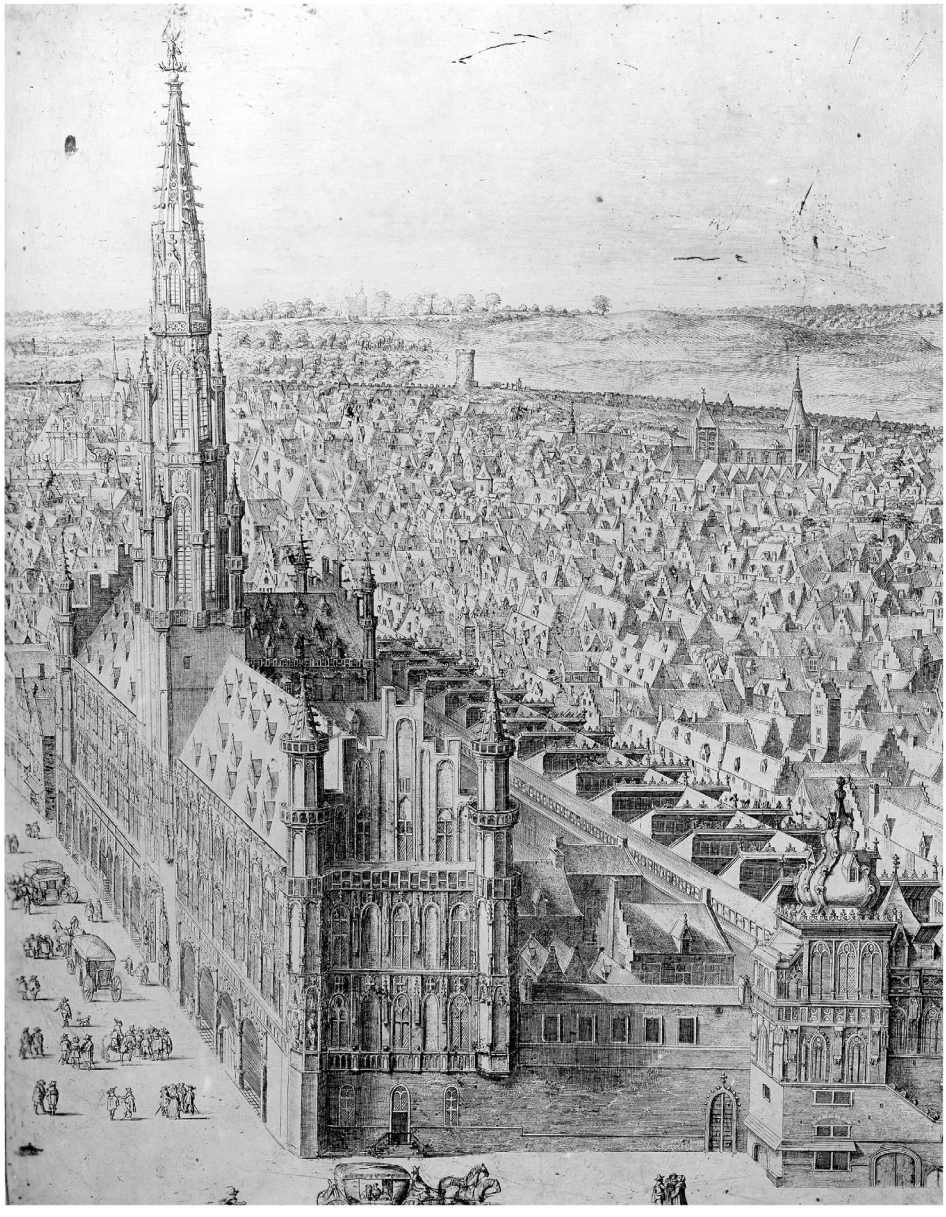

Fig. 4. Abraham Santvoort, *The Brussels Town Hall and Cloth Hall*, c. 1650. Engraving, 465 × 380 mm.
Courtesy of Stadsmuseum, Brussels.

had incurred 'to convert the fencing school'.[66] Dealers also visited the 'Magazin de la ville de Bruxelles', where French tapestries, too, were being traded by the end of the seventeenth century.[67]

However, unlike the Antwerp city fathers, the Brussels *tapissiers* never wanted their *pand* to be the sole place for displaying and trading in tapestries. First, they stressed that they did not intend to abandon the Antwerp *pand*: 'The petitioners [the Brussels *tapissiers*] do not seek to replace the Antwerp *pand* but believe the existence of two facilities rather than one would be advantageous to their business'.[68] The prominent Brussels producer François Van den Hecke continued to use the Antwerp *pand* until his death in 1675.[69] Second, the board of the tapestry corporation hastened to emphasise, in the first regulations it drew up to govern the workings of the *pand*, that all *tapissiers* and merchants would be permitted to display cartoons and tapestries 'at their own homes' — as was customary.[70] This was repeated in a new set of regulations recorded in May 1658, which further specified that merchants from outside Brussels were also permitted to display and sell their wares in the inns where they were lodging.[71] Basically, tapestries could be sold anywhere at all in the city, provided they had first undergone a quality check and received a seal of approval at the *pand*.

