



The Amsterdam Tapestry Producer Alexander Baert (1660–1719) and his Workshop: New Findings

Rudy Jos Beerens

To cite this article: Rudy Jos Beerens (2019) The Amsterdam Tapestry Producer Alexander Baert (1660–1719) and his Workshop: New Findings, *Textile History*, 50:1, 41-54, DOI: [10.1080/00404969.2019.1582581](https://doi.org/10.1080/00404969.2019.1582581)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00404969.2019.1582581>



Published online: 24 May 2019.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 78



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

The Amsterdam Tapestry Producer Alexander Baert (1660–1719) and his Workshop: New Findings

RUDY JOS BEERENS

Drawing on archival material relating to the Amsterdam tapestry producer Alexander Baert, much of it previously unpublished, this research note marks a departure from the prevailing, undersocialised, approach to tapestry production and trade in the Northern Netherlands. Data explored here for the first time show that, before emigrating from Oudenaarde, Baert was an active member of a rich network of tapestry entrepreneurs, but that ‘push factors’ such as legal and commercial problems along with ‘pull factors’ such as certain benefits and freedoms prompted his decision to move to the Republic. While earlier studies describe his activities there as an isolated process, it becomes clear that the entrepreneur and his descendants preserved enduring business ties in the Southern Netherlands. These networks furnished Baert with the infrastructure that enabled him to import tapestries from Antwerp, Brussels and Oudenaarde and to purchase Flemish cartoons cheaply.

INTRODUCTION

From the end of the sixteenth century onwards Flemish tapestry producers scattered around Europe. Forced by lasting political, religious and economic problems in Flanders, these entrepreneurs transplanted their artistic activities to countries such as England, France and Italy.¹ A large proportion of emigrants, however, wandered over to the newly established Dutch Republic.² Backed by local authorities, they managed to introduce their craft there and keep it running until far into the eighteenth century. While many of these entrepreneurs fell into oblivion, a new interest in tapestries produced by Flemish immigrants in the Northern Netherlands sparked during the last decades.³ Largely based on Gerardina Tjaberta van Ysselsteyn’s seminal work of 1936, authors paid much attention to unique tapestry sets, such as the Zeeland tapestries, or to renowned entrepreneurs such as François Spiering and Maximilian van der Gucht.⁴ Although these studies contributed greatly to our understanding of Dutch tapestries and their producers, the dependence on Van Ysselsteyn’s archival findings resulted in a shared bias. Van Ysselsteyn based her research exclusively on documents from the Northern Netherlands. As a result, she — and the many scholars who relied on her work — dealt with the tapestry

The Amsterdam Tapestry Producer Alexander Baert (1660–1719)

industry in the Dutch Republic as an isolated phenomenon; they acknowledged the Flemish roots of the weavers involved, but minimised the social capital that they took with them. This is striking, since recent years have brought a growing realisation that tapestry production was a collaborative and transboundary industry in which major investments in new cartoons, material and labour costs were accompanied by multiple uncertainties.⁵

A case in point is the tapestry producer Alexander Baert (1660–1719).⁶ Born in Oudenaarde, Baert emigrated to Amsterdam in 1696 and established a tapestry workshop there. He soon expanded his business to include branches in Gouda and The Hague, and a shop in the centre of Amsterdam where he displayed tapestries in a wide range of qualities.⁷ After his death, his widow, children and grandchildren kept the business afloat until at least 1770.⁸ Studies of Baert have described him primarily as an example of the continuous flow of emigrants from the city of his birth.⁹ Others have confined themselves to superficial descriptions, discussions and attributions of the tapestries linked to his workshop, while none questioned the origin of his work or the used cartoons.¹⁰

By introducing new archival data the present discussion breaks with this less contextual approach in an attempt to gain a deeper understanding of the complexity of the tapestry industry as well as the enduring ties that entrepreneurs maintained with their home country. It draws primarily on the copious correspondence collected by Erik Duverger relating to the Antwerp tapestry merchant Cornelis de Wael (1646–1721). This correspondence was compiled and published by Duverger's widow in 2008, but as yet has not been studied systematically.¹¹ Combined with previously unpublished data from Dutch and Flemish parish registers, legal archives and notarial deeds, these letters help to illuminate Baert's origins, the development of his workshop and network in the Dutch Republic and the influence of these factors on his production and trade.

SOUTHERN NETHERLANDS: DESCENT AND FAMILY

Alexander Baert was baptised in the Church of Our Lady (Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk) in the Pamela district of Oudenaarde on 13 April 1660, as the youngest son of the tapestry producer Jan I Baert and Maria van Coppenolle.¹² His father was a key player in Oudenaarde's tapestry world and was one of the sixteen tapestry entrepreneurs on whose behalf Jan van Verren and Pieter van Coppenolle concluded a contract with the Parisian dealer Simon de Ruble in 1669.¹³ He evidently died shortly after this, since in September 1672 Pieter van Verren received payment from 'the Widow of Sieur Jan Baert' for consignments of tapestries sent to France in the years 1670–1671.¹⁴ Alexander and three of his brothers followed in their father's footsteps, but, although Jan I Baert had worked all his life in Oudenaarde, certain benefits and liberties drove his sons to move elsewhere.

Like most tapestry producers leaving Oudenaarde at the end of the century, the brothers set out to make their fortune in neighbouring cities and France.¹⁵ Odemaert Baert (1657–1707) and his wife Catherina Boomhouer moved to Antwerp in 1680.¹⁶ According to the merchants Jan van Verren and Nicolaas Naulaerts, the move was driven by the hope of obtaining 'greater freedom both

from excise duties and in other respects'.¹⁷ Four years later, Jan II Baert (b. 1646) moved to Beauvais, where he obtained privileges in partnership with Filips Behagle and Joris Blommaert.¹⁸ These privileges and their exemption from import duties gave them a considerable edge over Flemish importers.¹⁹ Frans Baert (b. 1649) was able to develop a business in Tournai (Doornik) in 1692 — free of charge — in premises that were placed at his disposal for that purpose.²⁰ Alexander himself settled in nearby Ghent in January 1684. Not only was he given permission to continue his work there, but he was reimbursed for his moving expenses upon his arrival in the city.²¹

In Ghent, he and Clara de Hont (c. 1660–1751) had two daughters.²² Their eldest, Johanna Clara (1685–1725), was baptised on 23 June 1685 in the church of St Nicholas (Sint-Niklaaskerk), with Clara's sister Joanna, who was married to the Oudenaarde *tapissier* Louis Blommaert, acting as witness.²³ It further appears from the entry in the local register announcing the forthcoming marriage of their second daughter, Maria Catharina (1690–1721), that she too was born in Ghent around the year 1690.²⁴ The family subsequently moved to Brussels, where the couple's third daughter, Anna Catharina (1694–after 1751), and their first son, Johannes Alexander (c. 1696–1747), were born.²⁵

