

Coping with crisis

Career strategies of Antwerp painters after 1585

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Abstract

This article explores how painters responded to the crisis on the Antwerp art market in the 1580s. Although scholarship has stressed the profound crisis and subsequent emigration wave, prosopographical analysis shows that only a minority of painters left the city. Demand for Counter-Reformation artworks allowed many to pursue their career in Antwerp, while others managed to survive the crisis by relying on cheap apprentices and the export of mass-produced paintings. Emigrant painters, on the other hand, minimised the risk of migration by settling in destinations that already had close artistic ties to Antwerp, such as Middelburg. Prosopographical analysis thus allows for a more nuanced understanding of artistic careers in the Low Countries.

Keywords: Antwerp painters, career strategies, art market, guild of St. Luke, migration patterns

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Introduction

During the first decades of the seventeenth century the painting industry of the Dutch Republic went through a phase of unprecedented growth. Both in output and quality, Dutch painters became renowned throughout Europe. How this extraordinary expansion began is well known: in the 1580s skilled painters from Flanders and Brabant fled religious persecution and economic crisis to establish their workshops in the towns of Holland and Zeeland, where they stimulated a rapid increase in specialisms – in particular landscapes, peasant scenes and still lifes – and introduced the mass production of paintings, which were sold on the open consumer market rather than commissioned by the elites.¹

Yet obvious though it may seem to us that artists wanted to escape the crisis in the south and seek out new opportunities elsewhere, for contemporaries the decision to leave was less evident: they could hardly foresee that a Golden Age in Dutch painting lay ahead. As this article will argue, southern painters were often reluctant to leave behind their homes and family for an uncertain future elsewhere, and explored career strategies other than emigration to confront the crisis on the art market. Many in fact remained in the South, because cities like Antwerp still offered opportunities to make ends meet. Those artists who did leave also tried to offset the risk of moving by heading for cities that already enjoyed close ties with the artistic centres of Flanders and Brabant, such as Middelburg in Zeeland or the exile centres in England and Germany. Amsterdam, on the other hand, was a more risky destination: although in the seventeenth century the city would become a major market for the production

¹ J. Briels, *Vlaamse schilders in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in het begin van de Gouden Eeuw 1585–1630*, Haarlem 1987; J. Briels, *Vlaamse schilders en de dageraad van Hollands Gouden Eeuw, 1585–1630, met biografieën als bijlage*, Antwerp 1997; J.M. Montias, *Artists and artisans in Delft. A socio-economic study of the seventeenth century*, Princeton 1982, p. 45–53; M.J. Bok, 'The rise of Amsterdam as a cultural centre. The market for paintings, 1580–1680', in: P. O'Brien et al. (eds.), *Urban achievement in early modern Europe. Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London*, Cambridge 2001, p. 186–209; E.J. Sluijter, 'On Brabant rubbish, economic competition, artistic rivalry, and the growth of the market for paintings in the first decades of the seventeenth century', in: *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 1.2 (2009), <http://www.jhna.org/index.php/past-issues/volume-1-issue-2/109-on-brabant-rubbish> (accessed 25 November 2014).

and consumption of art, in 1585 it was still an artistic backwater when compared to the artistic centres in the south.

To examine how Netherlandish painters coped with the crisis of the 1580s, this article focuses on the city of Antwerp. By 1580 Antwerp had become the undisputed artistic centre of the Low Countries, with more than 200 painters catering to an open market of local elites and middle classes, and exporting paintings across Europe and to the Spanish colonies in America.² The Antwerp painting community has also been sufficiently documented to allow a detailed prosopographical analysis of painters' careers. Whereas art historians generally focus on the life and oeuvre of individual painters, or at best on a school of painters, this article follows the lead of Michael Montias, Hans van Miegroet and Neil De Marchi, who have explored Netherlandish painting communities through statistical analysis to discern common trends in artists' careers.³ Underlying this article is an extensive database of 221 Antwerp painters active in the years 1580–1585, which traces their careers both before and after the crisis of the 1580s (see appendix).⁴ Although Natasja Peeters and Maximiliaan Martens have previously carried out a prosopographical analysis of the Antwerp painting community, their research covered only the period prior to 1580, and relied exclusively on the registers of the guild of St. Luke.⁵ By exploring a more comprehensive set of published sources – including tax registers, notarial records, and biographical dictionaries – this article sheds new light on the careers of a particular generation of painters, as well as on the manifold ways in which they tried to survive the crisis on the art market.

2 F. Vermeylen, *Painting for the market. Commercialization of art in Antwerp's Golden Age*, Turnhout 2003. For the export of art, see F. Vermeylen, 'Exporting art across the globe. The Antwerp art market in the sixteenth century', in: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 50 (1999), p. 13–29; N. De Marchi and H. van Miegroet, 'Exploring markets for Netherlandish paintings in Spain and Nueva España', in: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 50 (1999), p. 81–111.

3 Montias, *Artists and artisans in Delft*; H. van Miegroet and N. De Marchi (eds.), *Mapping markets for paintings in Europe, 1450–1750*, Turnhout 2006; H. van Miegroet and N. De Marchi, 'The Antwerp–Mechelen production and export complex', in: A. Golahny, M.M. Mochizuki and L. Vergara (eds.), *In his milieu. Essays on Netherlandish art in memory of John Michael Montias*, Amsterdam 2006, p. 133–147.

4 The database relies on the following sources: *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde*, ed. P. Rombouts and T. van Lerijs, 2 vols., Antwerp 1864–1876; J. van Roey, 'De Antwerpsche schilders in 1584–1585. Poging tot sociaal-religieus onderzoek', in: *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor de Schone Kunsten te Antwerpen* (1966), p. 107–132; P. Groenendijk, *Beknopt biografisch lexicon van Zuid- en Noord-Nederlandse schilders, graveurs, glasschilders, tapijtwevers et cetera, van ca. 1350 tot ca. 1720*, Leiden 2008; G. van Hemeldonck, 'Kunst en kunstenaars', Antwerp 2007, unpublished typescript, Rubenianum Antwerp; Briels, *Vlaamse schilders en de dageraad*, p. 291–411; M.J. Jan Bok and H. Nijboer, 'The Ecartico database', Amsterdam Centre for the Study of the Dutch Golden Age, <http://www.vondel.humanities.uva.nl/ecartico/> (accessed 25 November 2014); 'RKD Explore/Artists', Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, <https://rkd.nl/en/explore/artists> (accessed 25 November 2014).

5 M. Martens and N. Peeters, 'Artists by numbers. Quantifying artists' trades in sixteenth-century Antwerp', in: M. Faries (ed.), *Making and marketing. Studies of the painting process in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Netherlandish workshops*, Turnhout 2006, p. 211–222; N. Peeters, 'The Guild of St. Luke and the painter's profession in Antwerp', in: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 59 (2009), p. 137–162.

Crisis in Antwerp

Without a doubt, the Antwerp art market experienced the worst of times in the 1580s, as both the demand for art and the export of paintings took a severe blow, forcing painters to pursue new career strategies to make ends meet. The roots of this crisis stretched back to the 1560s, when the concomitant revolt against Habsburg rule and the rise of Calvinism had plunged the Low Countries into a civil war between Protestant rebels and Catholics loyal to Spain. During the ‘Wonder Year’ of 1566 a vocal Calvinist minority had briefly held sway over Antwerp, but their true rise to power began in 1578, when they successfully pressured the burgomasters to allow Protestant services within the city walls, alongside the Catholic Mass. Yet the fragile coexistence between Protestants and Catholics was not to last: by 1581 the Calvinists had effectively seized control of the Antwerp government, and the new burgomasters soon decided to ban Catholic worship, expel the clergy, and strip all churches and chapels of what they deemed to be idolatrous art.⁶

The Calvinist takeover of Antwerp had a dramatic impact on the art market. On the short term, demand for religious art – ranging from altar pieces to devotional images of the Virgin Mary – suffered a serious setback, since commissions from parishes and monastic orders dried up. Consumer demand for religious art also declined, as an estimated 8,000 Catholics fled into exile, most notably to Cologne.⁷ Fortunately, religious paintings were also popular with Protestant consumers, although probate inventories reveal that they had a clear preference for scenes from the Old Testament over images depicting saints, martyrs and the Holy Virgin, which formed the staple of Catholic iconography.⁸ Painters who specialised in religious art could therefore still absorb the shock by switching their visual repertoire to scenes from the Old Testament, which carried more favour with a Protestant clientele. The Calvinist painter Adriaen Thomasz. Key (c. 1545–after 1589) thus based much of his religious oeuvre on the Catholic scenes painted by Michiel Coxie (1499–1592), but he tellingly excluded God from his paintings and rendered figures like Saint Jerome more human-like to appeal to a wider audience.⁹

6 G. Marnef, ‘The changing face of Protestantism in Antwerp, 1558–1585’, in: A. Pettegree, A. Duke and G. Lewis (eds.), *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1620*, Cambridge 1994, p. 144–159. On the iconoclast purge of 1581, see F. Prims, ‘De beeldenstormerij van 1581’, in: *Antwerpiensia* 13 (1939), p. 183–189.

7 F. Donnet, *Les exilés anversois à Cologne, 1582–1585*, Antwerp 1899; J. Van Roey, ‘De bevolking’, in: W. Couvreur (ed.), *Antwerpen in de xvi^e eeuw*, Antwerp 1975, p. 101; G.H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic exile in Reformation Europe*, Cambridge 2014.

8 B. Hendrickx, ‘Het schilderijenbezit van de Antwerpse burger in de tweede helft van de zestiende eeuw. Een socio-economische analyse’, MA thesis, Catholic University of Leuven, 1997, vol. 1, p. 131–134; G. Marnef, *Antwerp in the age of Reformation. Underground Protestantism in a commercial metropolis, 1550–1577*, Baltimore 1996, p. 196–199.

9 K. Jonckheere, *Adriaen Thomasz. Key (c. 1545–c. 1589). Portrait of a Calvinist painter*, Turnhout 2007, p. 41–44. For an overview of the responses of Antwerp painters to the iconoclast revolt, see K. Jonckheere, *Antwerp art after iconoclasm. Experiments in decorum, 1566–1585*, Brussels 2012.

