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The Brussels guild of painters, goldbeaters, and stained-glass makers, 1599 – 1706: A multi-faceted analysis

Very few studies have focused on the painters or the market for their products in seventeenth-century Brussels. Throughout the nineteenth century, the interaction between historical and art-historical ideological/political agendas[1] as well as easy access to a vast body of archival documents and appealing works of art generated a fairly narrow interest in Antwerp's 'Holy Trinity' of baroque painters. What is known as 'path dependency' sustained this interest during the twentieth century, and research deviated from this track only for the benefit of the Trinity's numerous acolytes.[2] This is not to say, of course, that art history completely overlooked painting produced in Brussels in the seventeenth century.[3] Still, as a rule, art historians discussing baroque painting in the Southern Netherlands tend blithely to use the terms 'Flemish' and 'Antwerp' interchangeably.[4] Mirroring the assumption that the production of paintings in Brussels was of little importance, the debate on the emergence and growth of local, regional, and international art markets in seventeenth-century Europe almost completely lost sight of Brussels.[5]

The present essay seeks to offset this bias by presenting a multifaceted, qualitative, quantitative, and interactive analysis of a specific archival source that is – or should be – at the heart of every discussion of baroque painting in Brussels – or indeed in Flanders as a whole. This source is the *Boeck van het Schilders, Goudt-slaegers ende Gelaesemaeckers Ambachte* (the register of the guild of painters, goldbeaters, and stained-glass makers).[6] The 300 pages of this register, which is preserved in the National Archives (Algemeen Rijksarchief) in Brussels, lists the apprentices, masters, and deans who were registered as members of the Brussels guild between 1599 and 1706.[7] Painters, goldbeaters, and stained-glass makers had complementary specialisations.[8] Stained-glass makers, for example, used designs and cartoons made by painters. Painters in their turn used gold leaf made by goldbeaters. It will become clear that besides facilitating contacts and cooperation, the fact that all these craftsmen belonged to a single organisation fostered the development of entrepreneurial strategies designed to serve common interests and objectives. As early as in 1387, these three occupational groups adopted a joint ordinance to regulate the organisational structure of the production and marketing of their goods.[9]

Given the pivotal importance of the *Boeck van het Schilders, Goudt-slaegers ende Gelaesemaeckers Ambachte* – the source is a veritable 'who's who' of Brussels baroque painting – Alexandre Pinchart (1823 – 1884), chief curator of the Belgian Royal Archives, published the register (and its eighteenth-century sequel) as early as the 1870s.[10] More precisely, he selected only the painters from the registers. Unsurprisingly, art historians have appreciatively drawn on Pinchart's work. However, this publication presents some problems: first, there are the usual omissions as well as typing mistakes and other minor errors, some of which are attributable to the Frenchification of names. Moreover, Pinchart paid no attention to complexities that were inherent to the source, and said nothing whatsoever about a key methodological issue. Although the guild's membership embraced three occupational groups, the officials whose task it was to keep the register up-to-date frequently failed to specify the occupations of new apprentices and masters. Relying on his own knowledge, assumptions, or intuition, Pinchart identified a large number of these 'occu-

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pation unspecified' members as painters without indicating, let alone justifying, these decisions. In 1973, Kervyn de Meerendré published a concise quantitative analysis of the Brussels register and its Antwerp counterpart.[11] However, this computational approach – as such remarkably ahead of its time in historiographical terms – was never absorbed into the literature, possibly because of the poor legibility of the detailed though small and hand-drawn (!) graphs, the lack of faith in numerical methods at the time, and/or the limited readership of the journal in which the essay appeared. Whatever the case may be, like Pinchart, Kervyn de Meerendré failed to address the methodological challenges presented by the register, which influence – if not determine – interpretations of the aggregate data.

This essay revisits and combines the labours of Pinchart and Kervyn de Meerendré. It also enriches them in two ways. First, by applying a new data management and data analysis strategy we meticulously processed the data in the register, feeding it into the *Cornelia* database.[12] This made it possible not only to operationalise the data at different levels but also to make the data accessible online. Second, we reinforced the weight of the empirical evidence by linking it to information extracted from a second seventeenth-century source, namely an update of the 1387 ordinance adopted in 1647.[13]

The essay is divided into six parts. It starts with a sketch of the legal and organisational framework as established by the guild in its 1647 ordinance, followed by a brief discussion of the main methodological challenges and pitfalls presented by the register. Part three gives a bird's-eye view of the *Boeck*. This analysis not only emphasises the source's complexity, but also provides what is sometimes a surprising glimpse of the actual behaviour of guild members and their relationship to the institutional framework.[14] In part four, we discuss the method we used to transform the register into a workable dataset that allowed us to arrive at a quantitative reading. Parts five and six present the aggregate data. Here we start by focusing on the careers and profiles of guild members. We calculate and discuss subjects such as the proportion of apprentices who went on to acquire the status of masters and at what point in their careers masters tended to engage one or more apprentices, and in some cases to become deans of the guild. In part six we calculate and interpret fluctuations in the numbers of enrolments of new apprentices and masters during the seventeenth century, focusing more in particular on the way in which Brussels evolved as a production centre of paintings in the course of the seventeenth century.

The present essay is accompanied by an online component. This is inherent to our 'slow digital art history' approach, which sets out to enable researchers to interact with archival data. The register is accessible through a data retrieval tool on www.projectcornelia.be.[15] The interface provides a quick and simple way for users to find painters, goldbeaters, and stained-glass makers who were registered as apprentices, masters, teachers, and/or deans in the Brussels guild between 1599 and 1706. The interface also enables users to see all registrations in any particular year.

I. The legal and organisational framework

On 11 October 1647, Brussels city council adopted a revised version of an ancient ordinance that regulated the production and marketing of gold foil, paintings, and stained glass.[16] The new ordinance ran to 36 articles. Three of these articles regulated the market for glass (fols. 23 – 25). Four were designed to ensure that consumers and patrons could have confidence in the material quality of products, and that delivery dates were guaranteed (fols. 19, 20, 22, and 28). Four articles laid down rules for the social conduct of members in the public space (fols. 33 – 36). No fewer than fourteen articles related to the prac-

tices of free-riders and interlopers (fols. 1, 4 – 6, 9, 14, 16 – 18, 21, 27, and 29 – 31). Of these, three (27, 30, and 31) sought to deny artists and art dealers from outside Brussels access to the market, although they were permitted to sell paintings at the Friday market and the two annual art fairs.[17]

Seven articles laid down the conditions of membership as well as entrance and registration fees (fols. 2, 3, 10 – 13, 22, and 32). The apprenticeship fee was set at six guilders. In addition, new apprentices were required to pay a sum equal to the value of two *gelten* (stoups) of Rhenish wine to one of the deans and a pot of Walloon wine to the guild's servant. However, new apprentices were allowed to join for a three-month trial period without paying the apprenticeship fee. Following this trial period, they were required to pay half of the regular fee. After their first year's apprenticeship, the second half of the fee would be payable. Given the importance of these instalments, masters were required to register new apprentices within three days. If an apprentice defaulted on one or more of his financial obligations, his master would have to pay, on penalty of a fine. Boys of very limited means and orphans could apply for an exemption until they could afford to pay. The sons of masters – that is, those who were born *after* their father had acquired the master's title – were exempt from apprenticeship fees.

While anyone could become an apprentice, only burghers or *poorters* of Brussels could become masters. This was a typical, ancient condition that applied to virtually all Brussels guilds.[18] Those who were born in Brussels and whose father or mother was a *poorter* automatically acquired this status themselves.[19] People from outside Brussels and townspeople without *poorter* parentage could purchase the status. Around 1600, when a skilled journeyman's daily wage ranged between ½ and 1 guilder, the fee was only 5 guilders. However, the fee rose rapidly in the first half of the seventeenth century, from 24 guilders in 1611 to 100 in 1627 and 200 guilders in 1639.[20] The fee went down to 150 guilders in 1655, but two years later it rose again to 170 guilders.

Those who wanted to become masters were required to serve a minimum of four years' apprenticeship and to swear an oath.[21] The registration fee was 14 guilders, 1 *gelte* of Rhenish wine for each dean, and a pot of Rhenish wine for the servant. The sons of masters paid a reduced fee of 11½ guilders besides the wine for the deans and the servant. The registration fee for aspiring masters who had undergone their training elsewhere (but who were nonetheless *poorters* of Brussels) was 20 guilders in addition to the obligatory quantities of wine.[22]

There is no reference in the ordinance to the need to submit a masterpiece. In other words, completing the obligatory apprenticeship and payment of the set registration fees were the only requirements for the master's title. Masters who had not trained in Brussels and who were unable to produce documents to prove that they had undergone four years' apprenticeship could submit work, however, to demonstrate that they were worthy of admission to the guild.

Journeymen who had been trained elsewhere were permitted to work in the city for two weeks without incurring any financial obligation. This gave them the opportunity to top up their depleted travel expenses budget before continuing their journey. Journeymen were free to extend their stay in Brussels as long as they wished, provided they contributed 3 stuyvers (approx. 1/7 of a guilder) to the guild's poor relief fund every six months.

The remaining four articles of the ordinance prescribed the dynamics of masters' workshops (fols. 7, 8, 15, and 26). Each master was permitted to take on only one pupil during the first three years of the four-year period of training. This meant that a new apprentice could not start until someone more senior was approaching the end of his training. The entire apprenticeship had to be served with the same master. If an apprentice violated this provision, both he and his new mas-

ter were liable to payment of a fine. A master was free to decide how many apprentices he wished to take on in the course of his career – and was thus also free to refuse pupils. A master was not allowed to put pupils and journeymen to work anywhere other than in his own workshop.

Unsurprisingly, the policies of the Brussels guild as articulated in this ordinance were identical, or virtually identical, to those of most early modern guilds.[23] The provisions were designed to promote three interrelated and equally important goals. First, they sought to organise the production and marketing of goods in such a way that purchasers would have full confidence in their quality and in the agreements concluded. The restriction on the number of pupils, for instance, was intended as a safeguard to benefit the quality of training. Any doubts regarding quality, justifiable or not, could render a market non-functional.[24] Second, the provisions were intended to protect guild members from fraudulent conduct on the part of opportunistic fellow-craftsmen and interlopers. For instance, the provision that masters must register their new apprentices within a short space of time was intended to prevent the latter from being used as cheap labour, kept away from scrutiny and without any rights. The sharing (between apprentice and his new master) of the fine on changing to another master was intended to prevent a master from benefiting from the time that another had invested in the apprenticeship.

Finally, although some of these customary rules appear to have restricted free competition and/or economic efficiency, they left ambitious craftsmen and artists considerable scope for entrepreneurship. The entrance and registration fees paid by apprentices, journeymen, and masters were certainly not prohibitive. Aspiring painters, for example, could save up the obligatory sums quite quickly with a few small commissions. In 1647 Michiel Coignet (ca. 1618 – 1683) received 2.4 guilders for adding a handful of figures to a painting.[25] His contemporary Justo Daniels (1618 – after 1666) was probably paid 1 guilder for each figure that he painted in diverse landscapes.[26] Those who had attained the status of master could develop a dynamic workshop. The provision allowing a master to take on a second apprentice while the first was still completing his training, for instance, increased the overall potential intake of apprentices. Likewise, the freedom that masters enjoyed to hire as many journeymen as they wanted, combined with the extremely modest fee that the latter had to pay, gave enterprising masters ample scope to expand their workshops.