It is clear from diverse loans extended to Baert in this period, by Pieter van Verren of Oudenaarde among others, that Baert's business was creditworthy.²⁶ Even so, the archival data present a gloomy picture of the entrepreneur's commercial activities in the Southern Netherlands. He had frequent problems repaying financiers and his bills of exchange constantly expired. In 1686–1687, for instance, Baert and his brother-in-law Louis Blommaert conducted a lengthy correspondence with the Antwerp dealer Cornelis de Wael about two expired bills of exchange.²⁷ Baert wrote that business was slow and that he planned to go to Paris to sell some of his woven textiles. He added that he would have to 'seek business elsewhere, since it was impossible to sell [his] wares here', and sent the merchant some tapestries to cover his debts.²⁸

The Ghent merchant Jan van der Mandere also sued Baert and the Antwerp banker Noël Fontaine for the non-payment of a bill of exchange dating from 1686. This Fontaine was probably closely connected to the Baert family; he lent money to Jan II Baert and acted as a witness on behalf of Johannes Fromont at the baptism of Odemaert Baert's son Johannes Franciscus.²⁹ In 1687, one of Alexander Baert's employees paid off part of the debt, and four years later the *tapissier* François van der Stighelen, who worked in Ghent, gave Van der Mandere 'a tapestry depicting children at play' towards repayment of the bill of exchange, but the lawsuit dragged on until at least 1696.³⁰ In testimony given that year, Jacobus de Hont, one of Van der Mandere's former employees, stated that he had frequently visited Baert in an attempt to collect the money he owed, to which the producer reportedly replied: 'Why should Mr Van der Mandere be so insistent? He has insurance enough, he has tapestries, and those who execute the bills of exchange there, he has Fontaine and Van der Stighelen as well, he won't lose anything'.³¹

A second lawsuit awaited Baert in Brussels, where François Gillis sued him on behalf of the heirs of Pieter van Haften in the years 1696–1697.³² This, too, revolved around a bill of exchange that Baert had signed back in 1685 and which

The Amsterdam Tapestry Producer Alexander Baert (1660–1719)

he had undertaken to pay ‘at the house of Odemaert Baert in Antwerp’.³³ When the bill of exchange expired, Van Haften protested. Shortly afterwards, however, he died, and the debt was left unpaid. When the heirs claimed their money eleven years later, Baert was obliged to pay up; Gillis succeeded in ‘forcing the defendant, by the exercise of all judicial remedies, to pay the aforesaid bill of exchange in full’.³⁴ Interestingly, none of the documents from Brussels refers to Baert as a *tapissier*.

NORTHERN NETHERLANDS: BAERT’S WORKSHOPS AND HIS ENDURING TIES WITH THE SOUTH

All of these legal and commercial problems prompted the entrepreneur to move his family to the Northern Netherlands. Tapestry production had declined sharply in the Dutch Republic over the previous few decades, and when Baert arrived there only a handful of workshops were still operational.³⁵ Cities such as Amsterdam, Gouda and The Hague therefore welcomed the manufacturer and his labour-intensive business with open arms. Indeed, Amsterdam paid for the renovation needed to convert Baert’s premises at the Utrecht Gate into a workshop.³⁶ The city of Gouda went so far as to pay his travel expenses as well as his shipment and material costs in addition to an annual allowance of five guilders per employee.³⁷

Baert, his wife Clara de Hont and their children ran the business from Amsterdam.³⁸ In addition to the three daughters and one son who had moved north with them from the Southern Netherlands, they had another seven children here, who were all baptised in the Reformed Amstelkerk and Nieuwe Kerk: Jacobus (1698–1733), Elisabeth (1700–1718), Abraham (1701–1748), Isaak (b. 1703), Hester (1704–1752), Clara (b. 1706) and another Clara (b. 1707).³⁹ The evidence suggests that it was particularly the eldest daughter Johanna Clara and eldest son Johannes Alexander who were the most active in the workshop during Baert’s lifetime. Together with their mother they ran the business when Baert was away and they themselves often journeyed to the Southern Netherlands for negotiations in Antwerp, Ghent and Oudenaarde.⁴⁰

In Gouda, Baert put a foreman in charge of the day-to-day management to reduce the risks attached to having different production centres. Frans van de Kerckhoven, who managed the Gouda workshop in the early years, may have been related to the family of weavers from Oudenaarde who bore the same name. In 1701, he accepted payments on Baert’s behalf, and two years earlier he was listed in the police registers (*Kamerboek politiemeesters*) as the agent of the merchant Alexander Baert in Amsterdam.⁴¹ In 1703, Jan Plaecke took over from him as foreman. Van Ysselsteyn describes the way in which he and Zacharias van Arck competed for workers in the period 1703–1705, amid the city’s chronic labour shortage.⁴² The two managers hired each other’s employees without first settling the outstanding debts to the other. The ‘police masters’ always ordered the ‘defendant’ to make redress, and Plaecke in particular frequently had to comply.⁴³ On 11 November 1705 this tug-of-war came to an end when the government decided that Baert and Van Arck could no longer hire each other’s employees ‘without the voluntary consent of the person in whose service they were working’.⁴⁴

Besides appointing foremen at his workshops in the Dutch Republic, Baert also preserved and strengthened his ties with fellow tapestry producers in the Southern

Netherlands after his emigration. His correspondence with Cornelis de Wael in Antwerp, in particular, shows how the trust between entrepreneurs could grow and eventually lead to profitable investment opportunities. Baert and De Wael had done business before, in Ghent, through the mediation of Baert's brother-in-law Louis Blommaert.⁴⁵ But it was not until 1705 that the Amsterdam *tapissier* contacted De Wael again to ask if he had a set depicting Meleager for sale that was of 'the same quality as the one possessed by Odemaert Baert'.⁴⁶ After a period of difficult negotiations Baert purchased the series almost a year later through De Wael's Amsterdam commercial agents Ignatius and Carlo van Honsem, after which more orders followed.⁴⁷ In these negotiations Baert referred repeatedly to the 'distinction' between him and 'other purchasers', emphasising that he, too, had to make a profit.⁴⁸ Even so, the trade between them remained sluggish; Baert was often slow to pay and De Wael would hold on to his tapestries until he was paid. Jean-François de Wael wrote to his father in 1706 that Baert's credit was 'middling' and it was better to 'wait a little rather than give him tapestries on credit'.⁴⁹

In the years that followed, their relationship steadied and the trust between them grew stronger. Baert paid his bills more promptly and De Wael helped him, for instance, to find painters to add figures to his cartoons and to buy 'some dyed wools and silks' from the Brussels tapestry producer and wool dyer Urbaan Leyniers.⁵⁰ There is also a revealing letter from De Wael's sons, written in 1713, asking their father to address new shipments of tapestries 'directly to Alexander Baert'.⁵¹ In the meantime, De Wael was phasing out his business activity as a tapestry producer. He had already announced that he was thinking of stopping in 1707, and turned down Baert's request to rent some of his cartoons, offering to sell him the patterns instead.⁵² In subsequent negotiations Baert repeatedly referred to De Wael's decision, commenting that it was 'more profitable for you to sell the patterns outright'.⁵³ The *tapissiers* eventually agreed a price, and Baert purchased three series of used cartoons from the Antwerp dealer.⁵⁴