Clearly, then, the Brussels *tapissiers* did not see their *pand* primarily as a marketplace (i.e. a closed physical venue). This explains why they were satisfied with a modest-sized space — certainly in comparison to the size of the Antwerp *pand*. They must also have realised that the advent of a *pand* in Brussels could not possibly put an end to the fraudulent practices of tapestry entrepreneurs, those in Brussels as well as their Antwerp confrères. After all, the Antwerp *pand* — the nexus of opportunistic entrepreneurial strategies — would continue to operate as before. The third reason for the Brussels *tapissiers* to want their own *pand* was therefore perhaps the most important. Quite simply, it was this: Brussels *tapissiers* wanted to obtain easy access to credit more cheaply and reliably than was possible in Antwerp. For, in their petition, the Brussels tapestry producers complained that tapestries deposited in Antwerp as security for a loan 'were subject to a heavy rate of interest while they lay at the *pand* in Antwerp'; a *pand* in Brussels would enable them to raise loans 'at similar or lower rates than those charged in Antwerp'.[72]

The Brussels *pand* was therefore — in contrast to its Antwerp counterpart — primarily intended to serve as a full-blown 'loan office' or lending bank that would bolster the industry's growth.[73] The first ordinance issued after its opening provided that tapestries could be deposited to obtain credit exclusively at the *pand*, and must be kept there.[74] Any entrepreneur could accept a tapestry as security for credit, but this role was most probably confined, in the main, to the *pandmeester*. It is not inconceivable that the Brussels *tapissiers* had their eyes on a specific lender from the first time they mooted their project: Jean-François de Grousseliers (1631–1717), the son of a procurator at the Great Council of Mechelen and brother-in-law to the Brussels art entrepreneur François van Coppenolle (1633–1701).[75] In August 1657, the tapestry corporation and De Grousseliers, assisted by Van Coppenolle, concluded a contract laying down the terms on which the *pand* would operate and the role of the *pandmeester* De Grousseliers.[76] The very first clause in this contract makes it immediately apparent what the Brussels *tapissiers* were really interested in: De Grousseliers was to deposit capital of at least 20,000 guilders right away to be used for granting credit with tapestries as security. He was to pay Brussels *tapissiers* two-thirds of the value of all tapestries deposited with him.[77] According to a document recorded in June 1658, De Grousseliers fulfilled his role as lender immediately — and quite enthusiastically.[78] For, by then, the tapestries lying in storage at the *pand* were worth an astonishing 150,000 guilders. The city council rewarded the *pandmeester* for these exceptional financial efforts with fiscal benefits.[79]

Jean-François de Grousseliers remained in office until the building burned down in 1695, at which time he was said to be storing at least 150 editions deposited as security for credit.[80] According to one source, François van Coppenolle also granted credit on a substantial number of tapestries and stored them in the *pand*.[81] Van Coppenolle's activities in this area led in 1676 to a conflict between the brothers-in-law concerning the limits of the *pandmeester*'s sphere of action — a conflict that degenerated into a vulgar brawl in the presence of a number of Brussels *tapissiers* in the *pand*.[82]

The injections of capital supplied by both De Grousseliers and Van Coppenolle must have greatly helped the Brussels *tapissiers* to invest in the production of editions to be provided 'on spec' and in new cartoons. In fact, it is safe to assume that the Brussels *pand* as a loan office, combined with the network and business acumen of the *pandmeester* and his brother-in-law, played an important role in the importing and promotion of French cartoons by Charles Poerson (1609–1667) in the late 1650s and 1660s, which filled the artistic vacuum that had arisen after the deaths of the Brussels tapestry designers Antoon Sallaert (1594–1650) and Lanceloot Lefebure (c. 1585–c. 1655).[83]

Coda

The above analysis of the *raisons d'être* of the Antwerp and Brussels *tapissierspanden* has revealed that the establishment of these institutions was motivated by two entirely different agendas. The Antwerp *pand* was set up primarily to function as a marketplace, whereas its Brussels counterpart was mainly a credit institution. But the analysis also reveals what the two institutions had in common: both sought to boost and support local tapestry production. While the Antwerp *pand* was expected to achieve this goal by attracting and embracing both expertise and works of art from Brussels, the Brussels institution was expected to support local tapestry producers in their efforts to reclaim the exclusive DNA of Brussels tapestry, which had traditionally been characterised by outstanding quality of execution coupled with the latest and most fashionable iconographic and stylistic features. The *tapissierspanden* thus highlight a subject that is generally overlooked in the literature: the conflicting interests and strategies of tapestry entrepreneurs in Antwerp and Brussels, and hence also the impact that the institutions had on production in the two cities.