In the long term, the Calvinist dominance over Antwerp was to have even larger repercussions for the career prospects of its painters. In 1578 Philip II appointed Alexander Farnese (1545–1592) as his new governor-general to the Low Countries, who was to stem the tide of the revolt against Habsburg rule and re-catholicise the territories lost to the Protestants. Before long, Farnese mustered an impressive army that laid siege to the rebellious Calvinist cities in the south. His *reconquista* proved extremely successful: Tournai surrendered in 1582, and in 1584 Farnese captured Ypres, Bruges and Ghent, followed in 1585 by Brussels, Mechelen and, most famously, Antwerp. The prolonged military operation came at a heavy price, however, because the sieges and Spanish troops plundering the countryside disrupted the economy. In these uncertain times demand for art fell, while the export of paintings overseas was hampered by the war. Antwerp painters thus had to find new ways to survive on a tightening market.¹⁰

A first indication that painters were struggling to make ends meet was an off-hand remark by the deans of the Antwerp guild of St. Luke in 1579, when they noted that four painters who had recently joined the guild had not paid their full membership fees, apparently because they were too poor.¹¹ The painter Simon Ykens was one of them: unable to repay a debt of 73 guilders, he and his wife were forced in 1581 to mortgage ‘all their furniture, chattel, paintings & other goods that they currently own’, promising ‘not to sell, move or alter these in any way’.¹² Ykens was not the only painter struggling to survive, because when in 1584 the Antwerp burgomasters imposed a wartime tax on all inhabitants to defend the city against the besieging Spanish troops, only 20 out of the 108 painters listed in the register were taxed. The majority (81.5 per cent) were simply too impoverished to be taxed at all.¹³

Chances to make a living in Antwerp took another turn for the worse after the city surrendered to General Farnese in the summer of 1585. The one-year long siege had already devastated the urban economy, but when the harvests of 1585 and 1586 also failed due to an exceedingly wet spring and summer – just at a time when the rebels in the north blocked the river Scheldt and declared an embargo on the import of Baltic grain – Antwerp experienced the worst famine in decades.¹⁴ The Protestant population also faced a religious dilemma, because the reconciliation treaty concluded between the Antwerp burgomasters and General Farnese on 17 August 1585 stipulated that the

¹⁰ G. Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, second edition, London 1985, p. 208–216; Vermeylen, *Painting for the market* (n. 2), p. 45–46; H. van der Wee, *The growth of the Antwerp market and the European economy*, The Hague 1963, vol. 2, p. 245–249.

¹¹ *Liggeren* (n. 4), vol. 1, p. 269.

¹² Stadsarchief Antwerp (SAA), Schepenregisters (SR) 367, 1 August 1581, fols. 7v–8r: ‘Allen haere huys-raet, meuble goeden, schilderyen & andere goeden die sij tegenwoordigh binnen haere huysse hebben & hen toebehoren sijn, dewelcke sij beloven in conditie van desen nyet te vercoopen, versetten, noch te veranderen in eenige manieren.’ Ykens eventually moved to Middelburg, where the Admiralty of Zeeland employed him to decorate war vessels: K. Heyning, ‘Een schoon schip van oorloghe’, in: *Tijdschrift voor zeegechiedenis* 30.2 (2011), p. 7–8.

¹³ Van Roey, ‘Antwerpse schilders in 1584–1585’ (n. 4), p. 111–113.

¹⁴ Van der Wee, *Growth of the Antwerp market*, vol. 2, p. 259–262.

Table 1 Destinations of painters active in Antwerp between 1580 and 1585

Destination	Number of painters	% of total
Antwerp	81	36.7
Amsterdam	16	7.2
Middelburg	10	4.5
Dutch Republic (other cities)	14	5.9
Southern Netherlands	5	2.3
Germany	6	2.7
France	3	1.8
England	2	0.9
Italy	1	0.5
Departed, destination unknown	3	1.4
Unknown	80	36.2
Total	221	100.0

Source: see appendix.

city was to return under the obedience of the Church of Rome. Protestants were nevertheless granted a four-year clemency period ‘to consider and decide whether they would not want to exercise the old Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Religion’, after which time they had to leave the city with all their possessions.¹⁵ The combined result of these economic and religious pressures was a massive exodus, in particular to the towns of Holland and Zeeland. Within four years the Antwerp population was almost halved, falling from 82,000 inhabitants in 1585 to an estimated 42,000 in 1589.¹⁶ The departure of nearly half the city’s population seriously undercut local demand for art, thus aggravating the already precarious career perspectives of Antwerp painters.

Antwerp careers: new chances in a changing market

Yet despite this gloomy outlook many painters decided to remain in Antwerp rather than emigrate (table 1). Out of the 221 painters active in Antwerp between 1580 and 1585, at least 81 continued their trade in Antwerp, as opposed to 60 who left the city up until 1600. The percentage of departed painters (27.1 per cent) was also considerably lower than the average emigration percentage for the population of Antwerp (48.8 per cent). These figures should be treated with some caution, however, because the fate of the remaining 80 painters (36.2 per cent) is unknown – did they stay in Antwerp or

¹⁵ *Articulen, ende conditien vanden tractate, aengegaen ende ghesloten tusschen de hoocheyt vanden Prince van Parma ten eenre, ende de stadt van Antwerpen ter ander syden*, Antwerp 1585, p. 8: ‘Om hen daerentusschen te beraden ende resolveren oft sy sullen willen leven inde exercitie vande oude Catholijcke, Apostolijcke, Roomsche Religie.’ On Farnese’s reconciliation policy, see V. Soen, ‘Reconquista and reconciliation in the Dutch Revolt. The campaign of Governor-General Alexander Farnese (1578–1592)’, in: *Journal of Early Modern History* 16.1 (2012), p. 1–22.

¹⁶ Van Roey, ‘De bevolking’ (n. 7), p. 95–105.

leave? It is noteworthy, however, that 22 of them still paid their guild fees in 1588–1589, which suggests that they stayed in Antwerp, or left at a much later date. And although for many the archival trail goes cold after 1585, we do know that prior to the siege these were mostly run-of-the-mill painters: only Adriaen Thomasz. Key has left behind any work, and just 12 appear in the records as oil painters. These findings suggest that they were rather unsuccessful in continuing their artistic career after 1585, be it in Antwerp or elsewhere, and that they probably picked up a different trade.

Looking at the artists whose destination is known and who continued their artistic career does raise an interesting question: why did a surprisingly large number of painters decide to stay in Antwerp than leave? The answer, as social historians have shown, is that even in times of crisis migration is never the default option: people do not light-headedly set out for the unknown, but first weigh up the benefits of moving against the risks involved.¹⁷ In the case of Antwerp painters, the economic and religious attractions of other cities thus had to outweigh the opportunities on the Antwerp art market, the emotional price of leaving behind family and friends, and above all the uncertainty of pursuing their career elsewhere. Apparently, many Antwerp painters decided that staying home was preferable to a precarious future in the north.

A strong indication of the reluctance to leave home was the response of the Protestant community to Farnese's ultimatum to convert within four years. Although most of Antwerp's estimated 35,000 Protestants (including Calvinists, Lutherans and Anabaptists) emigrated, by 1591 the Antwerp bishop Laevinus Torrentius (1525–1595) estimated that 6,000 of them had remained and converted to Catholicism. The surviving baptism registers of four Antwerp parishes, in which the parents were marked as *reconciliati* if they had abjured their Protestant faith, reveal that by 1600 the total number of conversions had reached 7,490 – 21.4 per cent of the Protestant population. Moreover, most Protestants only abjured in August 1589, when the four-year deadline for reconciliation with the Church of Rome expired; they had clearly postponed emigration in the hope that the changing fortunes of the Dutch Revolt would bring the city back into the Protestant fold. In 1589 the Protestant community even tried to persuade Governor Farnese to extend his clemency period with another year, but the plan was blocked by Torrentius.¹⁸

For Protestant painters the religious dilemma was all the more acute. As the evangelical movement had spread across the Low Countries in the first half of the sixteenth century, the teachings of Luther and Calvin had enjoyed particular popularity among

¹⁷ D. Hoerder, J. Lucassen and L. Lucassen, 'Technologies and concepts of migration research', in: K.J. Bade et al. (eds.), *The encyclopaedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*, Cambridge 2011, p. xxvii; L. Page Moch, *Moving Europeans. Migration in Western Europe since 1650*, second edition, Bloomington 2003, p. 15–17.

¹⁸ G. Marnef, 'Protestant conversions in an age of Catholic Reformation. The case of sixteenth-century Antwerp', in: A.-J. Gelderblom, J.L. de Jong and M. van Vaeck (eds.), *The Low Countries as a crossroads of religious beliefs*, Leiden 2004, p. 37–47; M. Hendrickx, 'Enkele cijfers in verband met de bekeering van de protestanten te Antwerpen in 1585–1589', in: *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 41.3 (1967), p. 302–309; M.J. Marinus, *Laevinus Torrentius als tweede bisschop van Antwerpen, 1587–1595*, Brussels 1989, p. 162.

the Antwerp artisans and artists.¹⁹ By 1585 the painting community numbered at least 33 Calvinists, 23 Lutherans and one Anabaptist (57 Protestants in total), as opposed to 36 Catholics – unfortunately, the religious convictions of the other 128 painters are unknown.²⁰ As we shall see, most Protestant painters indeed left Antwerp in the wake of the capture, but this decision was not self-evident, as a significant group stayed behind and converted to Catholicism. Out of the 31 painters who remained in Antwerp and whose religious convictions are known, 17 were Catholic, but the other 14 consisted of 4 Calvinists and 10 Lutherans. The percentage of Lutheran painters staying in Antwerp was thus considerably higher than that of Calvinist painters (32.3 versus 12.9 per cent), which may well have been the result of the more lenient attitude of Farnese towards the Lutheran community. In the fall of 1585, for instance, he ordered the new city council to purge the Antwerp civic militia of all Calvinists and Anabaptists, but the Lutheran militiamen were exempted.²¹

Protestant painters who remained in Antwerp probably decided very early on that converting was preferable to emigration. When in 1585 Catholic militia officers conducted house-to-house visits to inquire into the religious convictions of their militiamen, drawing up extensive registers for the imminent purge, some men were marked as both Calvinist and Catholic. A closer look at the painters who received this ambivalent label shows that they were in fact Calvinists who remained in Antwerp and eventually converted to Catholicism.²² They included the chest painter Nicolaes Geerts, who was still active in Antwerp by 1607, and Jan Snellinck (1549–1638), who abjured his Calvinist beliefs and set up a thriving workshop that produced grand Counter-Reformation paintings, such as the *Resurrection of Christ* (1602) for the cathedral of Mechelen and a series of battle scenes for the archdukes Albrecht and Isabella.²³ In April 1586 the Lutheran history painter Maarten de Vos (1532–1603) likewise admitted that although he had initially wished to settle in Germany, he had resolved to stay in Antwerp and convert to Catholicism ‘because he has a large family there, several adult daughters, many affairs, and moving would take some time.’²⁴

19 Marnef, *Antwerp in the age of Reformation* (n. 8), p. 71–72; Marnef, ‘The changing face of Protestantism in Antwerp’ (n. 6), p. 153–154; D. Freedberg, *Iconoclasm and painting in the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1566–1609*, New York 1988, p. 169–170.

20 See the appendix. Van Roey, ‘Antwerpse schilders in 1584–1585’ (n. 4), found 32 Protestant and 35 Catholic painters in the 1585 registers drawn up to purge the Antwerp militia of Protestants, yet these registers evidently underestimate the number of Protestant painters.

21 R. Boumans, ‘De getalsterkte van katholieken en protestanten te Antwerpen in 1585’, in: *Belgisch tijdschrift voor philologie en geschiedenis* 30 (1952), p. 745–750.

22 Ibidem, p. 741–798; Van Roey, ‘Antwerpse schilders in 1584–1585’, p. 113.

23 On Geerts, see *Liggen* (n. 4), vol. 1, p. 335, 445. For Snellinck’s career, see A. Montbaillieu, ‘Aantekeningen bij de schilderijeninventaris van het sterfhuis van Jan Snellinck (1549–1638)’, in: *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1976), p. 245–268; F.J. van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool*, Antwerp 1883, p. 431–438.

24 Cited in A. Zweite, *Marten de Vos als Maler. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Antwerper Malerei in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1980, p. 27, n. 42: ‘Nam familiam habet magnam, plures filias adultas, plurima quae agat, et tempus discedendi.’