Of course, the legal and institutional framework adopted in 1647 does not capture the entire, multifaceted reality of the guild's practice. Additional archival sources shed light on aspects that are not discussed in the ordinance. For instance, it is noteworthy that the ordinance says nothing at all about the number or qualities of deans or the characteristics of those chosen to serve as such. This is remarkable, since these officials were in positions of considerable responsibility with wide-ranging duties. Besides keeping the books, they also had to exercise oversight and to make adjustments if necessary, not only responding to the actions of guild members but also keeping the guild's overall strategy on course, in relation to market trends in Brussels and in the international arena.[27] Moreover, in the seventeenth century, guilds occupied an influential position through their representatives (that is, the deans) in urban and regional politics.[28] Additional archival sources are also needed to assess the effectiveness of the ordinance and the actual behaviour of guild members as time went on, amid the shifts in the marketing and production landscape. The *Boeck van het Schilders, Goudt-slaegers ende Gelaesemaeckers Ambachte* is one such complementary source, which helps to provide a deeper understanding of the guild's organisational structure, the actual behaviour of guild members, and their collective strategic choices as the seventeenth century wore on.

II. Methodological complexities and pitfalls

The officials who kept the register up-to-date opened every working year with a brief formulaic passage giving the names of three deans and a note stating that the names of the new masters and apprentices would follow.[29] As a rule, the officials listed the newcomers in chronological order. In some years, however (such as 1637 – 1638, 1644 – 1645, and 1645 – 1646), apprentices and masters were divided into two separate groups, and new members listed chronologically within the appropriate group. The register runs to 1464 entries – that is, entries linking a specific individual to a particular status: 812 apprentices, 548 masters (including 103 sons of masters), and 104 deans.[30] It must be stressed that the number of entries is not identical to the number of guild members. After all, someone might turn up in multiple entries: first as an apprentice, then as a master and/or teacher and/or dean. However, since entries were recorded by different officials over the years, and names were often spelt inconsistently, it can be difficult to identify people in different sections of the source. Matters are further complicated by the not infrequent presence of family members with the same first and last names serving as active guild members in the same period.

Moreover, the officials did not always update the register systematically or in detail throughout the century. In some cases, for instance, entries for apprentices provide a great deal of information. The most informative entries, besides giving the apprentice's name, chosen occupation, and teacher, include the apprentice's place of birth, his father's name,[31] and his registration date (e.g. "glass-maker / admitted as an apprentice Jan Baptist Noldens, son of Nicolaes Noldens, apprenticed to Carel de Swerte, legitimate child, born in Brussels, on 15 September 1667",[32] fol. 237). But twelve entries omit the name of the apprentice's teacher. From 1664 onwards, the place of birth is no longer given. In the 1690s, the entries tend to be pared down to a minimum. For example, in 1696 – 1697 an official merely recorded "admitted as an apprentice Fransicus Vinke" and "admitted as an apprentice Jaspar van Turhout" (fol. 283). Likewise, the detail in entries for new masters varies enormously throughout the register. The most comprehensive entries give the father's name, the new master's place of birth, the date of registration, and the name of the person's former teacher. The entry of Brussels powerhouse Antoon Sallaert (1594 – 1660), for example, is extremely informative: "Received as a master Antoen Sallaerts, the son of Philips, legitimate child, born in Brussels, on 20 August 1613, served his apprenticeship with the painter Machil Bordux" (fol. 54).[33] However, sometimes one or more of these elements are missing. The barest entries for new masters, which are concentrated in the final pages of the register, give nothing beyond the person's family name ("admitted as a master Van Uffel", fol. 215).

Of the 1,360 entries for apprentices (812) and masters (548), only 664 link names to occupations. The dominant occupation is that of painter, with 424 entries (227 apprentices, 197 masters).[34] Stained-glass makers and goldbeaters follow with 173 entries (101 apprentices, 72 masters)[35] and 67 entries (42 apprentices, 25 masters) respectively. Put differently, no fewer than 696 (51%) of these 1,360 entries – most of which were recorded in the first half of the seventeenth century, as shown in fig. 1 – fail to specify the occupations of those concerned.[36]

Thus, the register certainly poses a number of fundamental methodological challenges and pitfalls. Notwithstanding these issues, however, the *Boeck* provides a rapid, simple glimpse of the guild's organisational structure, the behaviour of its members, and some of their real-life choices and strategies that followed, bent or contradicted the rules as formulated in the 1647 ordinance. While the following paragraphs at times quote precise figures (of apprentices and

masters who were not born in Brussels but enrolled in the guild, for instance) and comment on phenomena that were noteworthy for their time, we do not average out the data or pinpoint the precise periods in which these phenomena occurred. This is because we are too dependent on the guild officials' diligence and meticulousness – or the lack of it – to make a truly quantitative approach feasible.

III. A bird's-eye view of the register

The register illuminates the composition of the guild's governing board. It consisted of three deans who were appointed annually on the Feast of St. John the Baptist – that is, 24 June. In other words, their terms of office did not coincide with the calendar year.

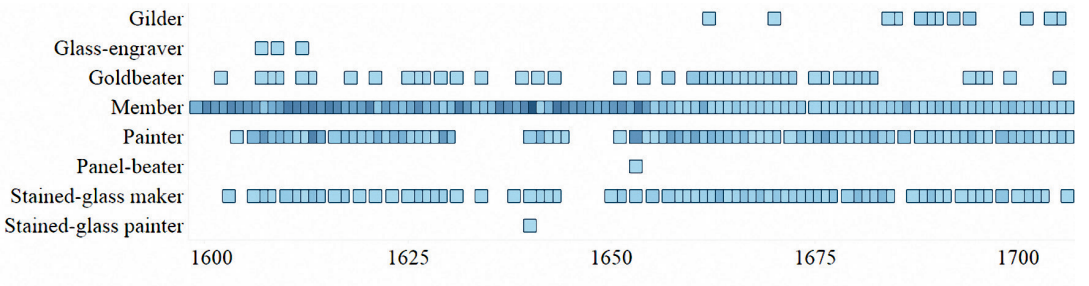
The register sometimes contains information about the fate of apprentices, particularly in the first half of the century. For instance, we find marginal notes recording eleven occasions on which masters dismissed pupils for non-payment of the apprenticeship fee (e.g. fols. 173, 208, and 299). Ten other apprentices were compelled to give up their places because they failed to meet the guild's expectations and demands (e.g. fols. 26, 42, 52, 162, 232, and 273). Six others left of their own accord, in some cases to learn a different occupation (e.g. fols. 72, 77, and 161). One entry records a case in which an apprentice was struck from the membership and later had his fee refunded because his master had committed fraud (fol. 6). Another apprentice had to give up his training because his master had moved to England (fol. 163). One, Jan Bael, died during his apprenticeship (fol. 208).

The *Boeck* lists nine apprentices between 1644 and 1689 who paid only half of the entrance fee because they only wanted to learn to draw (e.g. fols. 200, 226, and 274) – a status that is not defined in the 1647 ordinance. This partial training was not intended to lead to a master's title in this craft, but could be used to pave the way to "some other craft", such as that of goldsmith (fols. 176 and 183) or "panel beater" ("plaatslager", fol. 204).

The entries between 1603 and 1705 list twenty-five apprentices who were recruited from poor relief services ("bij de caritaet").[37] These entries reveal that apprentices could be granted deferment of half (fol. 176) or all (fol. 198) of the membership fee until the apprentice was able to pay, as prescribed by the 1647 ordinance. In some cases the officials did not state that the deferred sums were to be paid at a later date (e.g. fols. 163, 218, and 299). It remains unclear whether the guild was making compassionate exemptions to the rule in these cases or whether the officers simply saw no need to spell out the conditions explicitly.

Between 1599 and 1664 the guild officials noted seventy-four cases of apprentices who were not born in Brussels. Of these, half came from villages in the surrounding area, such as Ninove. Fourteen were born in present-day Wallonia or France. Thirteen came from the duchy of Brabant: seven were born in Antwerp, six in Mechelen. Nine apprentices were born in the Northern Netherlands. The one remaining apprentice had travelled very far from his place of birth, which was Lisbon. Since these seventy-four apprentices were born elsewhere, they could not have automatically acquired *poorter* status. One of them, Guillam van den Inde from Amsterdam, had purchased this status (1609 – 1610) before registering (1613, fol. 58).[38] In the period 1606 – 1646, the register lists another sixteen non-*poorter* apprentices. These new members had been born in Brussels, but neither of their parents were *poorters*, which was the second condition for automatic acquisition of the status. These figures suggest that only 90 (11%) of the guild's apprentices were not *poorters*, which in turn implies that the guild largely recruited its members locally. However, since the entries are not always detailed, the proportion of non-*poorters* may have been larger in reality.

The masters' entries reveal six phenomena that are either not mentioned in the 1647 ordi-



1 Annual entries by occupational group, 1599 – 1706. The listed occupations are arranged in alphabetical order along the y axis. The x axis shows the number of registrations each year. The darker the square, the more registrations were received for that occupation. Non-specified registrations are grouped together as 'members'.

nance or are actually at odds with one or more of its provisions. First, the guild admitted persons with occupations other than that of painter, goldbeater, or stained-glass maker. In 1607, Jacob de Vriese of Friesland enrolled as a glass engraver (fol. 18).[39] In 1640, his fellow-craftsman Willem Lesterbos left Antwerp and also enrolled in the Brussels guild (fol. 165).

Second, in exceptional cases, the guild allowed new members to register more than one apprentice in the same year. On 28 July 1675, for example, David III Teniers (1638 – 1685) enrolled as a master (fol. 251) and on the very same day he also registered three apprentices (fol. 252) – without paying their entrance fees, as a marginal note makes clear. Various details reveal that Teniers, the son of the court painter David II Teniers (1610 – 1690), had worked in his father's workshop,[40] and had now decided to develop his activities within the framework of the guild. The high status of the Teniers workshop may explain why the deans were willing to waive the rules on this occasion.