This essay may therefore serve as a warning to tapestry scholarship that is perhaps too quick to attribute pieces to Brussels. Indeed, given that we have as yet been able to identify very few tapestries made between about 1560 and 1630 as originating from Antwerp, and combining this with the complaints voiced by the Brussels *tapissiers* in the early seventeenth century, we might well be justified in re-examining many of the 'Brussels' tapestries from the last decades of the sixteenth and the first few decades of the seventeenth century, in search of pieces made in Antwerp rather than Brussels. Likewise, given that the 'majority' of Brussels tapestries after Rubens woven between about 1630 and 1660 have been described as 'lesser-quality weavings' that lack the customary pictorial power of Brussels tapestries, combined with the fact that it is not only 'Brussels' tapestries after Rubens that are less convincing, we might ask if some of these 'problematic' pieces are perhaps examples of the counterfeit tapestries that the Brussels *tapissiers* remarked upon and rightly saw as a threat around the mid-seventeenth century.[84] Put differently, this analysis of the *tapissierspanden* reveals the importance, if not the necessity, of developing a multidisciplinary approach in which tapestry *connoisseurs*, textile technicians and (tapestry) historians focusing on

the socio-economic dimension of the medium collaborate to fundamentally question the practice of almost unhesitatingly attributing Flemish mannerist and baroque tapestries to Brussels.

This call for contextual and cross-disciplinary research obviously extends beyond tapestry scholarship and ties in with some of the precepts of neo-institutionalism. This essay shows that comprehension of institutions, their agendas and politics, the professional and social networks they fostered and shaped, and the effect the institutions had on the behaviour of people inhabiting the dynamic networks helps to address issues of attribution, dating and/or meaning of works of art. Additional studies of places and spaces as urban playgrounds for art consumers, dealers, entrepreneurs, financiers and producers will certainly further our understanding of the ways in which collaborative action negotiated and shaped artistic developments.

Abbreviations

GA	*Gilden en Ambachten*
B	*Insolvente Boedelskamer*
N	*Notariaat*
NGB	*Notariaat Generaal van Brabant*
OF	*Officie Fiscaal van de Raad van Brabant*
PK	*Privilegekamer*
RAB	*Rijksarchief Brussel (Anderlecht)*
SAA	*Stadsarchief Antwerpen*
SAB	*Stadsarchief Brussel*

Acknowledgements

This work was supported by KU Leuven [grant number OT/12/022] and the FWO-Vlaanderen [grant number G044513N].

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[1] T. P. Campbell, ed., *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); E. Hartkamp-Jonxis and H. Smit, *European Tapestries in the Rijksmuseum* (Amsterdam and Zwolle: Waaners, 2004); T. P. Campbell, ed., *Tapestry in the Baroque: Threads of Splendor* (New York and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); K. Brosens, *European Tapestries in the Art Institute of Chicago*, ed. C. C. Thurman (Chicago and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); G. Eberhard Cotton, ed., *The Toms Collection, Tapestries, 16th to 19th Centuries* (Lausanne and Zurich: Niggli Verlag, 2010); E. H. Cleland, ed., *Grand Design: Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Renaissance Tapestry* (New York and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014). The migration of the tapestry medium to 'mainstream' art history is evident, for instance, from the inclusion of K. Brosens, 'Tapestry: Luxurious Art, Collaborative Industry', in *The Blackwell Companion to Renaissance and Baroque Art*, ed. B. Bohn and J. S. Saslow (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), pp. 295–315.

[2] K. Brosens, 'The Organisation of Seventeenth-Century Tapestry Production in Brussels and Paris: A Comparative View', *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 20, no. 2 (2004), pp. 264–84; K. Brosens, 'Revisiting Brussels Tapestry, 1700–1740: New Data on *tapissiers* Albert Auwercx and Judocus de Vos', *Textile History*, 43 (2012), pp. 183–99; K. Brosens, K. Alen, A. Slegten and F. Truyen, 'MapTap and Cornelia: Slow Digital Art History and Formal Art Historical Social Network Research', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte/Journal of Art History*, 79 (2016), pp. 315–30; K. Brosens, K. Alen and A.

Slegten, *In de praktijk. Het Vlaamse wandtapijt in 50 verhalen* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 2016); K. Alen, 'Vertrouwen en kwaliteit in de Antwerpse wandtapijtproductie en –handel, 1660–1720' (PhD diss., University of Leuven, 2017); K. Brosens 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. 528–35.

[3] K. Brosens, '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; K. Brosens, '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; K. Brosens, '"Wie durft daerop bieden?" Tapestry Cartoons, Preparatory Sketches and Tapestries at Auction, 1650–1750', in *Art Auctions and Dealers. The Dissemination of Netherlandish Art during the Ancien Régime*, ed. D. Lyna, F. Vermeylen and H. Vlieghe (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), pp. 83–93; K. Brosens, 'Quality, Risk and Uncertainty and the Market for Brussels Tapestry, 1450–1750', in *Moving Pictures: Intra-European Trade in Images, 16th–18th Centuries*, ed. N. De Marchi and S. Raux (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 19–36.