One of the main reasons why painters decided to remain, even if they were Protestants, was that the urban economy soon showed encouraging signs of recovery. In April 1587 the States-General lifted the blockade of the river Scheldt, allowing merchants to resume their trade in exchange for a toll levied at the border fortress of Lillo or at one of the toll stations in the merchant towns of Zeeland. As a result, the river trade from Antwerp to Zeeland reached pre-Revolt levels already in 1588 and doubled in volume within a decade.²⁵ The resumption of cross-border trade was a blessing for Antwerp painters, who could once more export their paintings abroad, a lucrative trade that had been a major pillar underneath the Antwerp art market prior to the siege. Precise figures for the decades after 1585 are lacking, but there is evidence that the art trade was picking up again. The single surviving Lillo toll register for these early years, dated November 1590, shows the merchant Jaques de Guytere passing two casks of paintings and drawings, and Mattheeus Franssen paying toll on a case of paintings bound for Zeeland.²⁶

In fact, it was the export of cheap, mass-produced paintings that helped Antwerp painters to overcome the crisis of 1585: despite the exodus of nearly half the population, painters could still sell their pictures to consumers abroad. The revival of the Antwerp art trade is most evident from the growing number of professional art dealers in the city. Nine of the painters included in the sample continued to trade in paintings after 1585, but they were joined by at least another seven dealers until 1600.²⁷ The most prominent art dealer was Bartholomeus de Momper (1540–1598), who ran a permanent art gallery on the second floor of the Antwerp exchange, where art dealers could rent stalls to sell paintings. After the capture of Antwerp in 1585 De Momper struggled to find tenants, but not because trade was dwindling. On the contrary, in 1595 he complained to the city burgomasters that art dealers were running a flourishing business in the downstairs galleries of the exchange, where they freely exhibited their paintings ‘not just on weekdays, but also and principally on Sundays and feast days’, thus avoiding the expensive stalls rented out by De Momper.²⁸ These dealers mostly sold inexpensive pictures. When in 1599 the Mechelen-born art dealer Pauwels van der Borcht passed away in Antwerp, the inventory of his shop comprised no less than 466 water-colour paintings, which were considerably cheaper to produce than oil paintings. The notary even listed seven rolls of cloth, each of which contained multiple landscapes, suggesting that these were fairly similar, mass-produced scenes.

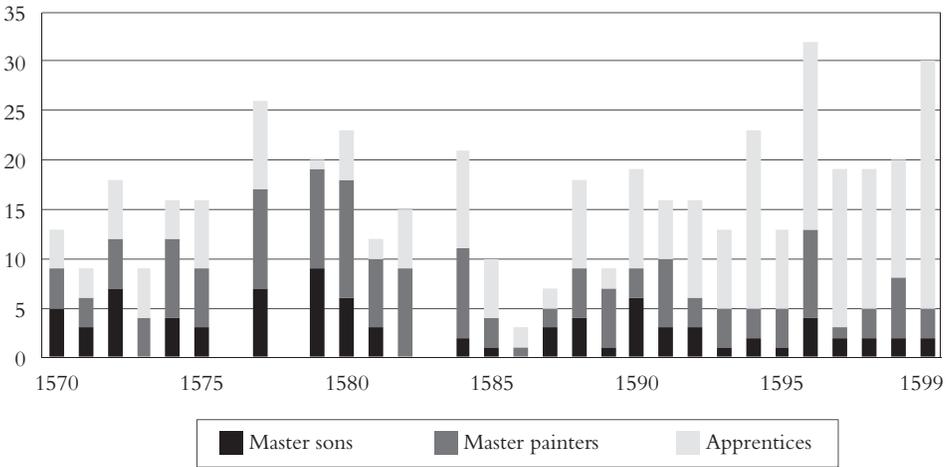
²⁵ Van der Wee, *Growth of the Antwerp market* (n. 10), vol. 2, p. 274; V. Enthoven, ‘Zeeland en de opkomst van de Republiek. Handel en strijd in de Scheldedelta, c. 1550–1621’, PhD diss. Leiden University 1996, p. 109–121, 220.

²⁶ Toll register Lillo, 28 November 1590, Zeeuws Archief Middelburg (ZA), Rekenkamer B, 5071, fol. 3r–v. Complete sets of registers were only kept from 1628 onwards.

²⁷ Vermeylen, *Painting for the market* (n. 2), p. 195, lists five new art dealers after 1585, but does not mention the art dealer Pauwels van der Borcht (see below), nor Cornelis van Dale the Younger (†1625), who registered with the guild as an art dealer in 1590; see *Liggeren*, vol. 1, p. 323, 359.

²⁸ Vermeylen, *Painting for the market*, p. 50–61, 116–18. A transcript of De Momper’s petition is transcribed on p. 200.

Fig. 1 Inscription of new painters in the Antwerp guild of St. Luke, 1570–1599



Source: Liggeren (n. 4), vol. 1, p. 239–410. The registers for the years 1578 and 1583 have been lost; no painters registered in 1576.

Van der Borcht's total stock was valued at 985 guilders, an average of just two guilders per landscape.²⁹

Another indication that the art market was rebounding was the growing number of apprentices registering with the Antwerp guild of St. Luke (fig. 1). Although there was a clear dip in the years 1585–1587, from 1588 onwards registrations rose again, in particular the number of apprentices. The parents of promising young painters clearly saw possibilities on the art market; otherwise they would never have set their children on an uncertain career. Among these pupils was the 14-year-old Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), who would become the epitome of Antwerp Baroque painting in the early seventeenth century, but who was still an artistic nobody in 1591, the year he began his training in the workshop of the landscape painter Tobias Verhaeght.³⁰ In fact, from 1585 onwards Antwerp masters were taking on more apprentices than ever before, which led to a rapid growth in the size of their workshops. Between 1570 and 1585 a total of 67 apprentices trained with 42 masters (an average of 1.6), but in the years 1586–1600 this ratio changed significantly, as 183 new apprentices were taken in by 70 masters (2.6 on average). Indeed, prior to the capture of Antwerp the overwhelming majority of master painters had just one or two pupils working for them, and workshops of more than three apprentices were extremely rare.³¹ Yet from 1586 onwards large workshops became

²⁹ E. Neeffs, *Histoire de la peinture à Malines*, Ghent 1876, vol. 1, p. 286; Liggeren, vol. 1, p. 233, 339; E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, Antwerp 1984–2009, vol. 1, p. 3–6.

³⁰ K.L. Belkin, *Rubens*, London 1998, p. 22–28.

³¹ Martens and Peeters, 'Artists by numbers' (n. 5), p. 216–218, reach a similar conclusion for the period 1500–1579.

a regular feature of the Antwerp art market: Adam van Noort (1562–1641), for instance, had no less than 15 pupils working for him until 1600, while another 22 painters took on at least three apprentices, including Juliaen Teniers (nine pupils), Jan Snellinck (eight), Tobias Verhaecht (seven), Philips Lisaert III (six), and David Remeus (also six).

The expanding Antwerp workshops not only suggest that demand for art was on the rise, but also that the production of paintings was taking place on a much larger, almost industrialized scale, as masters were using apprentices as a cheap workforce to increase their output and produce many similar pictures.³² Even masters catering to the higher end of the art market relied on this strategy, such as the brothers Ambrosius Francken I (1544–1618) and Frans Francken (1542–1616), who had their most talented pupils assist them in the production of copies.³³ A new ordinance issued by the Antwerp guild of St. Luke in 1586 is revealing of the economic potential of apprentices: they were to work for their masters without any form of remuneration for at least three years, and both in summer and winter they laboured from six o'clock in the morning until eight o'clock in the evening.³⁴ By 1608 the Antwerp export industry had become so successful that the Dutch Republic was awash with cheap, low-quality paintings, prompting guilds all over Holland to protest against the import of what they called 'Brabant rubbish'.³⁵ For instance, the painter and art dealer Jacques van der Lamén (1584–1626) had begun his career in Antwerp, but by 1608 he was living in Amsterdam, where he sold 74 anonymous paintings in a public auction.³⁶

The economic recovery of Antwerp went hand in hand with the re-Catholicisation of the city, which also created new opportunities for painters. After 1585 many expelled clergymen returned home, as well as Catholic families who had fled the Calvinist-controlled city in the early 1580s. Imbued with the vibrant Tridentine Catholicism of the Jesuits they had encountered abroad, these returning exiles were promoted to key positions in the Antwerp city government and founded Marian confraternities, which pushed for the restoration of works of art that had been destroyed under Calvinist rule.³⁷ It is telling that already on 9 September 1585, just weeks after the capture of Antwerp, the new burgomasters ordered the restoration of all destroyed altar pieces in the

³² For similar developments in Mechelen, see the contribution of Hans van Miegroet to this volume.

³³ N. Peeters, 'Marked for the market? Continuity, collaboration and the mechanics of artistic production of history painting in the Francken workshops in Counter-Reformation Antwerp', in: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 50 (1999), p. 63–66.

³⁴ J.B. van der Straelen, *Jaerboek der vermaerde en kunstryke gilde van Sint Lucas binnen de stad Antwerpen, behelzende de gedenkweerdigste geschiedenissen in dit genootschap voorgevallen sedert het jaer 1434 tot het jaer 1795*, Antwerp 1855, p. 66–68.

³⁵ Sluijter, 'On Brabant rubbish' (n. 1).

³⁶ Briels, *Vlaamse schilders en de dageraad* (n. 1), p. 350–351. The details of Van der Lamén's auction sale are available online, see J.M. Montias, 'The Montias database of seventeenth-century Dutch art inventories', The Frick Collection, inventory no. 698, <http://research.frick.org/montias/browsercord.php?action=browse&recid=1880> (accessed 25 November 2014).

³⁷ A.K.L. Thijs, *Van geuzenstad tot katholiek bolwerk. Antwerpen en de contra-reformatie*, Turnhout 1990, p. 61–125; Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic exile*, p. 131–155; G.H. Janssen, 'The Counter-Reformation of the refugee. Exile and the shaping of Catholic militancy in the Dutch Revolt', in: *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 63.4 (2012), p. 671–692.

city's churches, chapels and convents.³⁸ The artistic effort was immense: by 1590 bishop Torrentius had re-consecrated no less than 72 altars throughout the city, most of which had to be refurbished with new paintings.³⁹ The city cathedral in particular required a substantial make-over. Over the course of the sixteenth century the Antwerp guilds had rivalled each other in erecting sumptuous altars, but as these had virtually all disappeared during the Calvinist regime, the guilds commissioned 30 new paintings to replace them. Such commissions provided lucrative work for famous artists like Maarten de Vos, the Francken brothers, Rafael Coxie, and Crispijn van den Broeck, but also for some lesser-known figures like Pieter Balten, Bernard de Rijckere, Jan Snelinck, and Gillis Mostaert.⁴⁰ The first altar to be completed in the Antwerp cathedral was that of the joint guild of schoolmasters and soap-boilers. In March 1586 the deans contracted Frans Francken to deliver a triptych depicting Jesus among the doctors, to be finished in four months for the generous sum of 240 guilders (fig. 2).⁴¹

Yet not all Antwerp painters were highly skilled artists who were able to deliver lavish altar pieces. The painting community was in fact highly diverse, including both high-end artists and run-of-the-mill painters of whom no work has been preserved, as well as artists commonly referred to as *grofschilders* or *kladschilders*, who decorated houses and furniture or painted signs, plates and playing cards. Out of the 81 painters who remained in Antwerp, 49 produced oil paintings, but only 21 of them have left behind any work. The other 32 artists were either house painters (at least seven documented cases) or humble painters who produced cheap, low-quality pictures that have not survived the ages or are now among the many anonymous works of art from this period.