Third, the register reveals that in 1671 – 1672 the board decided to introduce the obligation to submit a masterpiece. For on 12 May 1672, the stained-glass maker Jan van den Bossche was "the last master [to acquire this title] without submitting a masterpiece" (fol. 246). Yet neither of the two master painters who joined the guild in 1672 – 1673 was required to submit a masterpiece. The first three entries for new masters in the year 1673 – 1674, all three painters, likewise make no mention of a masterpiece. However, the fourth entry, the first relating to a stained-glass maker since 12 May 1672, records that Hubrecht van Wayenbergh had completed the first masterpiece ("eerste proeff", fol. 249). Furthermore, this entry is decorated with a small drawing of a crown and the guild's coat of arms. In the months that followed, two more stained-glass makers were granted the master's title after having submitted a *proeff* (fol. 249). In 1674 – 1675 we find new master painters enrolling without any reference to the submission of a masterpiece. In that year, no new master stained-glass makers enrolled. Two enrolled in 1675 – 1676; and in both cases these entries record the completion of a masterpiece (fol. 254). That year also witnessed the first new enrolment of a master goldbeater since the introduction of the masterpiece requirement in 1672 – 1673. Judocus van Dormael had the honour of making "the first *proeff*" (fol. 254). His entry was also decorated with a drawing of a crown. In the period 1677 – 1681, the guild welcomed a handful of new master stained-glass makers and goldbeaters, but curiously enough, none of the entries for this period refers to the submission of a masterpiece. In 1682 – 1683, one new master stained-glass maker certainly produced a masterpiece for admission (fol. 267). Later years are silent on the issue of masterpieces – with the exception of 1698, when one entry records that a

new master stained-glass maker had completed a masterpiece (fol. 285).[41] Can we infer from these details that in 1672 the stained-glass makers and goldbeaters, but not the painters, decided to start requiring new members to submit a masterpiece, but that this never became a necessary condition for acquiring the master's title? Only additional archival research could perhaps resolve the matter.

The fourth phenomenon not mentioned in the 1647 ordinance, is that from 1618 to 1690 the register records that sixty-nine new masters donated a plate and a napkin ("tailloir en serviet") at their enrolment.[42] An entry for 1620 shows that these attributes cost 20 guilders. These gifts are mentioned neither in the 1647 ordinance nor in the entries for *all* masters, and were therefore presumably not obligatory. Plates and napkins, of course, were used during the guild's communal meals. As will be well known, these communal meals, which often ranged from the copious to the excessive, were important events for most if not all Flemish guilds.[43] These meals served not only to facilitate and consolidate social and professional ties among guild members and/or guests, but they also symbolised the organisation's socio-economic and political influence. Since the use of plates did not become universal in the Southern Netherlands until the eighteenth century, when the country's eating culture entered a phase of individualisation,[44] the plates and napkins donated and used by the Brussels painters, stained-glass makers, and goldbeaters testify to their pride, sophistication, and self-assurance.[45] While the 1647 ordinance does not refer to communal meals, the register does contain a single reference to a meal in 1651 (fol. 197). The introductory passage records that two new masters had joined the board (that is, the deans) "at the table" on 17 December 1651. The guild official stated in a marginal note beside these newcomers' entries that they had paid for the meal (*maeltijt*) and drew a small crown. This suggests that the drawing of a crown can be regarded as symbolising the beginning of a new practice. Later entries that refer to a meal, of which there are relatively few (e.g. fols 233, 241, 247, and 250), suggest that they can be regarded as initiation rituals and/or as alternatives to payment of a registration fee.[46]

The fifth noteworthy phenomenon revealed by the register is that the guild did not insist rigidly on the relatively expensive *poorter* status as a condition for admitting someone as a master. In sixty-three entries, recorded between 1600 and 1679, the guild officials noted down the places of birth of new masters who were not born in Brussels – and who were therefore not automatically *poorters*. Of these, twenty-four were born in Antwerp, eleven in Mechelen, and five in villages near Brussels. In other words, the majority originated from the duchy of Brabant. Eight masters were born in the Northern Netherlands and four came from present-day Wallonia or Northern France. While in forty-seven of these entries the officials noted that the masters concerned had purchased their *poorter* status before registering, as the ordinance prescribed, the remaining sixteen entries, recorded between 1600 and 1679, do not state whether these new masters had become *poorters* at the moment of registration. Antoon van Bevere from Ninove, who became a master in 1632, had certainly not done so; he became a *poorter* much later, in 1638.[47]

The register shows that from the mid-seventeenth century onwards, the guild was ever more willing to offer opportunities to artists who were not *poorters*. In 1653, a person named "vanden bemden" (whose first name is not given) was registered as a master painter. The guild official stated, however, that Van den Bemden had agreed to become a *poorter* ("geaccordeert om poorter te worden", fol. 205). In other words, he did not yet possess that status. This painter can be identified as Jasper van den Bemden of Antwerp. He kept to the agreement and became a *poorter* in 1653.[48] In 1657, the year in which the fee for acquiring *poorter* status rose from 150 to 170 guilders,[49] Jan Verschuren, Jasper van Eycke, and François de

Fosse were registered as new masters (Verschuren was a painter, the other occupations are not given) although they were not *poorters* (fols. 212 and 215). Van Eycke's entrance fee was 30 guilders. The fee paid by Verschuren and De Fosse is not recorded. In contrast to Jasper van den Bemden before them, none of these three masters ever purchased the *poorter* status. Nor did the painter Simon Duchatel, who was not a *poorter* in 1657 but was nonetheless permitted to register as a master. He was registered out of *gratitude* (fol. 215) for a fee of 42 guilders. Duchatel immediately started training an apprentice in 1657 (fol. 214), which shows that the *gratitude* status gave Duchatel the right to develop a workshop.

In 1660, François Vogelsanck, who did not train in Brussels, purchased the same status, although it was called slightly differently: Vogelsanck had treated the guild's board to a meal, and had paid 36 guilders for a *cortosie* (fol. 223). In 1661 and 1662, respectively, the painters Louis Cousin (also known as Luigi Primo, ca. 1606 – ca. 1667/1668) and Cornelis van Empel (or Impel) paid their registration fee for a *cortosie* (fols. 226 and 227) – but did not pay the customary quantities of wine for the deans and the guild servant. Cousin and Van Empel had trained in Brussels (fols. 78 and 173) but were born elsewhere.[50]

We can conclude from the information contained in the entries for Duchatel, Vogelsanck, Cousin, and Van Empel that a *gratitude* or *cortosie* registration offered painters who were not (and would never become) *poorters* an opportunity to acquire a separate, quasi-full status that allowed them to run a workshop in Brussels through the device of a customised financial arrangement.[51] That a *cortosie* registration was virtually identical to that of a regular master is also clear from the 1664 entry for the painter Balthazar Leshayer (fol. 231).[52] The guild official registered Leshayer as a *meester* but then deleted the word and replaced it with "voor een cortosie" (for a *cortosie*), which in this case referred solely to the registration fee. Possibly the guild official realised that he ought to make a distinction between a regular master and a *cortosie* master, so as to avoid giving rise to a discrepancy in the annual accounts. For as we have seen in the above examples, the contribution paid by *cortosie* masters was not a fixed sum. Indeed, just how substantial the differences could be is clear from the entries for someone identified only as "bonnecroy" and the painter Willem de Gyn. The former paid – in 1665 – 60 guilders, the requisite wine for the deans, and a meal (fol. 233),[53] while the latter paid only 42 guilders in 1667 (fol. 236).[54]

The term *cortosie* ceased to be used from 1667 onwards. But the regime of granting certain people favourable treatment continued, as did the extemporised rules for payments. In 1673, a guild official registered Martinus Delacourt as a master, then deleted the word for master and replaced it with *reconue* (fol. 247). Delacourt, who was not a *poorter* and had not trained in Brussels, had presented the guild with a painting as an alternative payment for both the entrance and registration fees. In addition, the deans had agreed to defer payment for the meal. The *reconue* painter Matthijs Helmont, who arrived in 1674, was allowed to join on the same terms (fol. 250). One year later, Hendrick Carel van Daele, who had enrolled as an apprentice in 1662 (fol. 227), registered "with payment in order to paint as a free master" ("tot voldoeninghe van vrij te moghen schilderen", fol. 251). The entry does not specify his financial contribution. Later registrations likewise use the term *reconue* for a financial contribution ("voor een reconue om te moghen schilderen", fol. 261), similarly without specifying the amount concerned.[55] Guild officials registered a total of forty-seven *gratitude*, *cortosie*, and *reconue* masters. Since they did not have *poorter* status at the time of registration, they were granted a deferral of the swearing of the guild oath (e.g. fols. 214 and 215). Masters who had not yet reached the age of majority were also allowed to postpone the swearing of the oath (fols. 229 and 245).

Finally, the sixth striking phenonomenon is that the register also lists six female members.[56] Four were widows of masters who took on the role of teacher after their husband's death.[57] The other two were the *reconue* painters Elisabeth Seldron and Catharina van Stichel, both of whom registered in 1702 (fol. 297).[58]

This bird's-eye view of the register supplements the standard framework outlined in the 1647 ordinance. It also enables us to fill in gaps in our knowledge arising from the loss of some of the archival sources. For what may appear to us in the register as sudden, puzzling decisions, especially those that depart from, and sometimes clash with, ancient provisions, were undoubtedly reasoned choices and strategies distilled from debates at the guild hall – debates of which we sadly have no minutes or reports. This descriptive reading refrains from statistical analysis because of the very nature of the entries. Unfortunately, the register was not kept by guild officials who used standard formulas and phrases. This is not to say that the source cannot be approached quantitatively at all, but such an approach is only viable provided a finely-tuned data management and data curation strategy is deployed to enrich the source and transform it into a workable dataset.

IV. From source to dataset

To arrive at a valid quantitative analysis of careers and of developments in the numbers of apprentices and masters in each occupational group, we need to identify unique actors and link each one to a specific occupation. Given the inconsistencies in the spelling of names and the fact that many guild members had the same or very similar names, identifying unique actors and following them through their careers is no easy task. To avoid conflating different actors, we decided to err on the side of caution during the data entry phase. For example, we processed "Jacus Vyderve", "Jacus Fiedembe", "Jaques Fiderbe", and "Jacques Fidarbo" as four different actors in the *Cornelia* database. We naturally linked each separate actor to events such as the enrolment as an apprentice and as a master, and the dates on which these events took place. This modus operandi lead to a total of 1,468 actors.

During the data cleaning phase, which was almost as time-consuming as the data entry phase, we reduced the number of actors to 1,291. We did so by searching the database using queries that generated lists of actors who, following our slow and cautious entries, had enrolled as masters but not apprentices, as well as those listed as teachers but not masters. Put differently, we compiled from the dataset lists of actors whose careers displayed puzzling gaps. By cross-referencing these lists we managed on the one hand to disambiguate people with the same name, and on the other to identify identical or similar names as references to a single individual. When we did the latter, as in the case of "Jacus Vyderve", "Jacus Fiedembe", "Jaques Fiderbe", and "Jacques Fidarbo", we made sure to retain the different spellings. When the data mined from the register did not suffice to link certain events to one of two different actors with identical or very similar names, we created a 'basket' actor, that is, a third actor with that name followed by the note 'b[asket]'. In this way, we avoided linking events to the wrong actor. In short, we took as few decisions as possible and ensured that the decisions we did make were transparentand reversible. For this is the only way of developing the dataset into an enduring tool and of enabling researchers to check and improve the dataset on the basis of their own additional data and findings.