Baert purchased the first eight pieces in watercolour of the popular series *The Four Continents* (Fig. 1) after Lodewijk van Schoor (c. 1650–1702) and Pieter Spierinckx (1635–1711) on 18 June 1714.⁵⁵ From his correspondence with De Wael, it appeared that these were copies by the Antwerp artist Jacob Herreyns (1643–1732).⁵⁶ Herreyns was a painter who was said by Adolphe Siret to have painted 'numerous cartoons for tapestries' and who also repaired De Wael's cartoons depicting *Meleager and Atalanta*.⁵⁷ Then followed — on 11 August 1715 — the series with *The Story of Perseus* after Van Schoor and Lucas Achtschellinck (1626–1699).⁵⁸ De Wael possessed this series both in oil and in watercolour, but since Baert 'had no intention of burdening himself with two cartoons of the same subject', he bought only the eight pieces in watercolour.⁵⁹ His Antwerp associate carried on weaving after the remaining cartoons, and three years later he was still sending editions of them to places including Lisbon and Vienna.⁶⁰ Finally, Baert purchased the series depicting *The Story of Amadis de Gaule* (Fig. 2) by Van Schoor, Spierinckx and Gaspar Peeter II Verbruggen (1664–1730).⁶¹ De Wael himself had commissioned these cartoons based on the *tragédie en musique* about this knight-errant by Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–1687) to the 1684 libretto of Philippe Quinault (1635–1688). He had woven them only a few times before the two



FIG. 1. Alexander Baert after Jacob Herreyns, *Europe, Monarchia and Magnificentia*, wool and silk, 1718, 305 × 730 cm, City Hall, Leeuwarden.
© Historisch Centrum Leeuwarden.

entrepreneurs reached their agreement on 16 April 1717.⁶² Although this new data helps to date more accurately the tapestries signed by Baert, the trade in cartoons primarily highlights the problematic nature of discussions of attribution.

The letters also provide more clarity concerning Baert's enduring network of contacts in his native city, since several entrepreneurs from Oudenaarde sent tapestries to Amsterdam by way of De Wael.⁶³ Between 1712 and 1714 Baert received consignments of tapestries from Louis Blommaert, Antoon de Bie, Ferdinand Brandt, Anthony Brandt and the wife of Jan-Baptist de Roije.⁶⁴ Rarely did these entrepreneurs specify the work they were sending, describing them merely as 'a consignment of tapestries' or a 'set of tapestries', and only in the case of De Roije's wife did Baert repeatedly note that the consignment consisted of 'a poor set of tapestries' ('slechte camer tapyten'). A statement signed by Ferdinand Brandt in 1718 supplied more information about the items purchased, which included 'two pieces of old Brussels tapestry [with] large figures' and 'a piece of green tapestry' from Oudenaarde, which he sent back to Antwerp for unspecified reasons.⁶⁵ Baert probably knew these *tapissiers* before his emigration and helped them gain access to the market in the Northern Netherlands, while they provided him with a 'well-stocked storehouse' of tapestries.⁶⁶

References to the godparents of Baert's children also testify to the good relations he preserved with the Southern Netherlands and with other tapestry entrepreneurs. For example, in 1698 Baert named his second son Jacobus after his godfather, the Ghent *tapissier* Jacobus van Coppenolle.⁶⁷ Furthermore, Lucas van Coppenolle, who handled the Amsterdam affairs of Pieter and Frans van Verren, among others, acted as a witness to the baptism of Isaak in 1703.⁶⁸ Other Amsterdam merchants forged similar ties with Baert. For instance, Paulus Boomhouer, whose sister was married to Odemaert Baert, became the godfather of Ester in 1704, and in 1707 the dealer Jan Fremont attended the baptism of Clara.⁶⁹



FIG. 2. Alexander Baert or offspring after Lodewijk van Schoor and Pieter Spierinckx, *Arcalaus prevents Amadis from crossing the bridge*, wool and silk, after 1717, 356 × 368 cm, BayNS.W6, Neues Schloss, Bayreuth.
© Bavarian Palace Department.

Such ties did not always work to Baert's advantage. Take his relationship with his brother Odemaert. Siblings they may have been, but Baert's correspondence with De Wael reveals a tense relationship with escalating levels of mistrust. While Odemaert Baert went to Amsterdam to see his brother right after the latter opened his workshop there, with a view to importing tapestries from Oudenaarde, the contract that the brothers signed in 1700 reflects their mutual misgivings.⁷⁰ For instance, they undertook to conduct their business 'in all honesty and without any manner of artifice' ('oprechtelyck en sonder arch ofte list') and to pay each other's invoices promptly. The contract failed to stop the rapid resurgence of tension between them. In 1706, Alexander Baert wrote that he would no longer 'send

The Amsterdam Tapestry Producer Alexander Baert (1660–1719)

money to Antwerp in advance', and, when De Wael wrote a year later to inform him of Odemaert's declining health, Alexander responded with irate letters about his brother.⁷¹ He wrote that Odemaert had purloined and sold his tapestries in Ghent and Brussels, that he constantly avoided paying his debts, and had done 'numerous other things' to him. De Wael, who also heard Odemaert Baert's side of the story, wrote that the brothers had 'caused each other much vexation on both sides' and offered to mediate. Shortly after this, however, Odemaert Baert died, and the Antwerp dealer asked Baert to refrain from writing to him about his brother.⁷²

Alexander Baert himself died in 1719, after which his widow Clara de Hont and her children ran the business under the name of 'The widow of Alexander Baert and Sons'.⁷³ Several authors have described the workshop in this period as an enterprise in decline.⁷⁴ The Gouda branch downsized from a staff of twenty-four in 1717 to twelve in 1724, and it also appears to have stopped investing in new cartoons.⁷⁵ In view of this downturn in production, it was not surprising that the ties with the entrepreneurs in the Southern Netherlands were maintained. The documents in a lawsuit that Joanna de Hont brought against her sister reveal that Clara de Hont stayed in Ghent and Oudenaarde from November 1729 until (at least) April 1730.⁷⁶ When she sought to end a consignment contract between her late husband and her brother-in-law Louis Blommaert to prevent 'all her investments going up in smoke', Joanna countered that her nephews should also be involved in this decision. At length, it was agreed that these commercial matters should be postponed to allow for De Hont's sons in Oudenaarde to express their views.