Faced with a crisis on the art market, it is possible that many of these lower-end painters began catering to different segments of the art market. When in the 1660s fierce competition and dwindling demand for paintings put Dutch artists in a similar position, many oil painters in Leiden instead became interior decorators, painting ceilings, furniture and signs. Whereas the number of oil painters in the Leiden guild of St. Luke steadily fell after 1660, the number of *huisschilders* thus grew exponentially.⁴² Unfortunately, the Antwerp guild registers do not systematically inform us about the evolving careers of painters, but scattered evidence indicates that Antwerp artists also responded to the crisis of the 1580s by redirecting their artistic career. For example, Samuel Engellant had trained with the history painter Antoni de Palermo before joining the guild as

³⁸ Thijs, *Van geuzenstad tot katholiek bolwerk*, p. 117.

³⁹ Marinus, *Laevinus Torrentius* (n. 18), p. 150.

⁴⁰ J. van Brabant, *Rampspoed en restauratie. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de uitrusting en restauratie der Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekathedraal van Antwerpen*, Antwerp 1975, p. 46-57; J. Dambuyne, 'Corporative capital and social representation in the Southern and Northern Netherlands, 1500-1800', in: M. Prak et al. (eds.), *Craft guilds in the early modern Low Countries. Work, power, and representation*, Aldershot 2006, p. 211-213.

⁴¹ N. Peeters, 'Frans I and Ambrosius Francken, painters of the metropolis Antwerp, and their altarpieces in the years just after the fall of Antwerp, 1585-1589', in: *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (2003) p. 681-691; F. Prims, 'Altaarstudieën', in: *Antwerpiensia*, 13 (1939), p. 395-401.

⁴² P. Bakker, 'Crisis? Welke crisis? Kanttekeningen bij het economisch verval van de schilderkunst in Leiden na 1660', in: *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 27.2 (2011), p. 232-269.

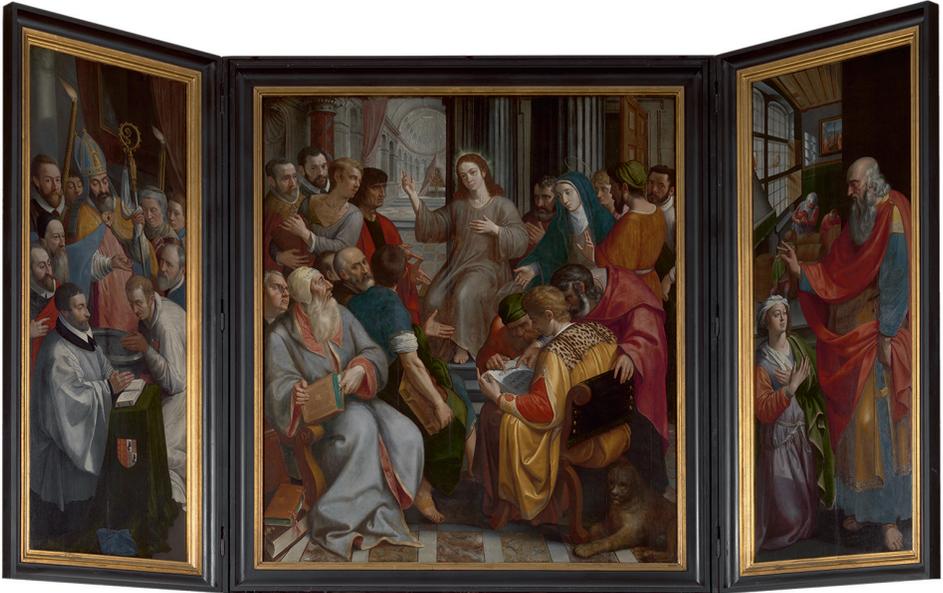


Fig. 2 Frans Francken, Jesus among the doctors, 1586, Antwerp, Onze-Lieve-Vrouwe Kathedraal © Lukas – Art in Flanders, photo Dominique Provost.

a master in 1581, but in 1584 he had run up a debt of 400 guilders. To survive the crisis he instead became *huisschilder*.⁴³ Likewise, Cornelis Nuyts initially registered as a *tafereel-maker* (painter of pictures), but in 1588 he appeared in the guild accounts as a merchant in paint, alongside four other dealers in pigments.⁴⁴ Even for struggling painters, then, the Antwerp art market still offered possibilities to make ends meet.

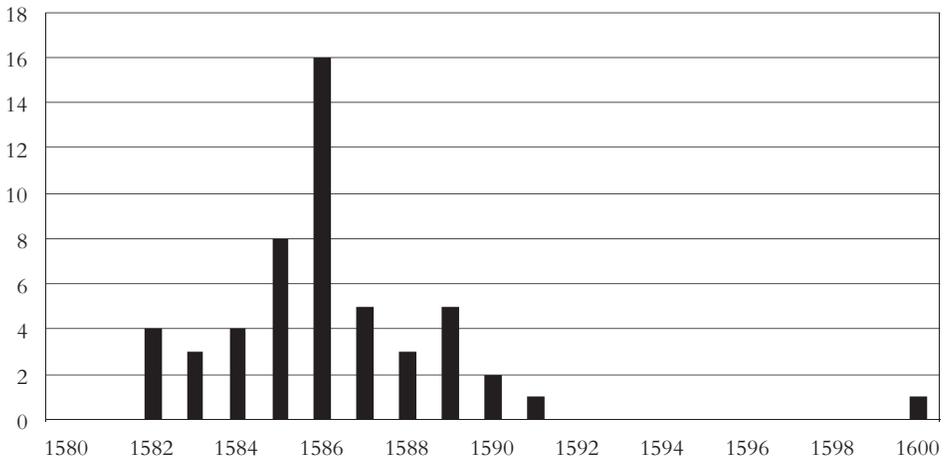
Painters on the move

A minority of painters did leave Antwerp after 1585. Out of the 221 artists in the sample, at least 60 moved to other cities (see table 1). They were not the first to leave, as a handful of painters had already emigrated during the first stages of the Dutch Revolt. After an iconoclast fury had swept across the Low Countries in 1566, the Duke of Alba (1507–1582) had forcibly restored Habsburg rule at the head of a 10,000-strong army, persecuting image-breakers and rebels before the Council of Troubles. In response to

⁴³ Testimony of Antoni de Palermo, 16 May 1575, SAA, SR 341, fol. 220v; *Liggeren* (n. 4), vol. 1, p. 277, 527; testimony of Samuel Engelant, 17 February 1584, SAA, Certificatieboek 45, fol. 378. In 1609 Engelant was still too poor to pay off his debts: Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen* (n. 29), vol. 1, p. 205.

⁴⁴ *Liggeren*, vol. 1, p. 225, 338. For the Antwerp trade in paint, see F. Vermeylen 'The colour of money. Dealing in pigments in sixteenth-century Antwerp', in: J.K. Atkinson (ed.), *European trade in painters' materials to 1700*, London 2010, p. 356–365.

Fig. 3 Painters leaving Antwerp, 1580–1600



Source: appendix.

these policies some 3,000 Antwerp inhabitants – mostly Protestants and rebels sympathising with the Prince of Orange – fled to England and Germany, including at least 20 painters.⁴⁵ In 1567, for example, the Lutheran painter Lucas van Valckenborch (1535–1597) obtained a passport to visit the fairs of Cologne, but the authorities soon discovered that he had taken all his furniture with him and emigrated to Aachen. In 1570 he was joined by his brother Marten (1534–1612), the Calvinist painter Hans Vredeman de Vries (1526–1609), and Hendrick van Steenwijck (c. 1550–1603). Yet all these men returned to Antwerp when the fortunes of the Dutch Revolt changed with the capture of Brielle in 1572 and the recall of Alba in 1573. Already in 1572 Vredeman de Vries wrote to the deans of the Antwerp guild of St. Luke to ask for an attestation testifying to his good behaviour during the troubles, and by 1575 he was back in Antwerp, just as the Valckenborch brothers, followed by Van Steenwijck in 1577.⁴⁶

The capture of Antwerp in 1585 provoked a second migration wave, made up mostly of Protestant artists (fig. 3). Out of the 34 departing painters whose religious convictions

⁴⁵ Parker, *Dutch Revolt* (n. 10), p. 99–117; Van Roey, ‘De bevolking’ (n. 7), p. 100–101; Freedberg, *Iconoclasm and painting* (n. 19), p. 167–194; M. Martens and N. Peeters, ‘A tale of two cities. Antwerp artists and artisans in London in the sixteenth century’, in: J. Roding et al. (eds.), *Dutch and Flemish artists in Britain, 1550–1800*, Leiden 2003, p. 34–36. For the number of refugee painters between 1565 and 1574, see F. Vermeylen, ‘Greener pastures? Capturing artists’ migrations during the Dutch Revolt’, in: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 63 (2013), p. 46.

⁴⁶ A. Wied, *Lucas und Marten van Valckenborch (1535–1597 und 1534–1612). Das Gesamtwerk mit kritischem Euvrekatalog*, Freren 1990, p. 13–14, 233–234; H. Borggreffe, ‘Hans Vredeman de Vries, 1526–1609’, in: H. Borggreffe, T. Fussenig and B. Uppenkamp (eds.), *Tussen stadspaleizen en luchtkastelen. Hans Vredeman de Vries en de Renaissance*, Ghent 2002, p. 18–19; J. Howarth, *The Steenwijck family as masters of perspective*, Turnhout 2009, p. 2–3.

are known, only three were Catholic; the majority were Calvinist (21 painters), Lutheran (nine), or Anabaptist (one). As shown in figure 3, emigration peaked in 1586. Although some artists had left prior to the siege, the number of departures was comparatively low in the early 1580s – only in 1582 did the deans of the guild of St. Luke remark that a handful of painters had ‘left because of the bad times’.⁴⁷ The year 1585 saw a clear upsurge in departures, but the real peak was in 1586, when 16 painters left Antwerp. Smaller groups followed in subsequent years, such as in 1589, when it became clear that Governor Farnese would not extend his deadline for reconciliation with the Church of Rome. These trends mirror those of the Antwerp population at large: most people emigrated either in 1585–1586 or in 1589.⁴⁸

The reason why most painters did not leave prior to the capture of Antwerp, or even directly in 1585, was the difficulty of settling their affairs, in particular the sale of property. In the wake of the capture house prices and rents had dropped by almost 50 per cent, which meant that property could only be sold at a serious loss, making emigration more difficult.⁴⁹ Those who left Antwerp already in 1585 and 1586 were therefore painters who rented a house or had little possessions they needed to sell before they could leave. Painters who owned a house generally stayed in town or only left in later years. Matthijs de Musser, for instance, owned a house near the Eiermarkt, so he probably only moved to Amsterdam in 1590, when he married Truyccken Verhagen, also from Antwerp.⁵⁰ Other painters entrusted their property to converted family members, who could rent out or sell their house when the real estate market would recover. The Calvinist painter and art dealer François Provost left Antwerp in the summer of 1589, but before his departure he empowered his son Peter to manage his property.⁵¹ We know, however, that few Antwerp painters owned a house, which meant that emigration should have been an easy option.⁵² Many nonetheless had possessions they needed to either sell or transport, in particular their stock of paintings. In January 1585, for instance, witnesses testified that they had seen landscape painter Gillis van Coninxloo (1544–1607) ‘packing many goods and chests, and sending them away’; by the end of the year he had left for Middelburg, before settling in Germany.⁵³

The migration wave of the 1580s differed from the previous wave of 1566–1572 in two important respects: not only was it much larger in scope, the 60 painters who left also went into different directions. Whereas only eight artists went to England

47 *Liggeren*, vol. 1, p. 282: ‘Mits den quaden tyt vertrocken sijn.’