Starting by identifying the actors in this way made it possible to address the major issue of the 696 (51%) entries for apprentices and masters whose occupations were unspecified, as discussed above. The *Cornelia* data model made it a simple matter for us to add the occupation to a particular apprentice whose occupation remained initially unspecified, but was specified later, upon registration as a master. Similarly,

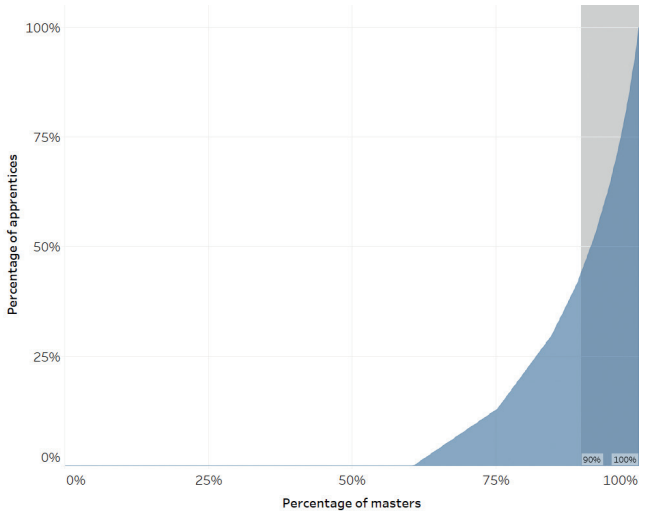
with a master whose occupation was only specified when he registered as a teacher. Furthermore, *Cornelia* makes it possible to analyse the relationships between actors. For example, if a master with unspecified occupation had been trained by a painter, or if he himself trained an apprentice who is described elsewhere as a painter, it is almost certain that he too was a painter. The final result of this operation is remarkable, in that we managed to reduce the number of entries with unspecified occupations from 696 (51%) to 218 (16%). Many of these expanded entries shifted to the profession of painter, increasing the number of painters from 424 to 809. The total number of entries of master painters rose from 197 to 309, which equals 56% of the total number of new masters that registered in the course of the century. The number of entries for apprentice painters almost doubled from 227 to 500, while that for stained-glass makers rose from 173 to 255 (150 apprentices and 105 masters). Finally, the number of entries for goldbeaters rose from 67 to 78 (50 apprentices and 28 masters). Naturally, additional archival research on the remaining members with unspecified occupations may help to identify their occupations as well.[59] However, the curated dataset already facilitates developing significant quantitative analyses of the careers of guild members and of trends in the composition of the guild's population as a whole.

V. Development of careers

Anyone who embarked on a career in the Brussels guild was setting off on a challenging and highly uncertain course. This is easy enough to say with the wisdom of hindsight, but even in their own time, aspiring artists and craftsmen must have realised that many of them would never be able to set up a workshop of their own. Since masters were not obliged to register their sons when the boys started their training, it is impossible to say how many of them became masters. Of all registered apprentices whose fathers were not masters, only 26% became masters. Of all the apprentices of whom the register explicitly notes that they were not born in Brussels (74), only fourteen (18%) attained the title of master. The boys from the poor relief services were even less likely to succeed. Only two out of the twenty-five (8%) recorded by the guild officials became masters. There was little difference among the three occupations. Apprentice goldbeaters were slightly less likely (24%) to become masters than painters (26.2%) or stained-glass makers (27.3%).

That securing a master's title was no mean achievement is also clear from the average time that elapsed between registration as an apprentice and as a master: namely, 10.3 years. Here too, we find little difference between the three occupations. Stained-glass makers and painters took an average of 9.9 and 10.1 years, respectively, to progress, while goldbeaters took somewhat longer, at an average of 12.5 years. These figures suggest that apprentices trained substantially longer than the prescribed four years. A longer apprenticeship had advantages for apprentices and teachers alike. It allowed the former to perfect their skill set, giving them a robust preparation for a fully-fledged career.[60] For their teachers, it meant a better return on their investment, since seasoned apprentices could work ever more autonomously, thus contributing more to the workshop's output.[61]

However, other figures show that some were able to acquire a master's title and to open their own workshop after an apprenticeship of only four to five years. Most of those who progressed so quickly were painters: twenty-one (of those master painters who were not the sons of masters) as opposed to eight stained-glass makers. Not a single goldbeater earned a master's title within this short period of time. Since apprentice painters could in principle be fully trained within four or five years, it is likely that not all young painters stretched their training to 10.3 years, but that they worked for approximately



2 Distribution of apprentices among registered masters in percentages. The reference band shows the 10% most active masters, who together trained 55% of apprentices in the course of their careers.

half of that time as paid assistants in the workshop of their former teacher or that of another master. There was nothing in the 1647 ordinance to forbid this. This also means that the approximately 75% of apprentices who never became masters (see above) did not necessarily give up their careers during or after their apprenticeship. In some cases they remained active as employees, thus vanishing from the register but not from the population of active painters.

Those who did become masters waited an average of 5.43 years before taking on their first apprentice. The sons of masters did not accept their first apprentice, on average, until 6.63 years after registering as masters. Masters who were not the sons of masters trained an average of 2.87 apprentices in the course of their career. Painters trained the most apprentices: 3.32 on average, as opposed to 3.18 for goldbeaters and 2 for stained-glass makers. The sons of masters trained an average of 3 apprentices – in other words, neither more nor less than others. Within this group too, painters trained slightly more apprentices (at an average of 3.95 per master) than goldbeaters and stained-glass makers, who averaged 2.5 both apprentices.

These figures do not mean, of course, that *all* masters took on apprentices. In fact, fig. 2 shows that the majority of masters (333, or 61%), never took on apprentices at all. It also shows that a small minority (10%) of the masters trained over half of all apprentices. Of the 215 masters who had apprentices, forty-one trained six or more boys.[62] Of these forty-one masters, thirty-two were painters.[63] In the first half of the century, major figures such as Gaspar de Crayer (1584–1669) and Antoon Sallaert topped this list. However, the list also includes painters who scarcely appeared on the radar of art historians, if at all, such as Antoon van Opstal, Lenaert Wouwerman, Jan van Velthoven, and Gerard van Hooghstael, who was so eulogised by Cornelis De Bie.[64] Each of these six painters trained at least ten apprentices in the course of their careers. The list of masters who took on a relatively large number of apprentices continued to be dominated by painters after 1650. Top of the list were Lucas Achtschellinck and Jan Baptist van Heil with nine and eight apprentices, respectively. But the goldbeater Francois Ysenbout and the stained-glass maker Carel de Swert also opted for careers with numerous apprentices, training eight and seven pupils respectively.

The data reveal that masters who trained two or more apprentices generally respected the prescribed period of three years between one and the next. The average master averaged 4.65 years between pupils, while masters' sons averaged 4.91 years.

The dataset also shows how many guild members took on positions as deans, that is, as officials serving in the guild's governing board. In total, 126 different men served as dean of the guild. Thirteen of these do not recur in the book as masters. Nine were serving around the beginning of the century and had therefore presumably joined the guild in the sixteenth century,

four others probably never registered as masters at all – which is noteworthy but not entirely exceptional.[65] This means that about one out of five masters served as dean at least once during their career. This list does not include any *cortosie* or *reconue* painters. Perhaps they shied away from the duties and responsibility involved. Alternatively – and this is a likelier explanation – their 'light' status meant that they were not eligible to serve. While regular masters and those who were masters' sons scarcely differed in the way they performed their role as teachers, masters' sons did take a more active role in governing the guild. Over a quarter of them (27.1%) became dean at least once, as opposed to 17.8% of regular masters. As a rule, they were treading in their father's footsteps in adopting this role of leadership.[66] We also find that twenty-four of the forty-one masters who took on a relatively large number of apprentices were also active in the governing board.[67] Of the five masters who had the largest number of apprentices during their careers, only Lenaert Wouwerman does not appear to have served as dean more than once (1602, fol. 7) – although it is possible that he had already served as dean on one or more occasions before 1599 (when the records start). The goldbeater François Ysenbout, one of the teachers who was in the greatest demand in the second half of the century, served more frequently than anyone else. Between 1665 and 1695, he had served no fewer than ten terms as dean – and indeed died while in office in 1695.

It was not only masters' sons and/or prominent masters who served (often multiple terms) as dean. The painter Jan Claerbots, for example, served five terms, even though he was not a master's son and did not train a single apprentice. Besides Claerbots there were another forty-four deans (36%) who never took on any apprentices.

On average it was 11.9 years before a master served his first term of office as dean. However, it was possible for a new master to become dean that same year, as in the case of Claerbots (fol. 135). A clear majority (69.8%) of masters who served as dean did so for multiple terms. The usual procedure (in 61.4% of cases) was for the same trio to remain at the helm of the guild for two successive years – only from 1704 to 1707 did the same three guild officials serve for a third term.[68] This unofficial rule was intended both to guarantee a certain continuity and coherence in policy and to prevent an unduly great concentration of power within a handful of individuals or families – no theoretical danger, given the fact that the deans were often dominated by masters' sons and industrious teachers.

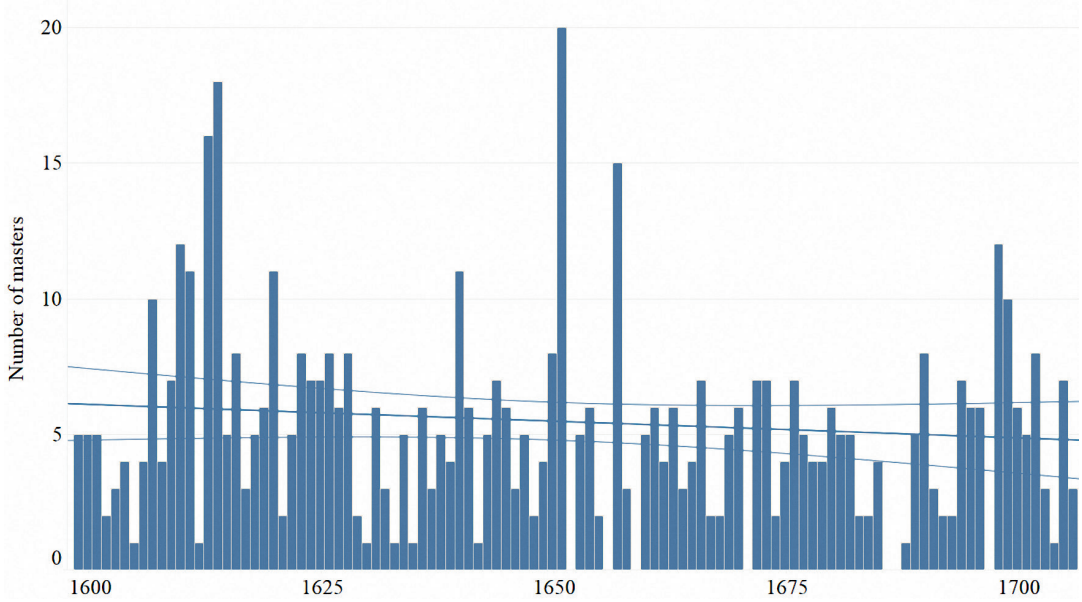
VI. Development of the population

The dataset also makes it possible to observe fluctuations in the number of enrolments of new apprentices and masters between 1599 and 1706. Fig. 3 shows that enrolments of new masters followed a fairly regular cycle throughout the century. In the first half of the century, an average of 5.6 masters joined the guild each year. The number fell slightly to 4.6 after 1650.