[4] J. F. Willems, *Historisch onderzoek naer den oorsprong en den waren naem der openbare plaetsen en andere oudheden van de stad Antwerpen* (Antwerp: H. P. Van der Hey, 1828), p. 92 refers very briefly to the *pand*. The first substantial data were published by P. Génard, 'Het opera te Antwerpen / L'opéra à Anvers', *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, 2 (1865), pp. 180–223; P. Génard, *La furie espagnole. Documents pour servir à l'histoire du sac d'Anvers* (Antwerp: Van Merlen, 1876), pp. 114–50. In the 1890s, the Antwerp historian Donnet revisited the documents used by Génard and added other sources to shed light on the genesis and organisation of the Antwerp *pand* in the sixteenth century; F. Donnet, 'Les tapisseries de Bruxelles, Enghien et Audenarde pendant la furie espagnole (1576)', *Annales de la société d'archéologie de Bruxelles*, 8 (1894), pp. 445–47; F. Donnet, 'Documents pour servir à l'histoire des ateliers de tapisserie de Bruxelles, Audenarde, Anvers, etc.', *Annales de la société d'archéologie de Bruxelles*, 11 (1897), pp. 59–65.

[5] A. Wauters, *Les tapisseries bruxelloises. Essai historique sur les tapisseries et les tapissiers de haute et de basse-lice de Bruxelles* (Brussels: Baertsoen, 1878), pp. 230–32.

[6] J. Denucé, *Antwerpsche tapijtkunst en handel* (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1936), pp. xxi–xxxii. Denucé (p. xxxi) included a brief passage on the Brussels *pand* in which he emphasised that the institution was first and foremost a 'credit and sales institution', while its Antwerp counterpart concentrated on mass sales. Based on Denucé, *Antwerpsche tapijtkunst*, E. Duverger, *Antwerpse wandtapijten* (Deurne: Provincie Antwerpen, 1973), pp. 37–38 gives a clear if extremely concise introduction to the *pand*.

[7] H. Soly, *Urbanisme en kapitalisme te Antwerpen in de 16de eeuw. De stedebouwkundige en industriële ondernemingen van Gilbert Van Schoonbeke* (Brussels: Gemeentekrediet van België, 1977); A. K. L. Thijs, *Van 'werkwinkel' tot 'fabriek'. De textielnijverheid te Antwerpen (einde 15de–begin 19de Eeuw)* (Brussels: Gemeentekrediet van België, 1987), pp. 115–22. The Antwerp *pand* has not benefited systematically, unfortunately, from the attention that the New Institutional History has recently been devoting to sales infrastructures and to the role played by municipal authorities in the genesis and governance of these institutions; O. Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce: The Institutional Foundations of International Trade in the Low Countries, 1250–1650* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), p. 55, for instance, includes only a few cursory remarks about the *tapissierspand*.

[8] Larry Silver, 'Pieter Bruegel in the Capital of Capitalism', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 47 (1996), pp. 125–53. T. P. Campbell, 'Patronage and Production in Northern Europe', in Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, p. 280, for instance, uses as its oldest work the pioneering D. Ewing, 'Marketing Art in Antwerp, 1460–1560: Our Lady's *Pand*', *The Art Bulletin*, 72 (1990), pp. 558–84. Ewing, 'Marketing Art', however, does not refer to Génard, *La furie*; Donnet, 'Documents'; or Thijs, *Van 'werkwinkel'*. G. Delmarcel, *Het Vlaamse wandtapijt* (Tielt: Lannoo, 1999), pp. 20 and 117–18 has Denucé, *Antwerpsche tapijtkunst* as its oldest source. F. Vermeylen, *Painting for the Market: Commercialization of Art in Antwerp's Golden Age* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 47–48 builds on Soly, *Urbanisme*; Delmarcel, *Het Vlaamse wandtapijt*; and Campbell, 'Patronage'. Brosens, 'Quality', p. 27 (n. 40) tries to compile a concise bibliography on the *pand* yet fails to include Génard, *La furie*; and Donnet, 'Documents'. A. C. Evans, 'Het Tapissierspand: Interpreting the Success of the Antwerp Tapestry Market in the 1500s' (PhD diss., Duke University, 2012) provides a virtually complete bibliography — yet this study has remained unpublished. In the meantime, there has also been a revival of interest in the *pand*'s history as a theatre: T. De Paepe, 'Une place pour les comedies …: de relatie tussen inrichting, repertoire en gebruik van de Antwerpse theatergebouwen tussen 1610 en 1762' (PhD diss., University of Antwerp, 2011); T. De Paepe, 'Plannen van het Theater van het Tapissierspand (1711–1775): plannen en schetsen', in *Proeflijst: topstukken uit de theatergeschiedenis*, ed. L. van den Dries and E. Silvrants-Barclay (Antwerp: Erfgoedcel Vlaamse Gemeenschap, 2012), pp. 32–34; T. De Paepe, 'Visualizing the Theatrical Past: The Virtual Reconstruction of Theatrical Heritage', in *Theatrical Heritage: Challenges and Opportunities*, ed. B. Forment and C. Stalpaert (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2015), pp. 135–48.

[9] Cf. Soly, *Urbanisme*, p. 238 and Evans, 'Het Tapissierspand', p. 189. For a highly nuanced view of the supposed precipitous decline of Antwerp's economy in the seventeenth century, see I. Van Damme, *Verleiden en verkopen. Antwerpse kleinhandelaars en hun klanten in tijden van crisis (ca. 1648–ca. 1748)* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2007), pp. 39–52.