It is not known whether the ties with Baert's home country remained intact after the death of Clara de Hont in 1752. The workshop was briefly taken over by her daughters Clara and Hester Baert, and then by her grandson Louis van der Voort (1734–1810).⁷⁷ Van der Voort stopped paying the rent for the building at the Utrecht Gate in 1759, moving the workshop on 3 May 1759 to new premises on the Prinsengracht 'near the brewery De Dubbele Sleutel'.⁷⁸ How long he continued to run the business there is unknown. The last reference to him in the accounts of Gouda's treasury is in 1770, when he supplied a 'tapestry cushion cover'.⁷⁹ Tellingly, when Gouda wanted to buy new woven fabrics nine years later, it directed its request to Jacobus der Borch in Brussels.⁸⁰

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Drawing on archival material relating to the Amsterdam tapestry producer Alexander Baert, much of it previously unpublished, this article marks a departure from the prevailing view on tapestry production in the Northern Netherlands, which did not emphasise social factors in the history of these firms. Data explored here for the first time show that, before emigrating from Oudenaarde, Baert was an active member of a rich network of tapestry entrepreneurs, but that 'push factors' such as legal and commercial problems along with 'pull factors' such as certain benefits and freedoms prompted his decision to move to the Republic. While earlier studies describe his activities there as an isolated process, it becomes clear that the entrepreneur and his descendants preserved enduring business ties in the Southern Netherlands. These networks furnished Baert with the infrastructure that enabled

him to import tapestries from Antwerp, Brussels and Oudenaarde and to purchase Flemish cartoons cheaply. These discoveries not only emphasise that the art-historical focus on attributions is problematic. Different tapestry entrepreneurs used the same cartoons at the same time, and artists copied or revised each other's patterns. This article also gives scope for a transboundary approach to the study of early modern textile and art trade all over Europe and the enduring interaction between producers.

NOTE

This article is largely based on the author's unpublished master's thesis, R.J. Beerens, 'De Amsterdamse wandtapijtwever Alexander Baert (1660-1719) en zijn atelier in sociaaleconomische context' (Master's thesis, KU Leuven, 2016).

REFERENCES

- ¹ G. H. Quignon, 'La Manufacture royale de Tapisseries de Beauvais. Les ouvriers flamands et wallons, de 1664 à 1715', in *Fédération archéologique et historique de Belgique. Annales du XXIIIe congrès (Gand, 1913). Tome III. Mémoires de la section d'Archéologie et des sous-sections de l'Histoire de l'art et de la Musicologie*, ed. G. Vanden Gheyn (Ghent: Imprimerie W. Siffer, 1914), pp. 139-56; G. Delmarcel, ed., *Flemish Tapestry Weavers Abroad: Emigration and the Founding of Manufactories in Europe. Proceedings of the International Conference Held at Mechelen, 2-3 October 2000* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002); T. P. Campbell, 'The Disruption and Diaspora of the Netherlandish Tapestry Industry, 1570-1600', in *Tapestry in the Baroque: Threads of Splendor*, ed. T. P. Campbell (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 17-27.
- ² For an overview of Flemish producers in the Northern Netherlands, see E. Hartkamp-Jonxis, 'Flemish Tapestry Weavers and Designers in the Northern Netherlands: Questions about Identity', in Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry Weavers Abroad*, pp. 15-43.
- ³ E. Hartkamp-Jonxis, 'Helden en heldendaden: Historietapijten in de Noordelijke Nederlanden omstreeks 1600', *Antiek*, 28, no. 5 (1993), pp. 212-19; Hartkamp-Jonxis, 'Flemish Tapestry Weavers and Designers in the Northern Netherlands', pp. 15-43; E. Hartkamp-Jonxis, and H. Smit, *European Tapestries in the Rijksmuseum* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2004).
- ⁴ G. T. Van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden: Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der kunstnijverheid*, 2 vols (Leiden: Leidsche uitgeversmaatschappij, 1936). For the Zeeland tapestries, see C. A. van Swingchem and G. Ploos van Amstel, *Zes unieke wandtapijten: strijd op de Zeeuwse stromen, 1572-1576* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1991); K. Heying, *De Tapijten van Zeeland* (Middelburg: Zeeuws Museum, 2007). For Spiering, Van der Gucht and other Delft tapestry producers, see A. M. L. E. Erkelens, 'De Wandtapijtkunst te Delft', in *Oud Delft: Delfts zilver/de wandtapijtkunst te Delft*, ed. L. J. F. Wijsenbeek and A. M. L. E. Erkelens (Rotterdam: Nijgh en Van Ditmar, 1961), pp. 53-102; M. I. E. van Zijl, 'De Delftse wandtapijten', in *De stad Delft: Cultuur en maatschappij van 1572 tot 1667*, ed. I. Spaander (Delft: Stedelijk Museum het Prinsenhof, 1981), pp. 202-09; T. P. Campbell, 'The Development of New Centers of Production and the Recovery of the Netherlandish Tapestry Industry, 1600-1620', in Campbell, *Tapestry in the Baroque*, pp. 61-75.
- ⁵ K. Brosens, *A Contextual Study of Brussels Tapestry, 1670-1770: The Dye Works and Tapestry Workshop of Urbanus Leyniers (1674-1747)* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 2004), pp. 43-48; M. Vanwelden, *Productie van wandtapijten in de regio Oudenaarde: Een symbiose tussen stad en platteland (15de tot 17de eeuw)* (Leuven: University Press, 2006); K. Brosens, 'Can Tapestry Research Benefit from Economic Sociology and Social Network Analysis?' in *Family Ties: Art Production and Kinship Patterns in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. K. Brosens, L. Kelchtermans and K. Van der Stighelen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 43-44.
- ⁶ Ronse National Archives (hereafter RAR), Parochieregisters Oudenaarde, Onze-Lieve-Vrouw van Pamele, 382: Doopakten 17/06/1641-29/02/1682, 13 April 1660, fol. 103; Amsterdam City Archives (hereafter SAA), Archief van de burgerlijke stand: Doop-, trouw-, en begraafboeken van Amsterdam, DTB 1048: Begraafregisters Oude Kerk voor 1811, 7 April 1719, fols 66v-67.
- ⁷ Van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, II, p. 373 (n.828). The prices, and therefore quality, varied between 3 and 30 guilders per ell; see *Amsterdamse Courant*, 2 March 1734; *Leydse Courant*, 4 April 1749.
- ⁸ Van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, I, pp. 169-70, 177.

The Amsterdam Tapestry Producer Alexander Baert (1660–1719)

⁹ J. L. M. Eggen, *De invloed door Zuid-Nederland op Noord-Nederland uitgeoefend op het einde der XVIe en het begin der XVIIe eeuw* (Ghent: A. Siffer, 1908), p. 178; W. S. Sevensma, *Tapestries* (New York: Universe Books, 1965), p. 89; W. G. Thomson, *A History of Tapestry: From the Earliest Times until the Present Day*, 3rd revised edn (Wakefield: E. P. Publishing, 1973), p. 406; G. Van Ommeslaeghe and V. Vermeersch, *Wandtapijten uit Oudenaarde* (Bergen op Zoom: Gemeentemuseum, 1988), p. 35; D. Heinz, *Europäische Tapisseriekunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts: Die Geschichte der Produktionsstätten und ihre künstlerischen Zielsetzungen* (Vienna, Cologne and Weimar: Böhlau Publishers, 1995), pp. 84, 89; J. F. Van Ommeslaeghe, *De Oudenaardse wandtapijten en hun wevers: In hun historische kader* (Oudenaarde: Davidsfonds, 1996), pp. 310–12; G. Delmarcel, *Het Vlaamse wandtapijt van de 15de tot 18de eeuw* (Tielt: Lannoo, 1999), p. 285; I. De Meuter and M. Vanwelden, *Oudenaardse wandtapijten van de 16de tot de 18de eeuw* (Tielt: Lannoo, 1999), p. 80; Hartkamp-Jonxis, 'Flemish Tapestry Weavers and Designers in the Northern Netherlands', p. 19; Vanwelden, *Productie van wandtapijten in de regio Oudenaarde*, p. 259.