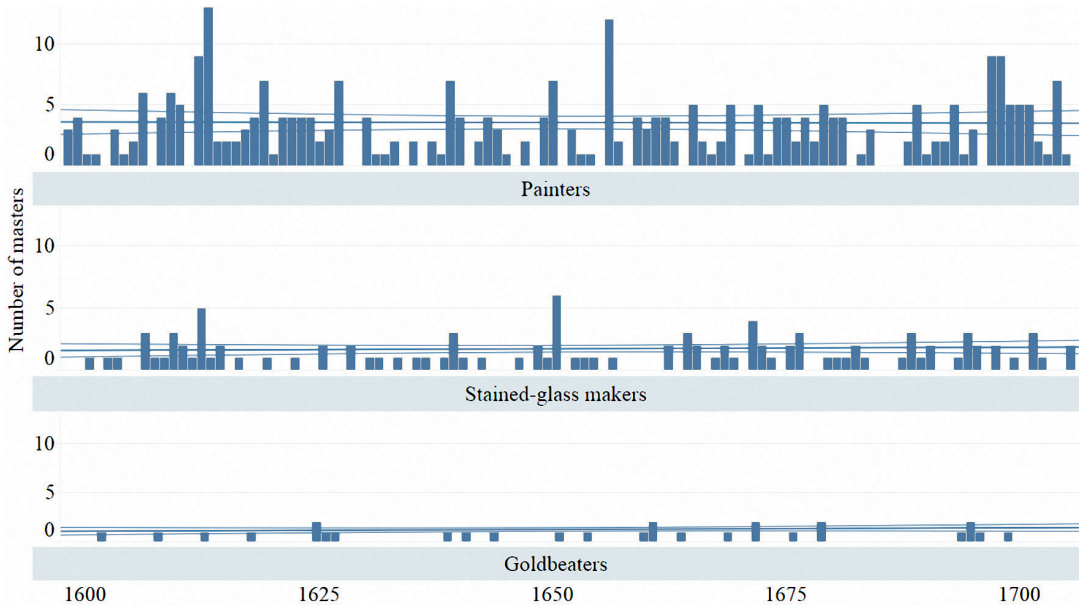
Fig. 4 shows the registrations of new masters, broken down by occupational group. The general trend with peaks and troughs is reflected in the pattern of painters and stained-glass makers. The goldbeaters, in contrast, display a more uniform pattern. Throughout the century this occupational group welcomed just one new master every two to seven years.[69]

While the number of registrations of new masters remained stable throughout the century, the number of new apprentices steadily declined, as shown by fig. 5. In the first half of the century, an average of ten apprentices enrolled every year. This number halved in the second half of the century, falling to just 5.3 new apprentices a year. Fig. 5 clearly shows that the falling trend can be divided into three waves that are distributed almost evenly across the century.

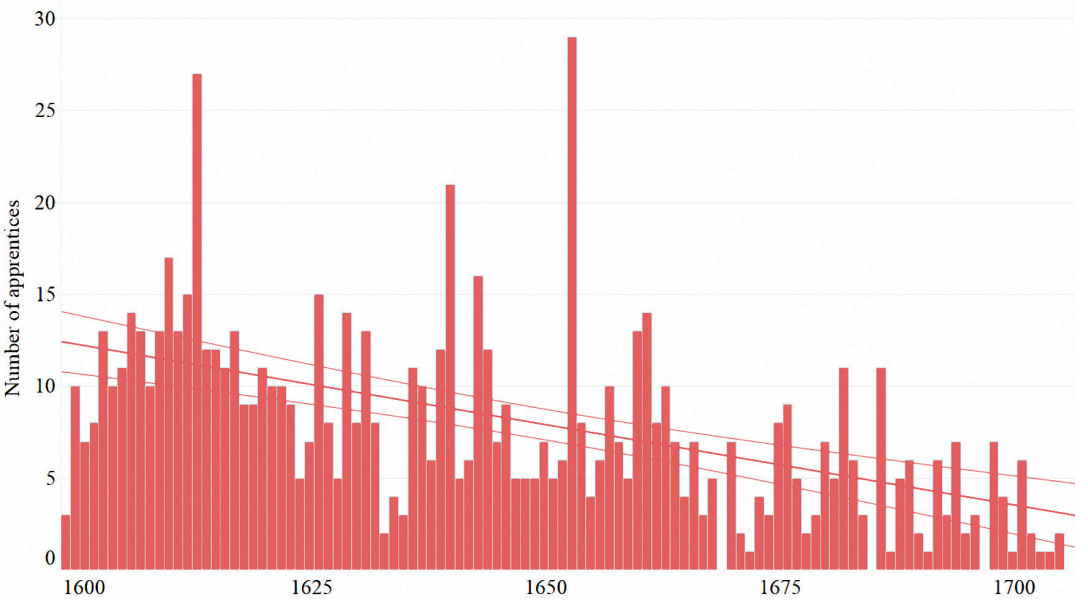
Fig. 6 plots the registrations of new apprentices broken down by occupational group. The



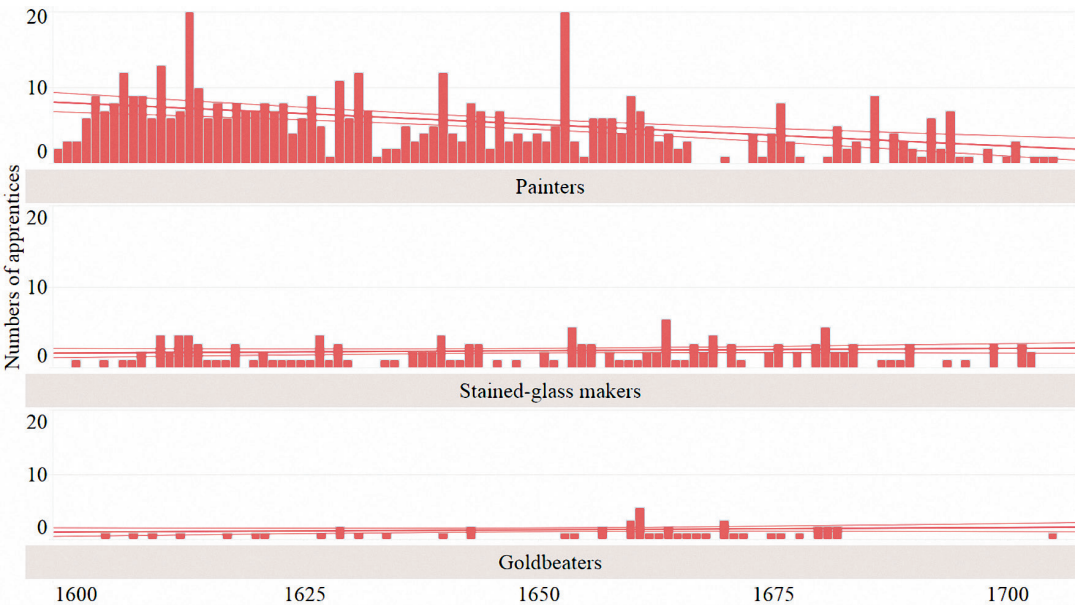
3 All entries for masters, by year, 1599 – 1706



4 Entries for masters, by occupational group and by year, 1599 – 1706



5 All entries for apprentices, by year, 1599 – 1706



6 Entries for apprentices, by occupational group and by year, 1599 – 1706

graphs show that the overall decline in the number of new apprentices resulted from a quite dramatic fall in the number of apprentice painters, especially after 1630. For the number of new apprentices who wanted to become stained-glass makers or goldbeaters witnessed a modest upward trend throughout the seventeenth century.

Interestingly, we see a correlation between this decline in the number of apprentice painters and the composition of the board. Between 1599 and 1660, when apprentice painters greatly outnumbered other apprentices, master painters provided the lion's share of deans. Indeed, for half of the time, two out of three of the deans were master painters – and in 1649 all three of them were painters. Until the 1650s, the goldbeaters, who had an almost negligibly small number of apprentices, frequently provided no board members at all. In the second half of the century, however, when the number of apprentice painters was in decline, the positions on the board were divided more evenly among the three occupational groups.[70]

Can we conclude from the changing pattern in the number of apprentice painters that Brussels flourished as a production centre in the first third of the century and subsequently lost its strength and vigour? It is certainly true that the economic and political landscape of Brussels was ideal for the creative communities in the early decades of the century. As is well known, economic and cultural life thrived in the reign of Archduke Albert (1559 – 1621) and Archduchess Isabella (1566 – 1633).[71] In the context of the Counter-Reformation, the archducal couple launched a major campaign from their Brussels residence to restore damaged paintings and to replace works that had been lost.[72] Brussels was not only the royal seat and residence of the court, but also the administrative and judicial centre of the duchy of Brabant, a combination of roles that underpinned a striking demographic growth. Between 1615 and 1693, the population of Brussels grew from around 50,000 to around 82,000.[73] Besides the aristocratic and courtly patronage, the civic authorities, religious institutions, and the socio-economic elite were all buying paintings.[74] In addition, painters were needed to paint and retouch the cartoons that were used in the flourishing Brussels tapestry industry.[75]

At first sight, then, it seems logical to link the fall in the number of new apprentice painters to changes in regional and international politics and economics that followed the reign of Albrecht and Isabella.[76] The year 1633, in which only two new apprentices enrolled, could then be regarded as a turning point and the beginning of the slow but inevitable decline in Brussels's fortunes and indeed of Flemish baroque painting.

Yet, Brussels continued to play its multiple international roles, even after 1630. The city's demographic growth was also sustained. In fact, from 1650 until the beginning of the nineteenth century, Brussels had a larger population than any other city in the Netherlands aside from Amsterdam.[77] It is consequently a fair assumption that the local and international demand for artworks remained stable, or possibly even increased. There are in fact three interconnected indicators that strongly suggest, if not prove, that Brussels remained in good health after 1630 as a production centre of, and market for, paintings.

The first of these indicators is that in 1647 the deans increased the entrance and registration fees, for which purpose they were obliged to update the ancient ordinance that year.[78] The increase in their fees reflect a self-assured board that harboured no doubts, in the 1640s, as to the guild's appeal or to that of Brussels as a market for painting – in spite of the downward trend in the number of apprentice painters. It is possible that the board was not worried about this relative decline because it saw it merely as a reversion to the norm. Unfortunately there is no extant register that would shed light on the population of painters in Brussels in the last third of the sixteenth century, but the deans may have regarded

the increase in the number of apprentices in the first third of the seventeenth century as exceptional and therefore temporary.