48 Van Roey, ‘De bevolking’, p. 101–102.

49 *Ibidem*, p. 103; Van der Wee, *Growth of the Antwerp market* (n. 10), vol. 1, p. 487; Marinus, *Laevinius Torrentius* (n. 18), p. 164.

50 Briels, *Vlaamse schilders en de dageraad* (n. 1), p. 362.

51 Agreement between François Provost and his son Peter, 10 February 1589, SAA, Notariële akten (N) 863, fols. 365v–366r; testimony for François Provost, 5 July 1589, SAA, Certificatieboek 50, fol. 297v.

52 Out of the 108 painters listed in the tax registers for 1584–1585, only 17 owned a house; Van Roey, ‘Antwerpse schilders in 1584–1585’ (n. 4), p. 115–129.

53 Testimony on Gillis van Coninxloo, 21 January 1585, SAA, N 2703, fol. 5v: ‘Dat de voorn. Gillis heeft nu ontlanx doen packen veele goeden ende kisten ende de selve wech gesonden.’

and the German Rhineland, the majority settled in the merchant towns of Holland and Zeeland, which had not figured as destinations during the previous emigration. Those who moved to Germany were precisely those painters who had already emigrated there after 1566, including Vredeman de Vries, the Valckenborch brothers and Van Steenwijck, although this time they settled in Frankfurt, which became an important centre for refugees from the Low Countries.⁵⁴ Another second-time emigrant was Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder (1519–1591). A Calvinist from Bruges, he had first left the Low Countries in 1568 to settle in London, after he was condemned for producing satirical prints against the pope and the Church of Rome. By 1577 he was back in Antwerp, leaving behind his wife Susanna and his son, the future painter Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger (1561–1635). It comes as no surprise that after the capture of Antwerp Marcus the Elder again emigrated to London to join his family and pursue his artistic career.⁵⁵ These migration patterns suggest that the existence of professional and familial ties were a key factor in determining where painters went. Artists who had previously emigrated had gained knowledge of foreign art markets and had built up a network of family and friends abroad, which facilitated emigration along the same routes after 1585. Indeed, migration historians have shown that social networks have a big impact on the destination of migrants, who have to rely on relatives and friends already living abroad to provide them with aid, information and encouragement (also known as chain migration).⁵⁶

Conversely, painters who first left Antwerp in the 1580s virtually all followed new routes, as the majority settled in the merchant cities of Holland and Zeeland, in particular Amsterdam (16 painters) and Middelburg (10 painters). The decision to move to Amsterdam may seem unsurprising from our current vantage point, as the city became one of the foremost artistic centres of the Golden Age, but in the sixteenth century it was still a backwater. While at least 221 painters were active in Antwerp between 1580 and 1585, Amsterdam numbered less than 20 painters, who had only organised themselves in a separate guild of St. Luke as late as 1579, together with the glaziers, sculptors, embroiderers, and tapestry makers.⁵⁷

54 Borggreffe, 'Hans Vredeman de Vries' (n. 46), p. 22; Wied, *Lucas und Marten van Valckenborch* (n. 46), p. 14; Howarth, *The Steenwyck family* (n. 46), p. 4–7. On Frankfurt as a centre for Netherlandish artists, see F. Berger, *Glaube, Macht, Kunst. Antwerpen-Frankfurt um 1600*. Frankfurt 2005, p. 119–130.

55 K. Hearn, *Marcus Gheeraerts II. Elizabethan artist*, London 2002; R. Poole, 'Marcus Gheeraerts, father and son, painters', in: *Annual Volume of the Walpole Society* 3 (1913–1914), p. 1–9; E. Hodnett, *Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder of Bruges*, London, Antwerp, Utrecht 1971, p. 7–21.

56 C. Lesger, 'Informatiestromen en de herkomstgebieden van migranten in de Nederlanden in de vroegmoderne tijd', in: *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 3.1 (2006), p. 3–23; Hoerder, Lucassen and Lucassen, 'Technologies and concepts of migration research' (n. 17), p. xxvii–xxviii. See also Vermeylen, 'Greener pastures?' (n. 45), p. 45, 49–50.

57 I.H. van Eeghen, 'The Amsterdam guild of Saint Luke in the seventeenth century', in: *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 4.2 (2012), <http://www.jhna.org/index.php/past-issues/volume-4-issue-2/167-the-amsterdam-guild-of-saint-luke-in-the-17th-century> (accessed 25 November 2014); G.J. Hoogewerff, *De geschiedenis van de St. Lucasgilden in Nederland*, Amsterdam 1947, p. 142. The size of the Amsterdam painting community has been calculated using Bok and Nijboer, 'The Ecartico database' (n. 4).

The small size of the Amsterdam painting community indicates that the art market was of relatively little importance, geared mostly towards local consumption. Before the outbreak of the Revolt painters in Amsterdam mostly relied on commissions from the religious and urban elites, not on the open market, and they overwhelmingly produced religious scenes and portraits. Moreover, the iconoclast revolt that struck Amsterdam in 1566 and the take-over in 1578 by a Calvinist city government led to a dramatic drop in commissions, forcing painters to tap into private demand.⁵⁸ According to the artist biographer Karel van Mander (1548–1606), the Amsterdam painter Pieter Pietersz. I (c. 1541–1603) had to abandon altar pieces and history scenes in favour of portraits, ‘because very few large-scale works were commissioned in his time.’⁵⁹

Amsterdam, in other words, was a risky destination, but for Antwerp painters seeking to pursue their career it also offered new opportunities. To explain why they settled in Amsterdam we must look to other factors, in particular the changes that transformed the city and its art market in the closing decades of the sixteenth century. From 1585 onwards Amsterdam rapidly caught up with the artistic centres in the south thanks to the stream of refugees arriving from Flanders and Brabant. What had been a modest provincial town became a bustling metropolis, its population of around 27,000 inhabitants exploding to 60,000 by 1600.⁶⁰ As the massive influx of manpower, skills and capital boosted the urban economy, purchasing power among the Amsterdam elites and middling classes grew accordingly, which in turn created new demand for art. This was especially true for the many Southerners, who were accustomed to buying paintings on the open market, especially still lifes and landscapes – genres that were hard to come by in Amsterdam, but which immigrant painters from Antwerp could supply.⁶¹ A strong indication that the demand of Southerners created new opportunities for immigrant painters is provided by the registers of auction sales held in Amsterdam. Between 1597 and 1619, 54 per cent of all buyers (141 out of 263) were immigrants from Flanders and Brabant, including 98 from Antwerp, whereas only 42 buyers (16 per cent) were native to Amsterdam. Among the cluster of 139 merchant buyers the percentage of Southerners even rose to 60.⁶²

58 J.M. Montias, ‘Cost and value in seventeenth-century Dutch art’, in: *Art History* 10.4 (1987), p. 459; Montias, *Artists and artisans in Delft* (n. 1), p. 11–43. For the upheavals in Amsterdam, see H. van Nierop, ‘Van Wonderjaar tot Alteratie, 1566–1578’, in: M. Carasso-Kok (ed.), *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 2004, vol. 1, p. 451–481.

59 K. van Mander, *The lives of the illustrious Netherlandish and German painters*, ed. H. Miedema, Doornspijk 1994, vol. 1, fol. 244v. For the career of Pieter Pietersz., see N. de Roever, ‘Pieter Aertsz., gezegd Lange Pier, vermaard schilder’, in: *Oud Holland* 7 (1889), p. 10–14.

60 J. Briels, *Zuid-Nederlanders in de Republiek, 1572–1630. Een demografische en culturele studie*, Sint-Niklaas 1985, p. 116–125.

61 Sluijter, ‘On Brabant rubbish’ (n. 1); M.J. Jan Bok, ‘Art-lovers and their paintings. Van Mander’s Schilder-boeck as a source for the history of the art market in the Northern Netherlands’, in: G. Luijten et al. (eds.), *Dawn of the Golden Age. Northern Netherlandish art*, Zwolle 1993, p. 136–166; J.M. Montias, *Le marché de l’art aux Pays-Bas, xve–xviiè siècles*, Paris 1996, p. 55–90.

62 J.M. Montias, *Art at auction in 17th-century Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 2002, p. 62–63.

Amsterdam also offered immigrant painters an advantage over other Dutch cities. Precisely because the guild of St. Luke had been established only in 1579, its authority was less well-defined than in the more prominent artistic centres of Delft, Utrecht and Haarlem, where membership was carefully policed by the guild, and where outsiders were barred from the market unless they paid the required fees.⁶³ Painters in Amsterdam nominally had to purchase guild membership and town citizenship, too, but the repeated warnings issued by the guild to persuade painters to register betray that many never did.⁶⁴ Research on probate inventories also shows that outsiders entered the Amsterdam market more readily than elsewhere: whereas in Delft 60 per cent of all paintings were produced by local painters, and in Haarlem even 80 per cent, in Amsterdam this figure reached just 42.5 per cent.⁶⁵

Still, in 1585 the decision to settle in Amsterdam was not a gambit that established Antwerp masters were willing to make; they preferred the well-trodden path leading to Germany or London. Second-rate painters who had little to lose, on the other hand, did move to Amsterdam. A closer look at the 16 painters who went there reveals that most of them are virtually unknown: only four have left behind painted work, namely Frans Boels, Hans Bol, Gillis Coignet and Hans Rem. It was only the second generation of painters – either born in the south or descended from immigrant parents – that was responsible for the phenomenal take-off in production, as well as for the emergence of new genres.⁶⁶ The Antwerp painter Frans Badens I (c. 1549–1604) is a case in point. Badens had moved to Amsterdam with his family in 1585, but he remained a rather obscure artist whose work has not been preserved. His son Frans Badens II (1571–1618), on the other hand, became a highly successful and sought-after artist who introduced Italianate painting to Amsterdam, in particular the art of painting nude bodies that radiated a new sensuality.⁶⁷

The second major destination for painters leaving Antwerp was Middelburg, a merchant town in the province of Zeeland. Although during the Golden Age the city lagged behind the towns of Holland, in the late sixteenth century it was a thriving artistic hub, which made moving there decidedly less risky. In fact, Middelburg had been closely linked to the major artistic centres in nearby Flanders and Brabant since

63 Montias, *Artists and artisans in Delft*, p. 80–82; Montias, *Le marché de l'art aux Pays-Bas*, p. 93; S. Muller, *Schilders-verenigingen te Utrecht*, Utrecht 1880, p. 7–8; M. Prak, 'Guilds and the development of the art market during the Dutch Golden Age', in: *Simiolus* 30.3–4 (2003), p. 242–243.