¹⁰ W. Kramm, 'Die Perseusgobelins aus der Amsterdamer Werkstatt des Alexander Baert', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 14 (1949), pp. 195–224; F. J. Dubiez, 'De Amsterdamse tapijtwever Alexander Baert van Oudenaarde en de Enkhuizer tapijten', *Ons Amsterdam*, 8 (1956), pp. 98–102; I. H. Van Eeghen, 'De tapijtmakerij van de familie Baert', *Amstelodamum: Maandblad voor de kennis van Amsterdam*, 56 (1969), pp. 121–26; E. J. Kalf, 'Een Baert-tapijt?', *Textielhistorische bijdragen*, 13 (1972), pp. 17–28; A. M. L. E. Mulder-Erkelen, 'Een landschapsverduurde of "perspectyftapyt" door een Amsterdamse wever, Alexander Baert', *Bijvoorbeeld*, 11, no. 3 (1979), pp. 2–5; E. J. Kalf, 'Vier deelen van de weereldt als andersints', *Artes Textiles*, 10 (1981), pp. 235–47; Hartkamp-Jonxis and Smit, *European Tapestries in the Rijksmuseum*; I. De Meuter, *Vlaamse wandtapijten: Productie en handel. De Oudenaardse familie Van Verren (1680–1740)* (Ghent: Provinciebestuur Oost-Vlaanderen, 2016).

¹¹ E. Duverger, *De Antwerpse Tapijthandelaar Cornelis de Wael*, 2 vols (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 2008).

¹² RAR, Parochieregisters Oudenaarde, Onze-Lieve-Vrouw van Pamele, 382, Doopakten 17/06/1641-29/02/1682, 13 April 1660, fol. 103.

¹³ Van Ommeslaeghe, *De Oudenaardse wandtapijten en hun wevers*, p. 198.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 188–89.

¹⁵ See, for the migration of Flemish tapestry producers to France in the seventeenth century, G. H. Quignon, 'La Manufacture royale de Tapisseries de Beauvais. Les ouvriers flamands et wallons, de 1664 à 1715', in Vanden Gheyn, *Fédération archéologique et historique de Belgique*, pp. 139–56; N. De Reyniès, 'Les lissiers flamands en France au XVIIe siècle, et considerations sur leurs marques', in Delamarcel, *Flemish Tapestry Weavers Abroad*, pp. 203–26; Vanwelden, *Productie van wandtapijten in de regio Oudenaarde*, pp. 257–59, 262–63.

¹⁶ A document dating from 1693 gives Odemaert Baert's age at that time as thirty-six. Felix Archives, Antwerp (hereafter FAA), Processen schepenbank, 7#13805, Proces Jan van der Mandere tegen Noël Fonteyn en Alexander Baert, 29 January 1693; Duverger, *De Antwerpse Tapijthandelaar Cornelis de Wael*, 1, p. 471 (1042); I. De Meuter, 'De wandtapijtproductie in Oudenaarde rond 1700: In relatie met de andere centra in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden' (PhD thesis, University of Ghent, 2009), p. 90.

¹⁷ Orig.: [they hoped for] 'grooten vrijdom als van accijs als andersints'; Oudenaarde City Archives (hereafter SAO), Neringe van Sint-Barbara te Oudenaarde, 843/v/1269, Brieven rakende koophandel in tapijten 1680–1681, 28 May 1680. For the collaboration between Jan van Verren and Nicolaas Naulaerts, see J. Duverger, 'Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de Oudenaardse tapijtkunst en tapijthandel', *Artes Textiles*, 1 (1953), pp. 45–48.

¹⁸ RAR, Parochieregisters Oudenaarde, Onze-Lieve-Vrouw van Pamele, 382, Doopakten 17/06/1641-29/02/1682, 5 September 1646, fol. 26.

¹⁹ C. Bremer-David, 'Manufacture Royale de Tapisseries de Beauvais, 1664–1715', in Campbell, *Tapestry in the Baroque*, p. 411; Duverger, *De Antwerpse Tapijthandelaar Cornelis de Wael*, 1, p. 240 (465).

²⁰ RAR, Parochieregisters Oudenaarde, Onze-Lieve-Vrouw van Pamele, 382, Doopakten 17/06/1641-29/02/1682, 10 April 1649, fol. 44v; E. Soil, *Les tapisseries de Tournai: Les tapisseries et les hautelisseurs de cette ville, recherches et documents sur l'histoire, la fabrication et les produits des ateliers de Tournai* (Doornik: Casterman, 1891), p. 67; H. Göbel, *Wandteppiche I: Die Niederlande* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1923), p. 266; Vanwelden, *Productie van wandtapijten in de regio Oudenaarde*, p. 257.

²¹ Ghent City Archives (hereafter SAG), Oude archieven, 400/107, 8e Resolutieboek (1684/04/29), fols 123v–24; W. Van Parijs, 'De Oudenaardse tapijthandel en -industrie in de 17de en het begin der 18de eeuw (1600–1709)' (Master's thesis, University of Ghent, 1959), pp. 143–44; E. Duverger, 'Tapijtwerkers en Tapijtwerk te Gent', in *Gent, Duizend jaar kunst en cultuur 3: Stadsontwikkeling en architectuur, keramiek, koper en brons, ijzerwerk, tin, meubelkunst, tapijtkunst* (Ghent: Stadsbestuur, 1975), p. 517.

²² The year of Clara de Hont's birth is unknown. On 27 October 1664 a Clara, daughter of Andreas de Hondt and Anna Walraeve, was baptised in the Church of Our Lady in the Pamele district of Oudenaarde, but it has not yet been possible to ascertain whether it was she who later married Baert. RAR,

Parochieregisters Oudenaarde, Onze-Lieve-Vrouw van Pamele, 382, Doopakten 17/06/1641–29/02/1682, 27 October 1664, fol. 126; SAA, Archief van de burgerlijke stand: Doop-, trouw-, en begraafboeken van Amsterdam, DTB 1049, Begraafregisters Oude Kerk voor 1811, 4 June 1751, fols 88v–89.

^{23.} SAG, Parochieregisters Gent, Sint-Niklaas, MF493, Doopakten, 23 June 1685; SAA, Archief van de burgerlijke stand: Doop-, trouw-, en begraafboeken van Amsterdam, DTB 1048, Begraafregisters Oude Kerk voor 1811, 28 December 1725, fols 94v–95; Bruges National Archives (hereafter RAB), Familiearchief Ysenbrandt, BE-A0513/INV 61, 71, Staat van goederen ten sterfhuize van Joanna Dhondt, weduwe Louis Blommaert, 1739.