The second indicator is that in the 1640s the deans found themselves confronting a rather unwelcome truth, which nonetheless highlighted the appeal of Brussels as a healthy production and distribution centre for paintings and other artworks. For the board noted that the city was attracting a great many interlopers who were not *poorters* and who painted and traded outside the guild's framework, seeking to capitalize on the success of the Brussels market. Archival documents recorded several names of these profiteers in the early 1640s. In December 1642 the guild recorded violations of the ordinances committed by "diverse foreigners" including one "N[omen nescio] Woutier".[79] The guild repeated the charge in August 1643,[80] and formal accusations against the interlopers accompanied the formal adoption of the new ordinance in 1647. Charles Woutier was named again, along with others: Hendrik de Bois,[81] Peter François, Jacques Boesdonck, and Jasper van den Bemde.[82] The revised ordinance was therefore intended not only to generate extra revenue, but also to compel interlopers to comply with regulations.[83] The guild sought to show that it was wiser to join a powerful organisation than to try to set up a small centre of production and trade in the shadows – literally and figuratively – of a modernised guild hall that radiated the artistic, economic, and political strength of a thriving artistic community. The register shows that at least some of the interlopers targeted in this way complied over the following few years. Jacques Boesdonck enrolled in 1647 (fol. 186). Charles Woutier and Jasper van den Bemde followed suit in 1651 and 1654 (fols. 194 and 205).[84]

The third and last indication consists of the aggregate data. Between 1600 and 1650, we find 144 new master painters registering. Between 1650 and 1700, the comparable number of new registrations was 141.[85] In other words, as is clear from fig. 3, the number of workshops remained virtually constant throughout the seventeenth century. It should be emphasised that this status quo was to a large extent a function of the *Realpolitik* that the guild developed from the mid-century mark onwards: out of the 141 master painters who registered between 1650 and 1700, no fewer than forty-seven (33%) were *cortosie* or *reconue* painters. The decision to shift away from a repressive strategy towards a more open and pragmatic course may have been based on two related lines of reasoning.[86] First, the board must have realised that it was impossible to force all non-*poorters* to comply with its strict terms. Second, the deans saw that the interlopers brought their networks with them. This enabled them to bridge structural gaps between Brussels and other cities, clearing the way for artistic and commercial exchanges. It is possible that the consequence of this *Realpolitik* as discussed here (that is, the fact that incorporating the interlopers into the guild greatly helped to guarantee continuity in the number of workshops) may originally have been one of the deans' objectives – that is, to safeguard the dynamics of Brussels as a production centre and art market in spite of the decline in the number of apprentice painters. Meanwhile, the city council likewise understood that Brussels stood to benefit from external artistic capital, and was strong enough to accept it. In 1665, it granted *poorter* status to the flower painter François Eyckens, who originated from Antwerp.[87]

The fall in the number of apprentice painters does not necessarily mean that workshops shrank or their output declined in the second half of the seventeenth century.[88] After all, former apprentices, of whom there was an abundant supply given the large numbers who had enrolled earlier in the century, could always be hired as assistants. In addition, there was another potentially large group of actors who are mentioned in the 1647 ordinance, but who are unfortunately completely absent from the register: journeymen who had not been trained in Brussels. They had permission to work in the city provided they contributed a small sum to the poor relief fund.

VII. Final remarks

This essay and its online component, the *Cornelia* database, seek to move Brussels to the centre of the debate on Flemish baroque painting by analysing a single source, the *Boeck van het Schilders, Goudt-slaegers ende Gelaesemaeckers Ambachte* (1599 – 1706) from different angles. However rich and compelling this source may be, the entries in the *Boeck* are far less comprehensive and uniform than we would wish. The register is therefore extremely complex as a source and must be processed slowly and methodically. The data model of the *Cornelia* database makes this approach possible. This essay accordingly seeks to exemplify a method that can transform a complex source into an accessible and enduring dataset.

Our analyses of the Brussels *Boeck* yielded several conclusions. For the first time, we obtained a picture of the professional mobility and the career choices and strategies of artists and craftsmen in Brussels. The essay shows that what we might call a 'complete' career – one in which a single actor took on each of the available roles (apprentice, master, teacher, dean) at least once – was far from the norm. Only one in four apprentice painters (at least, among those who were not masters' sons) became masters, and they took an average of ten years to make this transition. Only 39% of all masters took on one or more apprentices. A relatively small proportion of all masters, just 10%, trained over half of all apprentices. Only one in five masters, most of them masters' sons, served on the board for one or more terms. In short, a relatively small group of artists and craftsmen were extremely prominent, both within their profession and in the *Boeck*. Unsurprisingly, these masters have generally attracted considerable attention in the literature. Moreover, this essay and its online component make it possible to discover actors who, judging by their profiles, may have played an equally important role as producers and distributors of art in Brussels. This essay therefore sets out to inspire and support scholars of seventeenth-century painting in focusing on the activities of individual artists and/or their workshops. In addition, research on actors who became masters but never became teachers or served as dean poses a particular challenge and may prove extremely revealing. For it is conceivable that these low-profile artists, helped by paid assistants, were extremely productive – not least because they had no other cares to attend to.

Finally, the essay disproves the assertion that the Brussels guild pursued an overly rigid and exclusive policy, particularly in contrast with the openness of its Antwerp counterpart. Both the 1647 ordinance and the *Boeck* reveal that the guild was a living organism that responded to real-life situations and experience in constant dialogue with its members. In the course of the century, the market was open to outsiders, who were allowed to trade in paintings every Friday and at the two annual art fairs. Art producers could develop large workshops manned by paid assistants, both former apprentices who had trained in Brussels as well as journeymen from other cities. From the mid-century mark onwards, immigrants and other outsiders could sign up to a customised regime that enabled them to produce art and to advertise themselves in line with the regulations.

Project Cornelia will further enrich the dataset in the months and years to come. Data extracted from parish records, for example, will not only provide additional biographical and genealogical information that makes it possible to link events in the careers of individual actors to their ages – an important dimension that is still lacking at present – but will also expand the professional networks and artistic genealogies by adding kinship networks. Another source, *Wijckboecken* – a kind of land registry *avant-la-lettre* – will reveal ties that existed within neighbourhoods. The exploration of *Poortersboecken* will facilitate better qualitative and quantitative analyses of the presence of immigrants and interlopers. Last

but not least, the processing of sources similar to the Brussels register, such as that of the Antwerp guild of St. Luke, will add comparative material and help us to arrive at an even better understanding of the development of artistic careers and the population of artists in different cities.

The authors wish to thank Inez De Prekel, Houda Lamqaddam, Cara Pelsmaekers, Nuria Rodríguez Ortega, Katlijne Van der Stighelen, and Katrien Verbert for their advice and support. Thanks as always also go to Beverley Jackson for the excellent translation. Abbreviations – BRA: Brussels, Rijksarchief Anderlecht; BSA: Brussels, Stadsarchief; GA: Gilden en Ambachten; PB: Publicatieboeck; RT: Register der Tresorije.

1 Lut Pil, De metropool herzien. De creatie van een Gouden Eeuw, in: *Antwerpen: Verhaal van een metropool. 16de – 17de eeuw* (exh. cat. Antwerp, Hessenhuis), ed. by Jan Van der Stock, Ghent 1993, 129 – 138.

2 Hans Vlieghe, *Flemish art and architecture 1585 – 1700*, New Haven/London 1998, 304 has a basic bibliography of studies of the production and consumption of art in seventeenth-century Flanders that reveals at a glance the dominance of publications focusing on Antwerp. This dominance is also naturally reflected in the book's chapters.

3 Hans Vlieghe, *Gaspar de Crayer, sa vie et ses œuvres*, Brussels 1972; Marie Van der Vennet, Le peintre bruxellois Antoine Sallaert, in: *Bulletin des Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 23 – 29, 1974 – 1980, 171 – 198; idem, Le peintre bruxellois Antoine Sallaert: Un choix de gravures, in: *Bulletin des Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 30 – 33, 1981 – 1984, 81 – 122; Pierre-Yves Kairis (ed.), *Colloque La peinture liégeoise des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles (1986)*, Namur 1987; Rolf Kultzen, *Michael Sweerts (Brussels 1618 – Goa 1664)*, Doornspijk 1996; *Michael Sweerts (1618 – 1664)* (exh. cat. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; San Francisco, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco; Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art), ed. by Guido Jansen and Peter C. Sutton, Zwolle 2002; Katlijne Van der Stighelen, Leen Kelchtermans, and Koenraad Brosens (eds.), *Embracing Brussels: Art and culture in the court city, 1600 – 1880*, Turnhout 2013; Sabine Van Sprang, *Denijs Van Alsloot (vers 1568 – 1625/26): Peintre paysagiste au service de la cour des archiducs Albert et Isabelle*, Turnhout 2014; Hannelore Magnus and Katlijne Van der Stighelen (eds.), *Facts & feelings: Retracing emotions of artists, 1600 – 1800*, Turnhout 2015; Beatrijs Wolters van der Wey, *Corporate splendour: Civic group portraits in Brabant 1585 – 1800,* Turnhout 2015; Lara Yeager-Crasselt, *Michael Sweerts (1618 – 1664): Shaping the artist and the academy in Rome and Brussels*, Turnhout 2015.

4 Katlijne Van der Stighelen, Leen Kelchtermans, and Koenraad Brosens, Introduction, in: Van der Stighelen, Kelchtermans, and Brosens 2013 (as note 3), 5 – 6, here 5.

5 As is immediately apparent from the tables of contents of essay collections such as Neil De Marchi and Hans J. Van Miegroet (eds.), *Mapping markets for paintings in Europe, 1450 – 1750*, Turnhout 2006; Jeremy Warren and Adriana Turpin (eds.), *Auctions, agents, and dealers: The mechanisms of the art market 1660 – 1830,* Oxford 2008; Dries Lyna, Filip Vermeylen, and Hans Vlieghe (eds.), *Art auctions and dealers: The dissemination of Netherlandish art during the Ancien Régime*, Turnhout 2009; Neil De Marchi and Sophie Raux (eds.), *Moving pictures: Intra-European trade in images, 16th – 18th centuries*, Turnhout 2014.

6 BRA, GA 818.

7 Its sequel listing the new members from 1707 to 1794 has also been preserved, see BRA, GA 819.

8 For stained-glass makers in Brussels, see Yvette Vanden Bemden, Le métier de verrier à la fin du Moyen Age et au début de la Renaissance dans les anciens Pays-Bas, in: *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 54, 2000, 377 – 384; Edmond Roobaert, Het leven en werk van de Brusselse glasschilder Claes I Rombouts en diens zonen, volgens nieuwe archivalische vondsten, in: *Oud Holland* 124, 2011, 1 – 37. For the use of gold leaf in Flemish painting, see Lisa Monnas, *Merchants, princes, and painters: Silk fabrics in Italian and Northern paintings 1300 – 1550*, New Haven 2008, 110 – 147; Ingrid Geelen and Delphyne Steyaert, *Imitation and illusion: Applied brocade in the art of the Low Countries in the fiteenth and sixteenth centuries*, Brussels 2011. For the relationship between painters and goldbeaters, see Erling S. Skaug, Painters, punchers, gilders or goldbeaters? A critical survey report of discussions in recent literature about early Italian painting, in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 71, 2008, 571 – 582.