[10] Brosens, 'Nouvelles données', pp. 71–73.

[11] Ibid., p. 71.

[12] Brosens, 'Quality', pp. 27–30.

[13] Ibid., p. 36.

[14] For the Antwerp art market, see Ewing, 'Marketing Art'; E. A. Honig, *Painting & the Market in Early Modern Antwerp* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998); Vermeylen, *Painting*; K. Van der Stighelen and F. Vermeylen, 'The Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke and the Marketing of Paintings, 1400–1700', in *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Europe 1450–1750*, ed. N. De Marchi and H. J. Van Miegroet (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 189–210; S. Raux, 'Circulation, Distribution and Consumption of Antwerp Paintings in the Markets of the Southern Netherlands and Northern France', in De Marchi and Raux, *Moving Pictures*, pp. 93–122.

[15] This *pand* (est. 1460) was the 'first authentic art sales room of the Early Modern era'; Ewing, 'Marketing Art', p. 580.

[16] Denucé, *Antwerpsche tapijtkunst*, pp. xi–xiii; D. Schlugleit, 'De Predikheerenpand en Sint-Niklaasgilde te Antwerpen (1445–1553)', *Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis*, 29 (1938–1939), pp. 99–119; Ewing, 'Marketing Art', p. 568.

[17] Vermeylen, *Painting*, p. 36.

[18] The *pand* had about a hundred stalls that the city council rented out to a single *pandmeester* (the gallery's manager) who in turn hired them out to painters and dealers; Vermeylen, *Painting*, pp. 53–54. For the history of the new exchange, see J. Denucé, 'De beurs van Antwerpen. Oorsprong en eerste ontwikkeling; 15e en 16e eeuwen', *Antwerpsch Archievenblad* (1931), pp. 81–145; F. Clijmans, *De beurs te Antwerpen: beknopte aanteekeningen* (Antwerp: Dienst voor propaganda en toerisme, 1941); J. Materné, '*Schoon ende bequaem tot versamelinghe der cooplieden*. Antwerpse beurswereld tijdens de gouden zestiende eeuw', in *Ter Beurze. Geschiedenis van de aandelenhandel in België, 1300–1900*, ed. G. De Clercq (Bruges: Van de Wiele, 1992), pp. 56–67.

[19] Donnet, 'Documents', p. 59.

[20] Donnet, 'Les tapisseries', p. 445 n. 1. The three other locations investigated were: a number of spaces in the new *beurs* and hence adjacent to the *schilderspand*; a new elongated building consisting of shops in the middle of *Meir*; and a new building in a district of the city that was itself new and undergoing rapid development, the *Nieuwstad*. For Gilbert van Schoonbeke and the development of Antwerp around 1550, see Soly, *Urbanisme*. A rich file on Van Schoonbeke and the early history of the *tapissierspand* is at SAA, IB 2979.

[21] Donnet, 'Les tapisseries', pp. 445–46 (n. 1); Denucé, *Antwerpsche tapijtkunst*, p. xxiii.

[22] Willems, *Historisch onderzoek*, p. 92; Donnet, 'Les tapisseries', p. 445.

[23] In November 1552 the streets around the *pand* were paved; Donnet, 'Les tapisseries', p. 445 n. 1.

[24] Soly, *Urbanisme*, pp. 235–36.

[25] The precise number of stalls is unknown. Numbers may have fluctuated with the passage of time.

[26] According to Willems, *Historisch onderzoek*, p. 96, the cellars [*kelders*], 'onder den Tapissierspand, die eertyds bewoond waren' issued onto the new and aptly named *Kelderstraet*.

[27] For the plundering of the *pand*, see Génard, *La furie* and Donnet, 'Les tapisseries'. For the migration of Flemish weavers, see the essays in G. Delmarcel, ed., *Flemish Tapestry Weavers Abroad: Emigration and the Founding of Manufactories in Europe: Proceedings of the International Conference (Mechelen, October 2–3, 2000)* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002).

[28] T. P. Campbell, 'New Centers of Production and the Recovery of the Netherlandish Tapestry Industry, 1600–1620', in Campbell, *Tapestry in the Baroque*, pp. 61–75; and G. Delmarcel, 'Tapestry in the Spanish Netherlands, 1625–60', in Campbell, *Tapestry in the Baroque*, pp. 203–17. Evans, 'The Tapissierspand', p. 199 overlooks this revival and describes the Spanish Fury of 1576 as the beginning of the *pand*'s irreversible and rapid decline.