64 Van Eeghen, 'The Amsterdam guild of Saint Luke' (n. 57); Hoogewerff, *Geschiedenis van de St. Lucas-gilden in Nederland* (n. 57), p. 143–145.

65 J.M. Montias, 'Art dealers in the seventeenth-century Netherlands', in: *Simiolus* 18.4 (1988), p. 248–249; Prak, 'Guilds and the development of the art market', p. 247; J.M. Montias, 'Works of art in seventeenth-century Amsterdam. An analysis of subjects and attributions', in: D. Freedberg and J. de Vries (eds.), *Art in history/history in art. Studies in seventeenth-century Dutch culture*, Santa Monica 1991, p. 331–372.

66 Sluijter, 'On Brabant rubbish'.

67 Briels, *Vlaamse schilders en de dageraad* (n. 1), p. 296–297; E.J. Sluijter, 'Goltzius, painting and flesh. Or, why Goltzius began to paint in 1600', in: M. van den Doel et al. (eds.), *The learned eye. Regarding art, theory, and the artist's reputation*, Amsterdam 2005, p. 162–168; G.T. Faggin, 'Frans Badens (Il Carracci di Amsterdam)', in: *Arte Veneta* 23 (1969), p. 131–44.

the early sixteenth century. Just as in Amsterdam the guild of St. Luke numbered just a handful of painters prior to 1585, but this was due to the city's close proximity to Antwerp, not because demand for art was lacking: much of the religious art commissioned by the Catholic churches and convents was imported from the south rather than produced locally.⁶⁸ When in 1567 the Middelburg town council ordered the restoration and replacement of religious art that had been destroyed during the iconoclast revolt of 1566, most orders therefore went to Southern artists. For example, the Antwerp painter Huybrecht Beuckelaer (c. 1530–c. 1605) was commissioned to repaint the wings of two altar pieces in the Franciscan convent, while Christiaen van der Perre from Brussels was paid to deliver a *Resurrection* for the altar of the Fishmongers' guild in the church of St. Martin.⁶⁹

In contrast to Amsterdam, moreover, consumer demand for art was booming in Middelburg already prior to the arrival of Southern immigrants. Because of its strategic location in the Scheldt estuary the city had become an important trade hub on the route to Antwerp, creating a class of prosperous merchants and artisans that conspicuously spent its money on paintings, statues and silverware produced in Flanders and Brabant. A sample of 24 Middelburg inventories from 1567 demonstrates that on average they possessed 12 works of art, a figure close to that of Antwerp households in the period 1565–1585, where the average number of paintings alone amounted to 12. Moreover, the Middelburg inventories contain not just religious scenes, but also profane themes such as landscapes that were clearly produced in Antwerp.⁷⁰ Another indication that the art market was supplied by outside artists was the registration in 1579 in the Middelburg guild of St. Luke of the Antwerp painters Hans Willems and Daniel van Queborn (c. 1555–c. 1605), together with Balthasar Flessiers (c. 1550–1626) from Brussels.⁷¹ All three men would settle in Middelburg after 1585, but the reason they became guild members six years earlier had much to do with guild regulations: in 1539 the Middelburg guild of St. Luke had ordered that only registered members could sell works of art, a measure that was carefully policed, given the regular fines handed out to tradesmen from the south.⁷² The Antwerp painter Crispijn van den Broeck (1524–c. 1590) likewise came over in 1584, writing to the Antwerp burgomasters that

68 K. Heyning, 'Kunst van gene zijde. Zeeland en de Schelderegio', in: M. Ebben and S. Groenveld (eds.), *De Scheldedelta als verbinding en scheiding tussen Noord en Zuid, 1500–1800*, Maastricht 2007, p. 51–67.

69 Ibidem, p. 58; W.S. Unger, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van Middelburg in den landsheerlijken tijd*, The Hague, 1923–1931, vol. 2, p. 512–514. See also the resolution of the Middelburg town council, 5 August 1567, ZA, Handschriften Rijksarchief Zeeland (MS RAZ) 847B, p. 25.

70 Heyning, 'Kunst van gene zijde', p. 56–67; Hendrickx, 'Het schilderijenbezit van de Antwerpse burger' (n. 8), vol. 1, p. 104–105. An analysis of 143 inventories from the nearby city of Zierikzee confirms these trends; K. Heyning, 'Zeeland, buitenland?', in: *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 14 (2007), p. 18–44.

71 A. Bredius, 'De gildeböoken van St. Lucas te Middelburg', in: *Archief voor Nederlandsche kunstgeschiedenis* 6 (1884–1887), p. 149.

72 Hoogewerff, *Geschiedenis van de St. Lucasgilden in Nederland* (n. 57), p. 207–208.

'he had left for Middelburg in Zeeland, to his children who had been living there for a long time, and [that he] had taken up a large painting commission.'⁷³

Painters from Antwerp, in other words, were already familiar with the art market of Middelburg, which meant that relocating their workshop was a well-considered career move rather than a leap of faith, as was very much the case with artists who moved to Amsterdam. Moreover, the exodus from Flanders and Brabant in the 1580s considerably expanded consumer demand for art in Middelburg and thus created new opportunities for painters to pursue their career. In 1576 the city numbered a modest 7,000 inhabitants, but as a result of mass immigration Middelburg boasted some 18,000 people in 1600. Most newcomers had fled the captured cities of Ghent, Brussels and Antwerp: out of the 2,429 people who purchased citizenship between 1580 and 1594, an impressive 1,822 (75 per cent) came from the south.⁷⁴ Among these immigrants were many well-to-do families who had already built up extensive art collections, but who continued to buy paintings after their arrival. Cornelis Monincx (†1618), for instance, a Protestant merchant from Ostend who settled in Middelburg around 1585, bought a landscape from Gillis van Coninxloo.⁷⁵ And as late as 1612, merchant Balthasar van Vlierden (1552–1615) had his family in Middelburg portrayed by Salomon Mesdach, a second-generation painter whose Anabaptist parents had fled from Flanders (fig. 4). The Van Vlierden family was also of Flemish descent: Balthasar van Vlierden was a Protestant merchant and burgomaster from Antwerp who had moved to Middelburg with his wife Catharina in the 1580s, becoming one of the first governors of the Dutch East India Company. Their daughter Gillina subsequently married Guillaume Sweerts, another Southern *émigré* – they are portrayed on the right with their four children.⁷⁶

It was not just the Middelburg elite that purchased art; the flourishing art trade suggests that paintings also sold well to the lower and middling classes. Much of this trade was carried out inside the local exchange (*Beurs*), constructed in 1583 following the example of Antwerp, where, as we have seen, the exchange also functioned as a hub for art dealers. Apparently the Middelburg art trade was so lively that by 1611 the other merchants protested that it interfered with their own business, prompting the burgomasters to ban the sale of paintings during regular opening hours.⁷⁷ Dealers included the Flemish-born painter Ambrosius Bosschaert I (1573–1621), who in 1612 exported

73 Crispijn van den Broeck to Antwerp burgomasters, 4 August 1584, SAA, Rekestboek 664, fol. 161r: 'Soo dat hij selve vertrocken was nae Middelborgh in Zeeland bij sijne kinderen dier daer lang gewoont hebben, groot wercke van schilderen daer ghenomen heeft.'

74 Briels, *Zuid-Nederlanders in de Republiek* (n. 60), p. 189; P. Brusse and W. Mijnhardt (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Zeeland*, Zwolle 2012, vol. 2, p. 105–107.

75 Van Mander, *Lives of the illustrious painters* (n. 59), fol. 268r; Bok, 'Art-lovers and their paintings' (n. 61), p. 157.

76 C. Hofstede de Groot, 'Salomon Mesdach. Familiegroep', in: *Oude Kunst* 1 (1915–1916), p. 281–283; Brusse and Mijnhardt, *Geschiedenis van Zeeland*, vol. 2, p. 117.

77 Resolution Middelburg town council, 8 May 1583, ZA, MS RAZ 847B, p. 206; resolution Middelburg town council, 8 January 1611, ZA, MS RAZ 847C, p. 148. On the Antwerp exchange, see Vermeylen, *Painting for the market* (n. 2), p. 50–61.



Fig. 4 Salomon Mesdach, Portrait of Guillaume Sweerts, his wife Gillina van Vlierden, their four children and her parents Balthasar van Vlierden and Catharina Nieuwels, 1612, *The Hague, Haags Historisch Museum, 1922-0068-sch.*

‘a large quantity of beautiful paintings’ to England, while the next year he sold works by different masters to the Amsterdam art dealer Abraham Decker, for the phenomenal sum of 2,100 guilders.⁷⁸ Yet by far the most important dealer in Middelburg was Melchior Wijntgis, whose stock numbered over 160 paintings by 1618, including works by Bosschaert and Van Coninxloo.⁷⁹

The proximity of Middelburg to Antwerp also offered immigrant painters another advantage over the cities in Holland: they could easily return home. The lifting of the blockade of the river Scheldt in 1587 not only allowed the trade in artworks to be resumed, refugees from Antwerp could also travel back to visit family and friends – by boat the journey lasted just a few hours. The passenger registers of the border fortress at Lillo reveal a lively going back and forth. In August 1604, for instance, Ambrosius Bosschaert visited Antwerp in the company of his son-in-law Balthasar van Ast, returning 20 days later.⁸⁰ Like so many who had left after 1585, emigrant painters such as Bosschaert considered their departure as an interlude, hoping they could return

⁷⁸ L.J. Bol, *The Bosschaert dynasty. Painters of flowers and fruit*, Leigh-on-Sea 1960, p. 26; A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare. Urkunden zur Geschichte der holländischen Kunst des xvten, xvitten und xvitten Jahrhunderts*, The Hague 1915–1922, vol. 4, p. 1354.

⁷⁹ H. Hymans, ‘Melchior Wijntgis’, in: *Dietsche Warande* 2 (1889), p. 152–158, 268–277; Bok, ‘Art-Lovers and their paintings’, p. 147–148, 162.