^{24.} 'Geert Diepering van Amsterdam oud 26 jaren in de st. Lurijesteeg geasst. met zijn vader Tjerk Diepering en Maria Catharina Baert van Gent oud 26 jaren woont bij de Uijtregsepoort geasst. met haar vader Alexander Baert'. SAA, Archief van de burgerlijke stand: Doop-, trouw-, en begraafboeken van Amsterdam, DTB 552, Ondertrouwregister, 22 May 1716, fol. 370; SAA, Archief van de burgerlijke stand: Doop-, trouw-, en begraafboeken van Amsterdam, DTB 1048, Begraafregisters Oude Kerk voor 1811, 1 April 1721, fols 74v–75.

^{25.} For information regarding Anna Catharina: 'Pieter van Genderen van Enkhuijsen oud 21 jaren opde Prinsegragt ouders doot geasst. met zijn Swaeger Jan Lod. Van de Burg en Catharina Baert van Brussel oud 23 jaren woont bij de Uijtregse Poort geasst. met haar vader Alexander Baert'. On Johannes Alexander: SAA, Archief van de burgerlijke stand: Doop-, trouw-, en begraafboeken van Amsterdam, DTB 554, Ondertrouwregister, 3 December 1717, fol. 232; SAA, Archief van de burgerlijke stand: Doop-, trouw-, en begraafboeken van Amsterdam, DTB 1049, Begraafregisters Oude Kerk voor 1811, 25 April 1747, fols 72v–73.

^{26.} SAO, Neringe van Sint-Barbara te Oudenaarde, 843/v/1285, Journal van Pieter van Verren, tapijtsier, 6 September 1686, fol. 88; 28 October 1686, fol. 95; 16 February 1687, fol. 100.

^{27.} Duverger, *De Antwerpse Tapijthandelaar Cornelis de Wael*, I, pp. 313–27 (646, 650, 652, 658, 661, 663–65, 671–672, 676, 678–81).

^{28.} Orig.: [he would have to] 'op een ander soecken, want hier en is niet te vercoopen'; FAA, Insolvente Boedelkamer: Musson en De Wael, 362, Ontvangen handelsbriefwisseling Baanthout — Baert, 19 January 1687; Duverger, *De Antwerpse Tapijthandelaar Cornelis de Wael*, I, p. 322 (671).

^{29.} Duverger, *De Antwerpse Tapijthandelaar Cornelis de Wael*, I, p. 290 (588); FAA, Parochieregisters Antwerpen, Sint-Joris, PR#145, Doopregister 1690–1700, 29 June 1692.

^{30.} The tapestry he gave in lieu of payment was 'een stuck tapyt wesende kinderspel'; *ibid.*, 24 October 1687; 22 April 1693.

^{31.} Orig.: 'waerom moet mijn heer vander Mandere soo ghepresst zijn, hij is immers ghenoech versekert, hij heeft tapijten, ende personen die daar de brieven passeren, hij heeft noch fontaine ende vander Stighellen, hij sal niet verliesen'; *ibid.*, 16 July 1696.

^{32.} Brussels City Archives (hereafter SAB), Verzameling van processen, 3582, Proces François Gillis tegen Alexander Baert, 1696; SAB, Verzameling van processen, 3714, Proces François Gillis tegen Alexander Baert, 1697.

^{33.} SAB, Verzameling van processen, 3582, Proces François Gillis tegen Alexander Baert, 1696, 3 August 1696.

^{34.} Orig.: [he succeeded] 'om de gedaeghde bij alle middelen van rechte totte volle voldoeninghe van den voorschreven wisselbrief te praemen'; *ibid.*, 3 August 1696.

^{35.} Van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, I, pp. 148–74.

^{36.} J. Kalf, 'Alexander Baert, tapijtmaker', *Amsterdamsch Jaarboekje* (1904), pp. 108–09; Van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, I, p. 170; II, pp. 377 (839, 840), 379 (844).

^{37.} Streekarchief Midden-Holland (hereafter SAMH), Archief van de stad Gouda, 1311–1815, Beheer van de stedelijke financiën en eigendommen, 547: Tiende verhuurboek, 1679–1762, 22 June 1700, fol. 42–42v; Van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, II, pp. 379–80 (848).

^{38.} Guilds traditionally had little power in the Dutch Republic. Unlike Oudenaarde and the Southern Netherlands in general, most tapestry producers in the Northern Netherlands did not belong to a trade association. A few, such as François Spiering, joined the St Luke's Guild at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but Baert probably remained independent. Van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, I, pp. 213–15; J. L. Van Zanden, *The Rise and Decline of Holland's Economy: Merchant Capitalism and the Labour Market* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), p. 106.

^{39.} For information regarding Jacobus: SAA, Archief van de burgerlijke stand: Doop-, trouw-, en begraafboeken van Amsterdam, DTB 46, Doopregister Nieuwe Kerk, 19 May 1698, fol. 419; SAA, Archief van de burgerlijke stand: Doop-, trouw-, en begraafboeken van Amsterdam, DTB 1049, Begraafregisters Oude Kerk voor 1811, 1 January 1733, fols 19v–20. On Elisabeth: SAA, Archief van de burgerlijke stand: Doop-, trouw-, en begraafboeken van Amsterdam, DTB 121, Doopregister Amstelkerk, 28 February 1700, fol. 153; SAA, Archief van de burgerlijke stand: Doop-, trouw-, en begraafboeken van Amsterdam, DTB 1048, Begraafregisters Oude Kerk voor 1811, 20 September 1718, fols 63v–64. On Abraham: SAA, Archief

The Amsterdam Tapestry Producer Alexander Baert (1660–1719)

van de burgerlijke stand: Doop-, trouw-, en begraafboeken van Amsterdam, DTB 47, Doopregister Nieuwe Kerk, 5 October 1701, fol. 51v; SAA, Archief van de burgerlijke stand: Doop-, trouw-, en begraafboeken van Amsterdam, DTB 1049, Begraafregisters Oude Kerk voor 1811, 7 March 1748, fols 75v–76. On Isaak: there are no subsequent references to Isaak and he probably died shortly after birth. SAA, Archief van de burgerlijke stand: Doop-, trouw-, en begraafboeken van Amsterdam, DTB 47, Doopregister Nieuwe Kerk, 11 April 1703, fol. 93. On Hester: SAA, Archief van de burgerlijke stand: Doop-, trouw-, en begraafboeken van Amsterdam, DTB 122, Doopregister Amstelkerk, 22 October 1704, fol. 27v; SAA, Archief van de burgerlijke stand: Doop-, trouw-, en begraafboeken van Amsterdam, DTB 1049: Begraafregisters Oude Kerk voor 1811, 31 October 1752, fols 92v–93. On Clara (b. 1706): SAA, Archief van de burgerlijke stand: Doop-, trouw-, en begraafboeken van Amsterdam, DTB 47: Doopregister Nieuwe Kerk, 5 April 1706, fol. 164v. On Clara (b. 1707): this means that the earlier child Clara had died as an infant. SAA, Archief van de burgerlijke stand: Doop-, trouw-, en begraafboeken van Amsterdam, DTB 122, Doopregister Amstelkerk, 7 September 1707, fol. 87v.