[29] Archival documents reveal that caretakers and workers, who often worked in close association with one another, kept their jobs through the latter half of the seventeenth century; e.g. SAA, N 3030 (26 December 1668); SAA, N 3031 (5 September 1669); SAA, N 159 (7 July 1679); SAA, N 159 (22 October 1681); SAA, N 854 (2 June 1682); SAA, N 3735 (5 August 1687); SAA, IB 1218 (7 June 1692); and SAA, N 2826 (17 June 1693). A number of major Antwerp tapestry entrepreneurs served as *pandmeester* in the 1690s: e.g. Jan van der Goten (1691–1692), Jan van Verren (1693 and 1700), Jeremias Cock (1694–1695), Nicolaas Naulaerts (1697) and Cornelis de Wael (1698); SAA, IB 1240. In 1699, however, Cornelis de Wael complained to his Oudenaarde colleague David Brant: ''t Is present soo slecht in de pant als men oyt gesien heeft en alser coopers commen sy en bieden op verre naer niet tot Ul gelimiteerde prysen' ('Things in the *pand* have never been worse than they are now, and if buyers come they bid prices that are far below your lower limits'); E. Duverger, *Documenten betreffende de Antwerpse tapijthandelaar Cornelis De Wael, erfgenaam van de firma Wauters*, 2 (Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten, 2008), p. 133. The departure of firms such as Naulaerts from the *pand* in 1705 left several stalls empty; SAA, IB 2961 (18 August 1705); Denucé, *Antwerpsche tapijtkunst*, p. 274. Cornelis de Wael mentions the *pand* one last time in his letters (or rather, the letters as published by Duverger, *Documenten*) on 21 December 1719; Duverger, *Documenten*, 2, p. 494.

[30] That the items traded here were not confined to tapestries in the narrow sense is clear from e.g. probate inventories drawn up after the deaths of two stall-holders in 1580 and 1583; Denucé, *Antwerpsche tapijtkunst*, p. xxvi. The *pand* also hosted tapestry auctions, which, although resorted to rather reluctantly, often as emergency solutions, served as both secondary and primary markets for tapestries; Denucé, *Antwerpsche tapijtkunst*, p. 271 and SAA, N 854 (2 June 1682). For auctions as vehicles for the marketing and sale of tapestries, see Brosens, '"Wie durft"'.

[31] For examples, see SAA, N 3735 (5 August 1687); Donnet, 'Documents', pp. 51–52, 63 and 356–58; Duverger, *Documenten*, 1, pp. 350–53 and 355.

[32] Donnet, 'Documents', p. 67; E. Duverger, 'Patronen voor tapijtwerk in het sterfhuis van François van den Hecke', *Artes Textiles*, 10 (1981), p. 234. For other examples of such inter-urban dynamics, see Donnet, 'Documents', pp. 51–52, 63, 75–76 and 356–58.

[33] K. Brosens, 'New Light on the Raes Workshop in Brussels and Rubens's *Achilles* Series', in *Tapestry in the Baroque: New Aspects of Production and Patronage*, ed. E. Cleland (New York and New Haven, 2007), p. 24.

[34] Brosens, 'Bruxelles/Paris/Bruxelles', p. 25.

[35] As argued by Brosens, 'Quality', p. 36.

[36] Denucé, *Antwerpsche tapijtkunst*, pp. xliv–xlv.

[37] It is traditionally assumed that the series was commissioned by an unidentified Genoese patron; for a recent assertion of this view, see C. Herrero Carretero, 'Decius Mus Consults the Oracle' and 'The Battle of Veseris and the Death of Decius Mus', in Campbell, *Tapestry in the Baroque*, pp. 95–105. However, archival material points to Sweerts as the patron; H. Hubach, 'Tales from the Tapestry Collection of Elector Palatine Frederick V and Elizabeth Stuart, the Winter King and Queen', in Cleland, *Tapestry in the Baroque*, pp. 117–20.

[38] Donnet, 'Documents', p. 62, thought otherwise, however: '… le commerce si important et si florissant des tapisseries vint uniquement se concentrer dans le nouveau *pant* …'. Immediately after the opening of the *pand*, no fewer than four ordinances were issued (March 1553, May 1554, December 1554 and January 1555) obliging Antwerp tapestry entrepreneurs to confine their trade in tapestries to the *pand*. This clearly suggests that the restriction was encountering resistance; Donnet, 'Les tapisseries', pp. 445–46 n. 1.

[39] In 1675 two tapestry entrepreneurs claimed that they knew nothing about the sixteenth-century ordinances and had been exhibiting and selling tapestries in their shop for years; SAA, N 3865 (15 March 1675 and 27 April 1675). It is, of course, possible that the two entrepreneurs were feigning ignorance, but other entrepreneurs also made it clear that they sold tapestries at home in 1704, when they stressed that they needed the large showroom in the *pand* to display ensembles that were too large to display at home; SAA, PK 792 (26 August 1704); Denucé, *Antwerpsche tapijtkunst*, p. 400.

[40] Brosens, 'Tapestry', pp. 295–315.

[41] SAA, GA 4048; SAA PK 664, fol. 96v; Denucé, *Antwerpsche tapijtkunst*, pp. xvii, xxiv, 28. For Van Aelst, see Cleland, *Grand Design*.

[42] T. P. Campbell, 'Netherlandish Production and the Rise of Brussels, 1480–1515', 'The Acts of the Apostles Tapestries and Raphael's Cartoons', 'Designs for the Papacy by the Raphael Workshop', 'Bernaert van Orley and the Revolution in Netherlandish Tapestry Design' and 'Italian Designs in Brussels, 1530–35', in Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, pp. 131–45, 187–203, 225–45 and 287–303.