⁸⁰ K. Heyning, ‘Kostelycke waren. Zeeuwse kooplieden en de Antwerpse luxenijverheid in de zeventiende eeuw’, in: *Mededelingen van het Koninklijk Zeeuws Genootschap der Wetenschappen* (2003), p. 8–9.

home when the Southern provinces would be reconquered by the States-General and Calvinist worship restored. Gillis van Coninxloo had left Antwerp in 1585, but he never lost hope that ‘when we shall have the right to live freely and exercise the Reformed religion in the city of Antwerp’, he could go back.⁸¹ Likewise, Balthasar Flessiers had moved to Middelburg before settling in The Hague in 1586, but a decade later he still owned a house in Brussels, leaving open the possibility of return.⁸²

Bishop Torrentius even believed that the desire among Antwerp emigrants to return home was so strong that he could persuade Protestant refugees to convert to Catholicism. He therefore urged the Antwerp city authorities not to confiscate the possessions of absent Protestants, as an incentive for refugees to return.⁸³ Many apparently did, because in 1589 the papal nuncio Ottavio Mirto Frangipani (†1612) reported that ‘many heretics, who have left Antwerp and retreated to Middelburg, are forced by necessity to return with the intention to reconcile themselves.’⁸⁴ Among them was the painter Crispijn van den Broeck, who had gone to Middelburg in 1584, but who returned to Antwerp in 1586 to work as a draughtsman for the Plantin firm. In fact, Van den Broeck had already produced book illustrations for Plantin in the 1570s, while he also owned a house in Antwerp – ties that may well have persuaded him to return.⁸⁵ A similar example is that of the painter Hans van den Bemden; although he had settled in Middelburg in 1587, he eventually returned to Antwerp, where he took in an apprentice in 1610 and worked together with his son Gaspar.⁸⁶

Conclusion

Examining how Antwerp painters coped with the crisis of the 1580s reveals a wider range of career strategies than just emigration. Whereas scholarship has often stressed

81 Cited in N. de Roever, ‘De Coninxloo’s’, in: *Oud Holland* 3 (1885), p. 36: ‘Als men sal moghen in der stadt van Antwerpen vrye wooninge hebben ende exercitie van de gereformeerde religie.’ On the hopes of return among Southern migrants, see J. Müller, ‘Permeable memories. Family history and the diaspora of Southern Netherlandish exiles in the seventeenth century’, in: E. Kuijpers et al. (eds.), *Memory before modernity. Practices of memory in early modern Europe*, Leiden 2013, p. 288–289; Vermeylen, ‘Greener pastures?’ (n. 45), p. 47–48.

82 Household inventory of Balthasar Flessiers, 1596, Gemeentearchief The Hague, Weeskamer 1407. On Flessiers, see Briels, *Vlaamse schilders en de dageraad* (n. 1), p. 328.

83 Marinus, *Laevinus Torrentius* (n. 18), p. 164–165.

84 Frangipani to Montalto, Cologne, 24 September 1589, in: G. Brom and A.H.L. Hensen (eds.) *Romeinse bronnen voor den kerkelijk-staatkundigen toestand der Nederlanden in de 16de eeuw*, The Hague 1922, p. 685: ‘Onde molti eretici, usciti d’Anversa et ridotti in Middelburgh, costretti della necessità sono ritornati in Anversa con animo di reconcialiarnese.’

85 K.L. Bowen and D. Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and engraved book illustration in sixteenth-century Europe*, Cambridge 2008, p. 326–329. In 1584 Van den Broeck was listed as the owner of a house in the Vaartstraat; Van Roey, ‘Antwerpse schilders in 1584–1585’ (n. 4), p. 127.

86 Bredius, ‘Gildeboeken van St. Lucas te Middelburg’ (n. 71), p. 167–168; *Liggeren* (n. 4), vol. 1, p. 529; testament of Hans van den Bemden, 8 March 1624, SAA, N 2413, fols. 41–42.

the profound crisis on the Antwerp art market and the subsequent artistic emigration wave to the Dutch Republic, a prosopographical analysis of the Antwerp painting community shows that many artists actually stayed in the South rather than emigrate. This reminds us that in early modern Europe, migration never was the default option in times of crisis. Most people preferred to weather out the economic or religious storm at home, rather than risk an uncertain future elsewhere. In the case of Antwerp, moreover, demand for Counter-Reformation artworks after 1585 proved an unexpected boon for painters, especially those catering to the upper segments of the art market. Others managed to survive the crisis by relying on cheap apprentices and the export of mass-produced paintings, or by becoming a *kladschilder*. Focusing on the painters who did leave, it turns out that established masters mostly followed the well-trodden path to London, Germany, or nearby Middelburg, because existing ties of commerce and kinship between Antwerp and these destinations offered some assurance that they could pursue their career. By contrast, only a minority of painters took the risk of settling in Amsterdam, which in 1585 was still an artistic backwater compared to Antwerp. Few among these immigrant painters succeeded in making a name for themselves; it was only the second generation of painters, who had left Antwerp as children or who had been born in the North, that contributed to the phenomenal take-off in production and the diversity of Golden Age painting.

These findings also reveal another misconception: the notion that the Dutch Republic and the Southern Netherlands were different artistic realms. Because previous scholarship has focussed almost exclusively on either the migration of painters to Holland or the upswing of Counter-Reformation art in Antwerp, it has merely reinforced the idea that the North and South were incommensurable entities. Although the Dutch Revolt would indeed tear the Low Countries apart, producing two separate polities, their inhabitants still shared the same cultural space. In the eyes of Karel van Mander, there existed no such thing as a 'Dutch' or 'Flemish' artist: in his *Schilder-Boeck* (1604) he simply referred to them as 'our famous Netherlandish painters'.⁸⁷ Recent scholarship has likewise called for a more integrated approach towards these supposedly distinct artistic traditions, arguing that the North and South remained very much tied together throughout the seventeenth century.⁸⁸ Exploring the career strategies of Antwerp painters again drives home the message that the North and South should be studied in conjunction. Painters continuously moved between the cultural centres of the Netherlands – and even beyond – to pursue their career, whilst maintaining ties with those who stayed behind, just as their works of art made their way across long distances. Rather than two autonomous spheres, then, we must conceive of the Low Countries as Karel van Mander did: as a shared cultural space thriving on its many interconnections.

⁸⁷ Van Mander, *Lives of the illustrious painters* (n. 59), vol. 1, fol. 198v.

⁸⁸ Most notably by H. Vlieghe, 'Flemish art, does it really exist?', in: *Simiolus* 26.3 (1998), p. 187–200, and K. De Clippel, 'Two sides of the same coin? Genre painting in the north and south during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', in: *Simiolus* 32.1 (2006), p. 17–34.

Appendix

Last name	First name	Year of birth	Year of death	Year of inscription	Year of departure	Destination	Religion	Work known	Type of artist	Notes
Adriaensen	Jan	?	after 1622	?(before 1544)	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Aken, van	Joris	?	?	1558	last mentioned in 1589	?	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Alleyns	Marten	1530	1583	1549	stayed	Antwerp	Lutheran	no	<i>kunstschilder</i> , art dealer	
Augustyns	Niklaas	?	?	?	last mentioned in 1585	?	?	no	painter	
Backer, de	Jacob	c. 1540-45	after 1596	?	stayed	Antwerp	?	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Badens I	Frans	c. 1549	1604	1569	1585	Amsterdam	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Balten	Pieter	c. 1521	1598	1540	stayed	Antwerp	?	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Basel, van	Nicolaes	?	?	1551	last mentioned in 1589	?	?	no	painter	
Beda	Huybrecht	1549	after 1600	1584	1600	Mechelen	?	no	painter, gilder, art dealer	
Bellen	Hans	?	?	1575	last mentioned in 1585	?	Catholic	no	painter	
Bemden, van den	Hans	?	?	1584	1587	Middelburg, Antwerp	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	returned to Antwerp before 1610
Bessemers	Martin	?	?	1580	last mentioned in 1580	?	?	no	painter	
Beuckelaer	Huybrecht	c. 1530	after 1605	1579	1585	London	Calvinist	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Boels	Frans	c. 1555	1596	?	1584	Amsterdam	Lutheran	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i> , gouache painter, miniature painter	
Boins	Anteunis	?	?	1582	1582	departed for unknown destination	?	no	painter	
Bol	Hans	1534	1593	1574	1584	Amsterdam	Lutheran	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i> , etcher, miniature painter, water-colour painter	

Appendix (continued)

Last name	First name	Year of birth	Year of death	Year of inscription	Year of departure	Destination	Religion	Work known	Type of artist	Notes
Bom	Pieter	1539	1607	1564	stayed	Antwerp	Calvinist	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i> , tempera painter	
Boom, van	Jan	?	?	?	last mentioned in 1585	?	?	no	painter	
Borcht, van der	Rombout	?	?	1580	last mentioned in 1589	?	Catholic	no	painter	
Borcht, van der	Paulus	?	1599	1567	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i> , art dealer	
Borcht, van der	Pieter	c. 1535	1608	1580	stayed	Antwerp	?	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i> , engra- drafsman, engra- ver, art dealer	
Borremans	Pieter	?	?	?	last mentioned in 1586	?	?	no	painter	last mentioned in Antwerp guild registers in 1589
Borremans	Jan	?	c. 1593	1558	c. 1590	Amsterdam	?	no	chair painter	
Borse	François	?	?	?	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Bosschaert	Ambrosius	c. 1532	?	1550	1589	Middelburg	Calvinist	no	painter	father of Ambro- sius Bosschaert I
Bossche, van den	Hans	?	?	1549	last mentioned in 1589	?	Catholic	no	painter	
Briede	Roelandt	?	?	?	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	painter	
Bril	Peter	1547	?	1577	last mentioned in 1585	?	?	no	painter	
Broecke, van den	Crispiaan	1524	before 1591	1555	in Middelburg 1584-86	Antwerp	?	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i> , engra- drafsman, engra- ver, architect, decorator	
Brueghel II Claessens	Pieter Aernout	1564 ?	1638 after 1600	1585 ? 1558)	stayed stayed	Antwerp Antwerp	? ?	yes no	<i>kunstschilder</i> painter	

Appendix (continued)

Last name	First name	Year of birth	Year of death	Year of inscription	Year of departure	Destination	Religion	Work known	Type of artist	Notes
Cleef II, van	Hans	1566	1616	?	before 1605	Leiden, Amsterdam	?	no	painter, art dealer	art dealer in Dutch Republic from 1605
Cleef III, van	Hendrik	c. 1525	1589	1551	stayed	Antwerp	Catholic	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i> , draftsman, engraver	
Cleef, van	Albrecht	?	?	1581	last mentioned in 1587	?	?	no	painter	
Cleef, van	Joris	c. 1559	before 1604	?	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Cleef, van	Gillis	c. 1557	1597	?	1588	Paris	?	no	painter	
Coetermans	Hendrik	?	1612	?	before 1594	Amsterdam	Calvinist	no	painter, gilder	
Coetermans	Marcellus	1525	1581	1549	stayed	Antwerp	?	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Coignet	Gillis	1542	1599	1553	1586	Amsterdam, Hamburg	Lutheran	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i> , fresco painter	
Collaert	Michiel	?	?	1579	last mentioned in 1581	?	?	no	cartoon painter	
Coninck I, de	Kerstaen	1560	1635	1580	stayed	Antwerp	?	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Coninck, de	Hendryck	1554	?	1581	last mentioned in 1582	?	?	no	painter	
Coninck, de	Maarten	?	after 1611	?	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	painter	
Coninxloo, van	Gillis	1544	1607	1570	1585	Middelburg, Frankenthal, Amsterdam	Calvinist	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i>	moved to Frankenthal in 1587, Amsterdam in 1595
Coster	Lambrecht	?	?	1555	last mentioned in 1586	?	?	no	painter	
Costere, de	Balten	?	after 1626	1581	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	house painter	
Coxie	Raphael	1540	1616	1585	1588	Brussels	Catholic	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i>	

Appendix (continued)