9 BSA, PB 1318, fol. 314v – 330r; Guillaume Des Marez, *L'organisation du travail à Bruxelles au XVe siècle*, Brussels 1904, 13 – 14. The 1387 ordinance is unknown in its original form, but constitutes the nucleus of an amended version recorded on 16 March 1452 (N.S.), see BSA, 1447, fol. 9r. The 1452 ordinance was published and discussed by Félicien Favresse, Les premiers statuts connus des métiers bruxellois du duc et de la Ville et note sur ces métiers, in: *Bulletin de la commission*

royale d'histoire 111, 1946, 37 – 91, here 76 – 79. See also Colette Mathieu, Le Métier des Peintres à Bruxelles aux XIV^me^ et XV^me^ siècles, in: *Bruxelles au XV^me^ siècle* (exh. cat. Brussels, Musée de la Ville), ed. by Colette Mathieu et al., Brussels 1953, 219 – 235, here 224 – 232 for the 1452 ordinance.

10 Alexandre Pinchart, La corporation des peintres de Bruxelles, in: *Messager des sciences historiques, ou archives des arts et de la bibliographie de Belgique* 1877, 289 – 331; idem, La corporation des peintres de Bruxelles, in: *Messager des sciences historiques, ou archives des arts et de la bibliographie de Belgique* 1878, 315 – 332, 475 – 490; idem, La corporation des peintres de Bruxelles, in: *Messager des sciences historiques, ou archives des arts et de la bibliographie de Belgique* 1879, 459 – 470.

11 Michel Kervyn de Meerendré, L'évolution de la Corporation des Peintres, Vitriers et Batteurs d'or de Bruxelles au XVII^e^ siècle, in: *Revue des archéologues et historiens d'art de Louvain* 6, 1973, 147 – 155. The fifteenth-century and sixteenth-century guilds in Antwerp and Bruges have also been subjected to quantitative analysis: see Jean-Pierre Sosson, Une approche des structures économiques d'un métier d'art: La corporation des Peintres et Selliers de Bruges (XV^e^ – XVI^e^ siècles), in: *Revue des archéologues et historiens d'art de Louvain* 3, 1970, 91 – 100; Wim Blockmans, The creative environment: Incentives to and functions of Bruges art production, in: Maryan W. Ainsworth (ed.), *Petrus Christus in Renaissance Bruges: An interdisciplinary approach*, Turnhout 1995, 4 – 15; Filip Vermeylen, *Painting for the market: Commercialization of art in Antwerp's Golden Age*, Turnhout 2003; Maximiliaan P. J. Martens and Natasja Peeters, Artists by numbers: Quantifying artists' trades in sixteenth-century Antwerp, in: Molly Faries (ed.), *Making and marketing: Studies of the painting process in fifteenth- and sixteenth century Netherlandish workshops*, Turnhout 2006, 211 – 222.

12 For the Cornelia database, see Koenraad Brosens, Astrid Slegten, Klara Alen, and Fred Truyen, MapTap and Cornelia: Foundations of a slow digital art history and formal art historical social network research, in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 79, 2016, 315 – 330.

13 More precisely, the 1647 ordinance was an update of one adopted in 1559. This in turn was part of a chain of ordinances that can be traced back, through updates in 1474, 1465, 1453, and 1452, to the oldest known one, issued in 1387. These ordinances are at BSA, 1447, fols. 9r, 49v – 50r, 65r, 66r. For a discussion of this topic, see Favresse 1946 (as note 9), 41 and 76 – 79, and Mathieu 1953 (as note 9), 224 – 232.

14 In doing so, the third part of this article ties in with both old and recent research on Dutch and Flemish guilds and guild members that was initiated and promoted by scholars such as Hessel Miedema and John Michael Montias. See, for example, John Michael Montias, The guild of St. Luke in 17th-century Delft and the economic status of artists and artisans, in: *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 9, 1977, 93 – 105; Hessel Miedema, Kunstschilders, gilde en academie: Over het probleem van de emancipatie van de kunstschilders in de Noordelijke Nederlanden van de 16^de^ en 17^de^ eeuw, in: *Oud Holland* 101, 1987, 1 – 33. For a recent study of the relationship between guild members and the Antwerp institutional framework, see Nils Büttner, Antwerpener Maler – Zwischen Ordnung der Gilde und Freiheit der Kunst, in: *Kunstgeschichte: Open Peer Reviewed Journal* 2011, URL: http://www.kunstgeschichte-ejournal.net/203/ (date of last access 2 October 2018).

15 See also Koenraad Brosens, Jan Aerts, Klara Alen, Rudy Jos Beerens, Bruno Cardoso, Inez De Prekel, Anna Ivanova, Houda Lamqaddam, Geert Molenberghs, Astrid Slegten, Fred Truyen, Katlijne Van der Stighelen and Katrien Verbert, Slow digital art history in action: Project Cornelia's computational approach to 17^th^-century Flemish creative communities, in: *Visual Resources (Special Issue on Digital Art History)* 35, 2019, 105 – 124.

16 BSA, PB 1318, fol. 314v – 330r; Des Marez 1904 (as note 9), 13 – 14.

17 The rules stipulated that the works could not remain in Brussels after the markets and forbade any concealment of these works. The court of the Duke of Brabant was exempt from these rules.

18 Émile Clerbaut, La bourgeoisie et les bourgeois dans l'ancien Bruxelles au point de vue historique et juridique, in: *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* 11, 1897, 398 – 415, here 401 – 402.

19 Ibidem, 413.

20 For the fluctuations in the fee, see Émile Clerbaut, La bourgeoisie et les bourgeois dans l'ancien Bruxelles au point de vue historique et juridique, in: *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* 12, 1898, 192 – 214, here 199.

21 BRA, GA 1163, which dates from the mid-eighteenth century, opens with the oath. For the formation of Antwerp painters within the guild and the Academy of Fine Arts (est. 1663), see Bert De Munck, Le produit de talent ou la production de talent? La formation des artistes à l'Académie des beaux-arts à Anvers aux XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles, in: *Paedagogica Historica* 37, 2001, 569 – 605. See also Dries Lyna, Harbouring urban creativity: the Antwerp art academy in the tension between artistic and artisanal training in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in: Carolus A. Davids and Bert De Munck (eds.), *Innovation and creativity in late medieval and early modern European cities,* Farnham 2014, 295 – 313.

22 All fees applied to goldbeaters, stained-glass makers, and painters, including illuminators. Before 1647,

master illuminators had been required to pay only half of the registration fee.

23 On early modern guilds in the Northern and Southern Netherlands and their positive and negative economic effects, see *inter alia* Sheilagh Ogilvie, The use and abuse of trust: Social capital and its deployment by early modern guilds, in: *IDEAS: Working Paper Series from RePEc* 2004, 1 – 45; Maarten Prak, Catharina Lis, Jan Lucassen and Hugo Soly (eds.), *Craft guilds in the early modern Low Countries: Work, power, and representation*, Aldershot 2006: Bert De Munck, Skills, trust, and changing consumer preferences: The decline of Antwerp's craft guilds from the perspective of the product market, ca. 1500 – ca.1800, in: *IRSH* 53, 2008, 197 – 233; Stephan R. Epstein and Maarten Prak (eds.), *Guilds, innovation, and the European economy, 1400 – 1800*, Cambridge 2008; Bert De Munck, Gilding golden ages: Perspectives from early modern Antwerp on the guild debate, ca. 1450 – ca. 1650, in: *European Review of Economic History* 15, 2011, 221 – 253.

24 George A. Akerlof, The market for "lemons": Quality uncertainty and the market mechanism, in: *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 84, 1970, 488 – 500.

25 Sandra Van Ginhoven, *Connecting Art Markets: Guilliam Forchondt's dealership in Antwerp (c. 1632–78) and the overseas painting trade*, Leiden 2017, 91.

26 Ibidem, 92.

27 When Augustin Coppens was dean in the periods 1707 – 1711 and 1729 – 1734, he kept meticulous records in the *Rekeningboek* (BSA 1471), listing advance payments made by the guild for operating costs as well as sums paid by new apprentices and masters. For Coppens and this source, see Renée Pierard-Gilbert, Un Bruxellois oublié: Augustin Coppens, peintre, dessinateur et graveur (1668 – 1740), in: *Cahiers Bruxellois* 9, 1964, 1 – 44.

28 Maarten Prak, Corporate politics in the Low Countries: Guild as institutions, 14th to 18th centuries, in: Maarten Prak, Catharina Lis, Jan Lucassen, and Hugo Soly (eds.), *Craft guilds in the early modern Low Countries: Work, power, and representation*, Aldershot 2006, 82 – 114, here 94 – 95.

29 One typical entry from 1611 reads as follows: "In the Year of Our Lord 1611, starting with St. John's Day [midsummer] and ending at St. John's Day 1612, the deans of the guild of painters, goldbeaters, and glassmakers were Nicolaes Mertens, Jan van Botberghe, and Franchoys van Schuddeput. The masters and apprentices of that year were as follows" ("Int Jaer ons heeren duysent seshondert ende elve beginnende sint Jansmisse ende eienende Sint Jansmisse sestienhondert ende twelve waeren de dekens vande schilders goutslaegers ende gelasmakers ambacht nicolaes mertens, Jan van botberghe franchoys van Schuddeput hier na voelghen de mesters ende leeriongens van desen jaer"). In 1660, the introductory passage is followed by a notice to the effect that Michiel Sweerts had donated a self-portrait as a "memorial to him for the chamber" ("memorie op de caemer tot sijnder gedenkenis").

30 The entries for 1622, 1627, 1634, and 1674 do not list the deans' names.

31 The entry for Francois de Gruyter is the only one to give his mother's name, Sabine Sebielle (fol. 51).

32 Orig. "ghelasemaecker/ ontfanghen als leerjongen jan baptist noldens soone nicolaes leert bij Carel de swerte ghetroudt kindt binnen gheboren desen 15 september 1667".

33 Orig. "Ontfanghen als mester Antoen Sallaerts soon philips getrauwt kint binnen geboren desen 20 augustus 1613 heft geleert by machil bordux schilder". For Sallaert, see Van der Vennet 1974 – 1980 (as note 3); Van der Vennet 1981 – 1984 (as note 3).

34 These include sixteen gilders (six of them masters) and one apprentice panel beater who was apprenticed to a painter.

35 These include three glass engravers (one of them a master) and one master glass painter (see below).

36 None of the 104 entries for deans gives an occupation.

37 Of these twenty-five apprentices, twelve were stained-glass makers, nine painters, three goldbeaters, and one person's occupation was unspecified.

38 Jan Caluwaerts, *Poorters van Brussel 1350–1795*, 3 vols., Herent 2005, vol. 2, 158.

39 Jacob de Vriese took on two apprentices in 1609 and 1612, respectively.

40 For David III Teniers, see Hans Vlieghe, *David Teniers the Younger (1610–1690): A biography,* Turnhout 2011, 76 – 81.

41 In 1680 (fol. 262) an official drew the guild's coat of arms in the margin, but this drawing appears above the year and is separated from it by a double line – and cannot therefore be linked to the enrolment of a new master. A marginal note beside the enrolment of the stained-glass maker Jan Baptist Gillis in 1672 makes it clear that he completed his masterpiece in 1685 (fol. 245).