[43] Brosens, 'Quality', p. 21, which is based on the conclusions of G. A. Akerlof, 'The Market for "Lemons": Quality Uncertainty and the Market Mechanism', *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 84 (1970), pp. 488–500.

[44] J. Lameere and H. Simont, *Receuil des ordonnances des Pays-Bas. Deuxième série, 1506–1700*, 5 (Brussels: Devroye, 1910), pp. 40–50.

[45] Brosens, 'Quality', pp. 25–26.

[46] Denucé, *Antwerpsche tapijtkunst*, pp. xxix, 19–24.

[47] Evans, 'The Tapissierspand' and Brosens, 'Quality'.

[48] Denucé, *Antwerpsche tapijtkunst*, pp. xxiv–xxv. According to F. J. Van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche schilderschool* (Antwerp: Buschmann, 1883), p. 687, Van Uden was accompanied by no fewer than 400 Brussels tapestry weavers, who guaranteed production with 126 looms. This is a remarkable, if not suspiciously high figure; perhaps the number 400 included the weavers' wives and children.

[49] SAA, PK 664, fol. 96v; Denucé, *Antwerpsche tapijtkunst*, p. 28 (doc. 10).

[50] Denucé, *Antwerpsche tapijtkunst*, p. xxv; Duverger, *Antwerpse wandtapijten*, pp. 19–21; Delmarcel, *Het Vlaamse wandtapijt*, p. 177.

[51] Delmarcel, *Het Vlaamse wandtapijt*, pp. 176–80.

[52] SAA, GA 4047; GA 4048; PK 713 (31 March 1620); Denucé, *Antwerpsche tapijtkunst*, pp. 42–59.

[53] Denucé, *Antwerpsche tapijtkunst*, pp. 42–50 (doc. 14).

[54] SAA, GA 4048; Denucé, *Antwerpsche tapijtkunst*, p. 51.

[55] RAB, OF 13, fols 142–43 (11 March 1655) (with thanks to Edmond Roobaert, who provided this reference) and SAB, 1297, fols 125r–26r (10 June 1656; this document includes a copy of the consent given on 17 August 1655). Antwerp city council does not appear to have responded to the plans (cf. Denucé, *Antwerpsche tapijtkunst*, p. xxxi).

[56] Orig. ''t'sij op de oude schermers schole deser stadt, off eenen andere'; SAB, 1297, fols 124r–v.

[57] SAB, 1297, fols 124v–25r.

[58] The hall was used by the fencing guild (St Michael's Guild), one of the city's five armed guilds; Alphonse Wauters, *Les anciens sermens ou gildes d'arbalétriers, d'archers, d'arquebusiers et d'escrimeurs de Bruxelles. Notice historique* (Brussels: Briard, 1848), p. 36. This space, or at least a part of it, was also occasionally used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a storage area for weapons or as a theatre; Wauters, *Les anciens sermens*, p. 36 and Henri Liebrecht, 'Les "Comédiens de Campagne" à Bruxelles, au XVIIe siècle', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 1 (1922), p. 266.

[59] Orig. 'separatie, vensters, ende andere wercken aldaer te maecken'; SAB, 1298, fol. 258r (16 November 1661). That the tapestry corporation did indeed incur debts is clear from other documents (SAB, 1298, fols 134r–v (18 January

1661) and fols 141r–42r (14 February 1661)). However, these sources do *not* link these debts to the renovation. Possibly the corporation tried to get the city council's support in November 1661 after learning that the city fathers had recently paid for the renovation of another part of the hall for the Council of Brabant.

[60] RAB, NGB 4459 (17 April 1676); SAB, 1297, fol. 125r. In August 1659, Brussels city council paid for a new entrance; SAB, 1256, fol. 207v (13 August 1659).

[61] F. De Roose, *De fonteinen van Brussel* (Tielt: Lannoo, 1999), pp. 23–25.

[62] Between 1 March and 31 October the *pandmeester* (or his authorised representative) had to be present in the *pand* every day from 9 a.m. to noon and from 2 to 5 p.m. During the winter months he had to keep the *pand* open from 10 a.m. to noon and from 2 to 4 p.m. SAB, 1320, fols 408r–11v; SAB, 1298, fols 257v–59r; RAB, NGB 4459 (17 April 1676). See also Wauters, *Les tapisseries*, pp. 231–32. There are no documentary sources suggesting that workers were employed to assist the *pandmeester* and the caretaker, as was the case in Antwerp.

[63] M. Culot and E. Hennaut, eds, *Le bombardement de Bruxelles par Louis XIV et la reconstruction qui s'en suivit (1695–1700)* (Brussels: AAM, 1992).

[64] RAB, OF 13, fols 142–43 (11 March 1655); SAB, 1297 (10 June 1656).

[65] Orig. 'tapijtsiers van Gendt, Oudenaerden, Engien, jae oock die van Antwerpen selver, occasie genomen hebben van inden selven pandt te brengen, ende te tellen groot quantiteijt van henne wercken'; SAB, 1298, fol. 258r (23 November 1661).