⁴⁰ Duverger, *De Antwerpse Tapijthandelaar Cornelis de Wael*, II, pp. 267–71 (1740–41, 1750), 399 (2025), 426–29 (2097, 2102), 450 (2159).

⁴¹ Van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, II, p. 382 (856). In the Police Register listing, Van de Kerckhoven was acting against the weaver Jannetje Onclaeir in connection with her outstanding account ‘reste meerdere somme overgeleverde coopmanschappen’. SAMH, Oud-Rechterlijke Archieven, 302: Kamerboek politiemeesters, 1698–1700, 11, 14 and 16 December 1699, fols 125–27.

⁴² Van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, I, pp. 172–74, 220.

⁴³ Ibid., II, pp. 384 (864, 865), 386–88 (870, 873, 876, 878–80).

⁴⁴ Orig.: ‘sonder vrijwilligh consent van den geene in wiens dienst sy zijn’; SAMH, Archief van de stad Gouda, 1311–1815: Besluiten van de magistraat, 111, Kamerboek, 1701–1705 (11 November 1705), fol. 67v; Van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, II, p. 389 (881).

⁴⁵ Duverger, *De Antwerpse Tapijthandelaar Cornelis de Wael*, I, pp. 313–27 (646, 650, 652, 658, 661, 663–65, 671–72, 676, 678–681).

⁴⁶ Ibid., II, pp. 236–37 (1680).

⁴⁷ Ibid., II, p. 259 (1724).

⁴⁸ Ibid., II, pp. 258–59 (1722), 263–64 (1732).

⁴⁹ Orig.: [It was better] ‘wat te wagten als hem de tapyten te fiëren’; Ibid., II, p. 275 (1760).

⁵⁰ Orig.: [helped him buy] ‘eenige soorteringen naeckte’. The word naeckte refers to sagathy, or coloured wools and silks. Ibid., II, pp. 470–74 (2204, 2209, 2213–15). For Leyniers and his multi-faceted business, see Broens, *A Contextual Study of Brussels Tapestry, 1670–1770*.

⁵¹ De Wael’s sons Jacques and Jean-François had worked in the Dutch Republic since 1705 and moved from Rotterdam to Amsterdam in 1709. Duverger, *De Antwerpse Tapijthandelaar Cornelis de Wael*, II, p. 395 (2016).

⁵² Ibid., II, p. 307 (1824).

⁵³ Orig.: [Baert said that] ‘het voor Ul [De Wael] profijtiger was de patroonen uijt de handt te vercoopen’; *ibid.*, II, p. 399 (2025).

⁵⁴ Ibid., II, pp. 428–29 (2102), 450 (2158), 468–69 (2203).

⁵⁵ Ibid., II, pp. 428–29 (2102). For the ‘Four continents’, see Kalf, ‘Vier deelen van de weereldt als andersints’, pp. 235–47.

⁵⁶ Duverger, *De Antwerpse Tapijthandelaar Cornelis de Wael*, II, pp. 398–99 (2021–23).

⁵⁷ A. Siret, *Dictionnaire historique et raisonné des peintres de toutes les écoles depuis l’origine de la peinture jusqu’à nos jours*, I (Brussels: z.n., 1883), p. 445; Duverger, *De Antwerpse Tapijthandelaar Cornelis de Wael*, II, p. 517 (2307).

⁵⁸ J. Denucé, *Antwerpsche tapijtkunst en handel* (Antwerp: De Sikkell, 1936), p. 178; Duverger, *De Antwerpse Tapijthandelaar Cornelis de Wael*, II, p. 450 (2158). For the ‘Story of Perseus’, see Kramm, ‘Die Perseusgobelins aus der Amsterdamer Werkstatt des Alexander Baert’, pp. 195–224; E. Verpoort, ‘Lodewijk van Schoor (ca. 1650–1702) en de Brusselse wandtapijtreeks “Geschiedenis van Perseus”: Een stilistisch en iconografisch onderzoek’ (Master’s thesis, KU Leuven, 2005).

⁵⁹ Duverger, *De Antwerpse Tapijthandelaar Cornelis de Wael*, II, p. 448 (2152). Orig.: [Baert had] ‘geen speculatie om [zich] met twee patroonen van een sujet te belasten’; Ibid., II, pp. 449–50 (2155, 2157).

⁶⁰ Ibid., II, pp. 479 (2226), 488–89 (2247), 491–93 (2253, 2255), 496 (2264).

⁶¹ Ibid., II, pp. 467–69 (2200, 2203). For the ‘Story of Amadis’, see S. Heym, *Amadis und Oriana Im Zauberreich der Barocken Oper: Tapisserien im Neuen Schloss Bayreuth* (Munich: Schmidt & Söhne, 1998); De Meuter, *Vlaamse wandtapijten*, pp. 332–36.

⁶² Duverger, *De Antwerpse Tapijthandelaar Cornelis de Wael*, II, pp. 467–69 (2200, 2203). This series is not related to the Amadis tapestries woven by François Spiering after Karel van Mander at the end of the sixteenth century. Spiering produced his series in a time when the novel enjoyed a great popularity in the Netherlands. Between 1546 and 1628 no fewer than sixty-two editions of the story were printed. However,

after this, Amadis fell out of fashion and no new editions were printed until Lully's opera premiered. For the tapestries after Van Mander, see N. Forti Grazzini, 'Gli arazzi della Storie di Amadigi di Gaule nel Museo Poldi Pezzoli', in *Le Imprese tessute di Amadigi di Gaule: Due arazzi del Museo Poldi Pezzoli*, ed. A. Zanni (Milan: Museo Poldi Pezzoli, 2005), pp. 17–50; E. Cleland, 'The Liberation of Oriane' and 'Oriane Passing the Magical Love Test in the Magician's Enchanted Garden', in Campbell, *Tapestry in the Baroque*, pp. 36–42. For the production and distribution of the novel in the Netherlands, see B. van Selm, *De Amadis van Gaule-romans: productie, verspreiding en receptie van een bestseller in de vroegmoderne tijd in de Nederlanden: met een bibliografie van de Nederlandse vertalingen* (Leiden: Stichting Neerlandistiek, 2001), pp. 13–43.

^{63.} In exchange, Baert paid De Wael 'd'asseurantie à 4 per cento en d'onkosten van de vracht'. Ibid., II, p. 392 (2008).