42 These sixty-nine masters included fourteen sons of masters. By occupation, the masters included forty-one painters, twelve stained-glass makers, and six goldbeaters; the *Boeck* does not give the occupations of the ten remaining masters.

43 Harald Deceulaer and Frederik Verleysen, Excessive eating or political display? Guild meals in the Southern Netherlands, late 16th – late 18th centuries, in: *Food & History* 4, 2006, 165 – 185.

44 Johan Dambruyne, *Corporatieve middengroepen: Aspiraties, relaties en transformaties in de 16de-eeuwse Gentse ambachtswereld*, Ghent 2002, 117.

45 For similar strategies developed by sixteenth-century guilds, see Johan Dambruyne, Rijkdom, materiële

cultuur en sociaal aanzien: De bezitspatronen en investeringsstrategieën van de Gentse ambachten omstreeks 1540, in: Catherina Lis and Hugo Soly (eds.), *Werelden van verschil: Ambachtsgilden in de Lage Landen*, Brussels 1997, 151 – 211.

46 Deceulaer and Verleysen 2006 (as note 43), 170.

47 Caluwaerts 2005 (as note 38), 22.

48 Ibidem, 18. The guild official subsequently completed Van den Bemden's registration in July 1654.

49 Clerbaut 1898 (as note 20), 199.

50 These entries record that Van Empel was born in Mechelen and Cousin in Nieuwpoort. Primo himself later wrote that he had been in Ninove, near Brussels; Didier Bodart, *Les peintres de Pays-Bas méridionaux de la principauté de Liège à Rome au XVIIème siècle*, Brussels 1970, 154. The guild official may have made a mistake when he registered Cousin as an apprentice. For Cousin, see Leo Van Puyvelde, Een Vlaamse schilder te Rome in de XVIIe eeuw: Lodewijk Primo, in: *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde* 1958, 629 – 637.

51 Louis Cousin had apprentices in his workshop in 1662 and 1663.

52 "Leshaijeer" had enrolled as an apprentice in 1638 (fol. 154). The relevant entry indicates that he was born in Brussels (*binnegheboren*), but was not a *poorter* ("maer en is gheen poeter").

53 This "bonnecroij" does not recur anywhere else in the register. He may have originated from Antwerp, where members of a family of that name worked.

54 Willem de Gyn was registered in 1653 as an apprentice of Willem van Schoor (fol. 204).

55 By the mid-eighteenth century, the sum that these painters were required to pay had been set at 62 guilders and 4 stuyvers; Clerbaut 1898 (as note 20), 207.

56 For gender inequality in early modern guilds, see Clare Crowston, Women, gender, and guilds in early modern Europe: An overview of recent research, in: *IRSH* 53, 2008, 19 – 44; Maarten Prak, Corporatism and social models in the Low Countries, in: *Tijdschrift voor sociale en economische geschiedenis* 11, 2014, 281 – 300, here 286 – 288.

57 Only in the case of the widow of Roland Huersewil (fol. 110) is her husband's occupation noted: He was a painter.

58 For Elisabeth Seldron ("Celdrin"), see Katlijne Van der Stighelen and Sabine Van Cauwenberge, Lijst van Zuid-Nederlandse kunstenaressen, circa 1500 – 1800, in: Els Kloek, Catherine Peters-Sengers, and Esther Tobé (eds.), *Vrouwen en kunst in de Republiek, een overzicht*, Hilversum 1998, 178 – 180, here 179; Katlijne Van der Stighelen, Maaike Meijer, and Mirjam Westen, *Elck zijn waerom: Vrouwelijke kunstenaars in België en Nederland 1500 – 1950*, Ghent 1999, 203; Leonoor De Schepper, *Elisabeth Seldron (ca. 1680–1761): Een vergeten kunstenares aan het hof van Maria Elisabeth van Oostenrijk in het achttiende-eeuwse Brussel*, Master's thesis, KU Leuven, 2007. For clarity's sake, it should be added that there were also women artists who worked outside the confines of the guild. One well-known example is the Brussels painter Michaelina Wauters; see *Michaelina Wautier 1604 – 1689: Triomf van een vergeten talent* (exh. cat. Antwerp, Rubenshuis), ed. by Katlijne Van der Stighelen, Kontich 2018. For a general survey of women painters in the Southern Netherlands, see also Van der Stighelen, Meijer, and Westen 1999.

59 They are included below in the general visualisations and calculations concerning the entire guild. They are, of course, not singled out as a specific subset when we focus on the different occupational groups.

60 Maarten Prak, Guilds and the development of the art market during the Dutch Golden Age, in: *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 30, 2003, 236 – 251, here 244; De Munck 2011 (as note 23), 231 – 232.

61 Ronald De Jager, Meester, leerjongen, leertijd: Een analyse van zeventiende-eeuwse Noord-Nederlandse leerlingcontracten van kunstschilders, goud- en zilversmeden, in: *Oud Holland* 104, 1990, 69 – 110, here 75 – 76.

62 In addition, there were seventy-six masters who were not registered as masters in this book. Since the registers kept in the sixteenth century have not survived, they have been left out of consideration in these calculations.

63 In addition, there were five glaziers, three stained-glass makers, and one member whose occupation is not mentioned.

64 Cornelis De Bie, *Het gulden cabinet vande edele schilder-const*, Antwerp 1662, 413.

65 For deans who entered the guild from outside Brussels, see Hugo Soly, The political economy of European craft guilds: Power relations and economic strategies of merchants and master artisans in the medieval and early modern textile industries, in: *IRSH* 53, 2008, 45 – 71, here 48 – 52.

66 James R. Farr, *Artisans in Europe, 1300 – 1914*, Cambridge 2000, 35 – 36; Raphaelle Schwarzberg, The openness of the London Goldsmiths' Company in the second half of the seventeenth century: An empirical study, in: *Financial History Review* 23, 2016, 245 – 271, here 266 – 297.

67 This correlation was also established in other guilds in other cities; e.g. Marion Elisabeth Wilhelmina Goosens, *Schilders en de markt, Haarlem 1605–1635*, Ph.D. diss., Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 2001, 157 – 158; Prak 2003 (as note 60), 244 – 245.

68 The trio consisted of the painter Hendrik van den Houten, the stained-glass maker Christian Crockx,

and the goldbeater Carel Judocus Raes. If a master did not choose to serve for a second consecutive term, it would be 6.4 years, on average, before he would serve as dean again.

69 This steady pattern was disrupted only twice. In the years 1625 – 1627, four new masters enrolled – followed by a period of twelve years without any new entries at all. The years 1694 – 1696, following a period of fifteen years without any new masters, likewise witnessed four new registrations of masters.

70 When a dean died, he would be succeeded by someone practising the same occupation.

71 Werner Thomas, Andromeda unbound: The reign of Albert & Isabella in the Southern Netherlands, 1598 – 1621, in: Luc Duerloo and Werner Thomas (eds.), *Albert & Isabella, 1598–1621: Essays*, Turnhout 1998, 2 – 7; Dries Raeymaekers, *The Habsburg court of Brussels and the politics of access in the reign of Albert and Isabella, 1598–1621*, Leuven 2013, 5 – 34.

72 Marcel De Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella en de schilderkunst: Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de XVIIe-eeuwse schilderkunst in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden*, Brussels 1955; Vlieghe 1998 (as note 2), 1 – 3; Filip Vermeylen, Antwerp beckons: The reasons for Rubens' return to the Netherlands in 1608, in: *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 55, 2004, 17 – 34, here 20 – 21; Yaeger-Crasselt 2015 (as note 3), 30 – 43. For a survey and discussion of Brussels court painters, see Paul Saintenoy, Les peintres de la Cour de Bruxelles au XVII[e] siècle, in: *Annales de la société novale d'archéologie de Bruxelles* 1927, 263 – 273.

73 Roger De Peuter, *Brussel in de achttiende eeuw: Sociaal-economische structuren en ontwikkelingen in een regionale hoofdstad*, Brussels 1999, 24.

74 Yaeger-Crasselt 2015 (as note 3), 30 – 33. De Laet shows that the level of art consumption among Brussels households was conspicuously high in the first half of the century; indeed, until 1675 it even surpassed the often-described opulence of Amsterdam; Veerle De Laet, *Brussels binnenskamers: Kunst- en luxebezit in het spanningsveld tussen hof en stad, 1600–1735*, Amsterdam 2011; Veerle De Laet, At home in seventeenth-century Brussels: Patterns of art and luxury consumption, in: Van der Stighelen, Kelchtermans, and Brosens 2013 (as note 3), 11 – 20.

75 Alphonse Wauters, *Les Tapisseries Bruxelloises: Essai historique, tapisseries & tapissiers de haute et basselice*, Brussels 1878; *Tapestry in the baroque: Threads of splendor* (exh. cat. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; Madrid, Palacio Real), ed. by Thomas P. Campbell, New Haven 2007, 67 – 69.

76 An obvious model that is followed by most, if not all, art historians when approaching trends of this kind; e.g., Kervyn de Meerendré 1973 (as note 11), 151; Sosson 1970 (as note 11), 100; Hans J. Van Miegroet and Neil De Marchi, Exploring markets for Netherlandish paintings in Spain and Nueva España, in: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 50, 1999, 80 – 111, here 83; Vermeylen 2003 (as note 11), 109 – 118; Martens and Peeters 2006 (as note 11), 211.

77 De Peuter 1999 (as note 73), 24 and 26.

78 Louis Galesloot, Documents rélatifs à la formation et la publication de l'ordonnance de Marie-Thérèse, du 20 mars – 13 novembre 1773, qui affranchit les peintres, les sculpteurs et les architects, aux Pays-Bas, de l'obligation de se faire inscrire dans les corps de métiers, in: *Annales de l'Académie d'Archéologie de Belgique* 23, 1867, 451 – 558, here 489.

79 BSA, RT 1293, fol. 210v – 211v. For this condition, see note 9.

80 BSA, RT 1293, fol. 268r – 269v.

81 BSA, PB 1318, fol. 330v – 331v.

82 BSA, PB 1318, fol. 332r – 333v.

83 Articles 1, 4 – 6, 9, 14, 16 – 18, 21, 27, and 29 – 31.

84 Woutier had paid the guild dues ("rechten van het ambacht") five years before.

85 Another twenty-one masters followed between 1701 and 1706.

86 For this strategy as a common practice, see Prak 2014 (as note 60), 286; De Munck 2008 (as note 23).

87 Caluwaerts 2005 (as note 38), 104. This does not mean, however, that all interlopers complied with the terms offered by the city council and the guild: in 1664 we still encounter interlopers in the Brussels market, see BSA, PB 1321, fol. 505r – 509v (17 July 1664).

88 The correlation between registrations of new apprentices and the size of workshops has been discussed by Sosson 1970 (as note 11); John Michael Montias, Socio-economic aspects of Netherlandish art from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century: A survey, in: *Art Bulletin* 72, 1990, 358 – 373, here 368; Blockmans 1995 (as note 11); Maximiliaan P. J. Martens, Some aspects of the origins of the art market in fifteenth-century Bruges, in: Michael North and David Ormrod (eds.), *Art markets in Europe 1400–1800*, Aldershot 1999, 19 – 27.

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