[66] The city council decided that the corporation was permitted to collect 1 *oort* per ell; the measure applied for one year. SAB, 1298, fol. 259r.

[67] J. Blažková and O. Květoňová, 'Antoine et Cléopâtre. Histoire d'un achat de tapisseries à Bruxelles en 1666', *Artes Textiles*, 5 (1959–1960), pp. 63–77. See also Brosens, 'Nouvelles données', pp. 72–73.

[68] Orig. 'Niet dat die supplianten [the Brussels *tapissiers*], van interest souden sijn den pandt van antwerpen te verplaetsen, maer om dat sij tot voorderinge van hunne neringe geerne souden hebben twee commoditeyten, in plaetse van eene'; SAB, 1297, fol. 125v.

[69] Duverger, 'Patronen', p. 234.

[70] Orig. [they] 'in henne eijgene huijsen'; SAB, 1297, fols 204r–05v (10 June 1656); SAB, 1320 (15 March 1657). In a 1671 document, Brussels *tapissier* Jacob Foppens writes of accompanying a potential buyer to the house of *tapissier* Boudewijn Outaert to show him tapestries; RAB, NGB 2043 (29 October 1671).

[71] SAB, 1320, fols 408r–11v (24 March 1658).

[72] Orig. 'tot swaeren interest binnen Antwerpen in den pandt aldaer moeten houden liggen'; 'op sulcken off minderen penningen als binnen Antwerpen wort geplogen'; SAB, 1297, fols 124v and 125r (10 June 1656).

[73] Denucé, *Antwerpsche tapijtkunst*, p. xxiv suggested that the Antwerp *pand* may have served as a 'credit institution, a sort of exchange, a lending bank for the tapestry industry' ('een kredietinstelling, een soort beurs, een bank van beleening voor de tapijtnijverheid'), yet he was compelled to admit that he could not produce any archival evidence in support of this hypothesis. The present study has likewise failed to unearth any documents identifying the Antwerp *pand* as a 'loan office'.

[74] SAB, 1320, fols 289r–90r (15 March 1657). The penalty for violations was steep: a fine of 100 Rhenish guilders. An ordinance issued in 1658 moderated this strict regime by stipulating that tapestries could also be deposited at the Berg van Barmartigheid credit institution (as had indeed been customary before the *pand* opened); SAB, 1320, fols 408r–11v (24 March 1658).

[75] Jean-François de Grousseliers was born in Mechelen on 4 April 1631 to Jean de Grouselliers and Catharina Hoes. He died on 25 February 1717. For Van Coppenolle and the De Grousseliers-Van Coppenolle network, see Brosens, 'Nouvelles données', pp. 71–73 and I. Moortgat, 'De Brusselse kunstondernemer François van Coppenolle' (Master's thesis, University of Leuven, 2016).

[76] SAB, 1213 [no date: the contract was registered by the Council of Brabant on 28 August 1657]; Wauters, *Les tapisseries*, pp. 231–32.

[77] The rate of interest was 6.5 per cent.

[78] SAB, 1297, fols 323r–24r (27 June 1658).

[79] SAB, 1297, fols 323r–24r (27 June 1658).

[80] RAB, *Raad van Brabant, Archief van de Secretariaten*, 8473. On 29 September 1695, Antwerp tapestry producer Cornelis de Wael wrote to his agent in London that the tapestries 'deposited with Grousseliers had all perished in a fire' ('onder Grosselier alle verbrandt syn'); Duverger, *Documenten*, 2, p. 19.

[81] RAB, NGB 4459 (17 and 18 April 1676).

[82] Ibid.

[83] K. Brosens, *A Contextual Study of Brussels Tapestry 1670–1770: The Dye Works and Tapestry Workshop of Urbanus Leyniers (1674–1747)* (Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten, 2004), pp. 79–88; Brosens, 'Nouvelles données'; Brosens, 'Bruxelles/Paris/Bruxelles'; K. Brosens, 'Flemish Production, 1660–1715', in Campbell, *Tapestry in the Baroque*, pp. 441–53; and K. Brosens and V. De Laet, 'Matthijs Roelandts, Joris Leemans and Lanceloot Lefebure Unearthed: New Data on Brussels Baroque Tapestry', *The Burlington Magazine*, 151 (2009), pp. 360–67.

[84] '… the majority of the surviving examples dating from the second third of the seventeenth century are lesser-quality weavings. In them, the figures are clumsily executed, lacking the subtlety requisite to make the ample forms visually engaging; the settings look bare and uninteresting; shortcomings of proportion or anatomy that were barely detectable in the rich painterly compositions become glaringly obvious; and the surface of the tapestries lack the richness of design and enlivening patterns that characterized the great examples of the sixteenth century and, indeed, of later seventeenth-century productions'; Campbell, 'New Centers', p. 74. Even a cursory glance at the tapestries woven after designs by Jacques Jordaens, for instance, reveals that a substantial number of them are of inferior quality: K. Nelson, *Jacob Jordaens: Design for Tapestry* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998).

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