^{64.} For information regarding Louis Blommaert: in 1684 Blommaert moved to Ghent with Alexander Baert's brother Jan, and married Clara de Hont's sister. By 1689 he was working in Oudenaarde again. Ibid., II, pp. 431–32 (2108–09); De Meuter, *Vlaamse wandtapijten*, p. 84. On Antoon de Bie: Duverger, *De Antwerpse Tapijthandelaar Cornelis de Wael*, II, pp. 382–83 (1986), 391–92 (2007). On Ferdinand Brandt: SAO, Acten en contracten, 99, Registers van 1716–1735, 8 July 1718, fol. 49–49v; Duverger, *De Antwerpse Tapijthandelaar Cornelis de Wael*, II, pp. 400–01 (2027–29), 410–18 (2055, 2057–58, 2061–64, 2070, 2075), 426–28 (2097–98, 2101), 434–35 (2117, 2119–21). On Anthony Brandt: Duverger, *De Antwerpse Tapijthandelaar Cornelis de Wael*, II, pp. 434–35 (2116, 2118–19). On Jan-Baptist de Roije's wife: ibid., II, p. 385 (1991, 1992), 396–97 (2018), 403–06 (2036–37, 2039–40, 2042), 408–09 (2048, 2051).

^{65.} SAO, Acten en contracten, 99, Registers van 1716–1735, 8 July 1718, fol. 49–49v.

^{66.} *Opregte Haerlemsche Courant*, 17 January 1699; *Amsterdamse Courant*, 16 June 1699; M. G. A. Schipper-van Lottum, *Advertenties en berichten in de Amsterdamse Courant uitgetrokken op kleding, stoffen, sieraden en accessoires tussen de jaren 1672–1785*, vol. 4B2 (Amsterdam: Schipper-van Lottum, 1995), p. 358.

^{67.} Jacobus van Coppenolle was the son of Pieter van Coppenolle and Maria de Moor, who were related to Baert's parents. SAA, Archief van de burgerlijke stand: Doop-, trouw-, en begraafboeken van Amsterdam, DTB 46, Doopregister Nieuwe Kerk, 19 May 1698, fol. 419; Duverger, *De Antwerpse Tapijthandelaar Cornelis de Wael*, II, p. 297 (1801); De Meuter, *Vlaamse wandtapijten*, p. 85.

^{68.} SAO, Neringe van Sint-Barbara te Oudenaarde, 843/v/1285, Journal van Pieter van Verren, tapijtsier, 20 and 22 March 1689, fol. 153, 154; SAA, Archief van de burgerlijke stand: Doop-, trouw-, en begraafboeken van Amsterdam, DTB 47, Doopregister Nieuwe Kerk, 11 April 1703, fol. 93; Vanwerlden, 'Netwerken en flexibiliteit', p. 32.

^{69.} For information regarding Paulus Boomhouer: in 1699 Odemaert Baert described him as a 'coopman bij de Comedie tot Amsterdam'. SAA, Archief van de burgerlijke stand: Doop-, trouw-, en begraafboeken van Amsterdam, DTB 122, Doopregister Amstelkerk, 22 October 1704, fol. 27v; Duverger, *De Antwerpse Tapijthandelaar Cornelis de Wael*, II, pp. 115 (1424), 296 (1801). On Jan Fremont: a letter written in 1709 by Jacomo de Praet in Lisbon to Cornelis de Wael describes one 'Jan Fremont' in Amsterdam. This person was probably also related to Odemaert Baert's wife; Alexander Baert mentions '[Odemaert's] uncle Fremont' in a letter of 1707. SAA, Archief van de burgerlijke stand: Doop-, trouw-, en begraafboeken van Amsterdam, DTB 122, Doopregister Amstelkerk, 7 September 1707, fol. 87v; Duverger, *De Antwerpse Tapijthandelaar Cornelis de Wael*, II, pp. 297 (1801), 344 (1896).

^{70.} Pieter van Verren and Frans van Verren's widow sent woven fabrics to Odemaert Baert in Amsterdam through the mediating services of Cornelis de Wael. Duverger, *De Antwerpse Tapijthandelaar Cornelis de Wael*, II, pp. 111–12 (1416–17), 113 (1419), 116 (1427–28), 123 (1443), 126–27 (1451); De Meuter, *Vlaamse wandtapijten*, p. 76; Duverger, *De Antwerpse Tapijthandelaar Cornelis de Wael*, II, pp. 147–50 (1500).

^{71.} Orig.: [he would no longer pay sums of money] 'in vooraet'; ibid., II, pp. 266–67 (1738), pp. 288–301 (1789, 1791, 1796, 1801, 1803).

^{72.} A letter from De Wael's sons to their father suggests that he, too, had difficulties dealing with Odemaert Baert. They wrote that his death would hopefully relieve their father of all the problems associated with him: 'Sien sieur Baert vrijdagh over 3 weeken overleden is. Willen hopen Ue. Met hem uijt alle moyeyckheijt sal sijn'. Ibid., II, p. 301 (1806).

^{73.} 'Alexander Baert van de tapijtmakerij'. SAA, Archief van de burgerlijke stand: Doop-, trouw-, en begraafboeken van Amsterdam, DTB 1048, Begraafregisters Oude Kerk voor 1811, 7 April 1719, fols 66v–67.

^{74.} Van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, I, p. 177; R. G. De Neve, 'De nijverheid domineert', in *Duizend jaar Gouda: Een stadsgeschiedenis*, ed. P. H. A. M. Abels et al. (Hilversum: Verloren Publishers, 2002), p. 362.

^{75.} The sale of tapestries from the estate of Clara de Hont in 1752 did not include any new subjects. Van Eeghen, 'De tapijtmakerij van de familie Baert', pp. 124–25.

The Amsterdam Tapestry Producer Alexander Baert (1660–1719)

^{76.} RAB, Familiearchief Ysenbrandt, BE-A0513/INV 61, 67, Proces voor burgemeester en schepenen van Oudenaarde van de weduwe van Louis Blommaert uit Oudenaarde tegen Clara D'Hondt, weduwe van Alexander Baert uit Amsterdam, 4 April 1730.

^{77.} Van Eeghen, 'De tapijtmakerij van de familie Baert', pp. 123–24; SAA, Archief van de burgerlijke stand: Doop-, trouw-, en begraafboeken van Amsterdam, DTB 124, Doopregister Amstelkerk, 7 March 1734, fol. 52v; SAA, Archief van de burgerlijke stand: Doop-, trouw-, en begraafboeken van Amsterdam, DTB 1051, Begraafregisters Oude Kerk voor 1811, 21 April 1810, fols 179v–180.

^{78.} Kalf, 'Alexander Baert, tapijtmaker', p. 114; *Amsterdamse Courant*, 28 April 1759; 24 May 1759; *Leydse Courant*, 30 March 1759; 2 May 1759.

^{79.} *Leydse Courant*, 26 April 1762; Van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, II, pp. 422–23 (958).

^{80.} Van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, II, p. 423 (960).

RUDY JOS BEERENS is a graduate student in the History of Art Department, KU Leuven. His research aims to enrich traditional qualitative archival research with quantitative analyses and data visualisations in order to develop a new inclusive view of early modern painting and tapestry in the Low Countries.