Last name	First name	Year of birth	Year of death	Year of Guild inscription	Year of departure	Destination	Religion	Work known	Type of artist	Notes
Coxie I	Michiel	1499	1592	1578	after 1585	Mechelen	Catholic	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i> , fresco painter, draftsman, decorator, tapestry designer	
Criek	François	1553	?	1571	last mentioned in 1585	?	?	no	painter, art dealer	
Crieckebeek, van	Jacques	1571	?	1584	1587?	Amsterdam	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Crieckebeek, van	Adriaen	?	?	1585	1587	Amsterdam	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Cuypers	Hendrik	?	?	1575	1587	Middelburg	Calvinist	no	house painter	
Daelmans	François	?	?	?	last mentioned in 1585	?	?	no	painter	
Dape II	Jan (alias Hans)	1555	1622	1580	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	painter	
Dubois	Ambroise	1543	1614	?	1585	Avon (near Fontaine-bleau)	?	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i>	became court painter of Henry IV
Ebelen	Aelbrecht	?	1629	1584	1586	Middelburg, The Hague	Calvinist	no	cartoon painter, tapestry designer	moved to The Hague in 1602
Eenhoven, van den	Louis	1556	?	?	last mentioned in 1589	?	?	no	painter	
Eewoutsen	Eewout	?	?	1561	last mentioned in 1589	?	Calvinist/Catholic	no	painter	
Embrechts	Marten	?	after 1611	1579	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Engelant	Samuel	?	after 1616	1570	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i> , house painter	
Floket	Guillaume	c. 1536	?	?	last mentioned in 1589	?	?	no	cartoon painter	

Appendix (continued)

Last name	First name	Year of birth	Year of death	Year of inscription	Year of departure	Destination	Religion	Work known	Type of artist	Notes
Floris	Jacob	1524	1581	1551	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i> , glass painter	
Floris III	Cornelis	1551	1615	1577	1584	Amsterdam, Antwerp	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i> , sculptor	in Amsterdam 1585-1587, then returned to Antwerp
Fraet	Joris	?	?	1522	last mentioned in 1586	Napels, Rome	Calvinist	no	painter	first to Napels, in Rome in 1594
Franckaert	Jacques	1550	1601	1571	1591	Antwerp	?	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Francken	Frans	1542	1616	1567	stayed	Antwerp	Catholic	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Francken	Nicolaes	c. 1520	1596	1571	stayed	Antwerp	Catholic	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Francken I	Ambrosius	1544	1618	1573	stayed	Antwerp	Catholic	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i> , grisaille painter, draftsman	
Froomans	Willem	?	?	1574	last mentioned in 1585	?	Catholic	no	chest painter	
Geerts	Niklaas	?	before 1607	1574	stayed	Antwerp	Calvinist/	no	chest painter	
Gheenaerts I	Marcus	c. 1521	1591	1577	1586	London	Catholic	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i> , etcher, miniature painter, tapestry designer	
Ghysmans	Hendrik	1544	1610	1580	1585	Frankenthal	Calvinist	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i> , tapestry designer	
Goetkint I	Peter	1540	1583	1555	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i> , art dealer	
Goetvre	Jan	?	?	1582	last mentioned in 1589	?	?	no	painter	
Goris	Antonis	?	after 1594	1580	stayed	Antwerp	Catholic	no	house painter	
Grimmer	Jacob	c. 1526	1590	1539	stayed	Antwerp	Lutheran	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i>	

Appendix (continued)

Last name	First name	Year of birth	Year of death	Year of Guild inscription	Year of departure	Destination	Religion	Work known	Type of artist	Notes
Guens	Peter	?	?	?	last mentioned in 1585	?	Catholic	no	chest painter	
Guens	Pauwels	?	?	1571	last mentioned in 1586	?	?	no	house painter	
Haarlem, van	Cornelis	1562	1638	?	1583	Haarlem	Catholic	no	<i>kunstschilder</i> , draftsman	trained in Haarlem, active in Antwerp 1581–83
Haecht I, van	Pieter	1519	1593	1546	stayed	Antwerp	Lutheran	no	painter, joiner	
Haecht II, van	Pieter	?	?	1580	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	painter	
Haecht, van	Godevaerd	1546	1599	1572	1589	Deutz (near Cologne)	Lutheran	no	painter, joiner, art dealer	
Haeck	Gijsbrecht	?	?	?	last mentioned in 1586	?	?	no	painter	
Halders	Melsen	?	?	1558	last mentioned in 1589	?	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Hase, de	Paulus	?	before 1612	1584	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i> , water-colour painter	
Hermans	Nicolaes	1535	after 1597	?	stayed	Antwerp	Catholic	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Hertraeten, van	Rombout	?	?	?	last mentioned in 1586	?	?	no	painter	
Hertoghe, de	Gillis	?	?	?	last mentioned in 1585	?	?	no	painter	
Heyntkens	Matthijs	1537	?	?	stayed	Antwerp	Catholic	no	house painter	
Hondecoeter, d'	Niclaes Jansz.	?	1609	?	1586	Delft	Calvinist	no	<i>kunstschilder</i> , faience painter, tapestry designer	
Houten, van den	Adriaen	?	?	1582	last mentioned in 1589	?	?	no	glass painter?	family of glass painter from Mechelen
Huys	Jeronimus	1538	?	?	last mentioned in 1586	?	Lutheran	no	painter	
Huys	Pieter	1520	1584	1545	stayed	Antwerp	?	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i> , draftsman, engraver	

Appendix (continued)

Last name	First name	Year of birth	Year of death	Guild inscription	Year of departure	Destination	Religion	Work known	Type of artist	Notes
Isschot, van Jacobs	Jacques Bartholomeus	? ?	c. 1616 before 1596	1582 1577	stayed stayed	Antwerp Antwerp	? Calvinist	no no	<i>kunstschilder</i> painter	
Jonquoy	Michel	? ?	1606	1584	before 1596	Tourmai	Calvinist	no	<i>kunstschilder</i> , fresco painter, decorator	first mentioned in Tourmai in 1596
Jordaens	Abraham	? ?	1603	1585	before 1600	Amsterdam, Delft	? Lutheran	no yes	<i>kunstschilder</i> painter	moved to Delft around 1600
Jordaens I	Hans	c. 1555	1630	1572	1589	Delft	? Calvinist	no no	<i>kunstschilder</i> painter	
Juryns	Hans	? ?	? ?	1580 1577	stayed last mentioned in 1586	Antwerp ?	? Calvinist	no no	water-colour painter	
Kersbeke, van	Niklaas	? ?	? ?	1577	last mentioned in 1586	? Antwerp	? Calvinist	no no	<i>kunstschilder</i> dealer	
Kessel, van	Willem	1564	? 1581	? ?	stayed stayed	Antwerp Antwerp	? ?	no no	<i>kunstschilder</i> <i>kunstschilder</i> , art dealer	
Key	Adriaen Thomasz	c. 1545	after 1589	1558	last mentioned in 1589	? ?	Calvinist	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i> , engraver	
Kinderen, der	Jan	1518	? ?	1540	last mentioned in 1589	? ?	? ?	no no	house painter painter	
Knispel	Jacques	1529	? ?	1555	last mentioned in 1586	? Antwerp	? ?	no no	painter painter	
Laet, de	Arnout	? ?	? ?	? 1551	stayed last mentioned in 1586	? ?	? ?	no no	painter house painter	
Lambrechts	Hans	? ?	? after 1608	? ?	stayed	Antwerp	Catholic	no	house painter	
Laanckvelt, van	Jan	1538	after 1608	? ?	stayed	Antwerp	? ?	no no	<i>kunstschilder</i> , decorator	
Leys	Peter	? ?	1585	? ?	stayed	Antwerp	? ?	no no	<i>kunstschilder</i> , decorator	
Liefcrinck	Carel	1559	1624	1581	1586	Leiden	? ?	no no	<i>kunstschilder</i> , art dealer, draftsman	

Appendix (continued)

Last name	First name	Year of birth	Year of death	Year of inscription	Year of departure	Destination	Religion	Work known	Type of artist	Notes
Lisaert	Abraham	c. 1555	1595	1580	stayed	Antwerp	Lutheran	no	painter	converted to Catholicism in 1589
Lisaert II	Philips	1530	1583	1549	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Lisaert III	Philips	1555	c. 1625	1580	stayed	Antwerp	Lutheran	no	<i>kunstschilder</i> , art dealer	converted to Catholicism in 1589
Luenens (alias Leunis/ Leunens)	Jan	1556	?	1577	last mentioned in 1589	?	Lutheran	no	painter	
Luenis	Domenicus	?	?	1546	last mentioned in 1586	?	?	no	painter	
Luytssen	Jacques	?	c. 1620	1574	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Mans	Jacob	?	?	1556	last mentioned in 1589	?	?	no	painter	
Marttens	Jaspar	?	?	1574	last mentioned in 1585	?	?	no	painter	
Mayer, de	Hans	?	after 1610	1559	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Mercelis	Goevevaert (alias Jan)	1567	?	1582	before 1599	Douai	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	was living in Douai in 1599
Mertens	Adriaan	?	after 1622	1579	stayed	Antwerp	Catholic	no	<i>kunstschilder</i> , water-colour painter	
Mexemer	Jeremias	?	?	?	last mentioned in 1589	?	?	no	painter, goldsmith	
Michiels	Pauwels	?	?	?	last mentioned in 1585	?	Calvinist	no	painter	
Mirou	François	?	before 1611	1575	stayed	Antwerp	Catholic	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Molenaer	Cornelis	c. 1540	1590	1564	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Momper I, de	Bartholomeus	1540	1598	1554	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i> , engraver, art dealer	

Appendix (continued)

Last name	First name	Year of birth	Year of death	Guild inscription	Year of departure	Destination	Religion	Work known	Type of artist	Notes
Momper II, de	Joos	1564	1635	1581	stayed	Antwerp	?	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i> , decorator, etcher, fresco painter, draftsman, tapestry designer	
Mostaert	Gillis	1528	1598	1550	stayed	Antwerp	?	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Muers	Nicolaes	?	?	1584	last mentioned in 1584	?	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Muesen	Jacob	?	?	1582	departed for unknown destination	?	?	no	house painter	
Musser, de	Matthijs	1521	?	?	before 1590	Amsterdam	?	no	painter	married in Amsterdam in 1590
Neufville, de	Balthasar	?	1614	1551	1586?	Haarlem	Anabap- tist	no	painter	last mentioned in Antwerp guild registers in 1586
Noorts Nuyts	Cornelis Cornelis	? ?	? ?	? 1561	last mentioned in 1589 last mentioned in 1589	? ?	Catholic ?	no no	painter <i>kunstschilder</i> , paint merchant	
Osse, van	Hendrik	?	?	1579	stayed	Antwerp	Catholic	no	painter	
Overbeke, van	Pauwels	1538	after 1599	1572	stayed	Antwerp	Lutheran	no	painter, engraver, draftsman, playing cards painter	
Palerme, de	Antonie	1513	1589	1545	stayed	Antwerp	Lutheran	no	<i>kunstschilder</i> , decorator, art dealer	
Panneels	Tobias	?	?	1571	last mentioned in 1589	?	?	no	plate painter	
Pelleryn	Jaspar	1552	after 1598	1574	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	painter	
Perre II, van den	Christiaen	?	?	1580	last mentioned in 1580	?	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	

Appendix (continued)

Last name	First name	Year of birth	Year of death	Year of Guild inscription	Year of departure	Destination	Religion	Work known	Type of artist	Notes
Philips	Peter	?	?	?	last mentioned in 1585	?	?	no	painter	
Planck, le	Jan	?	?	?	last mentioned in 1585	?	Catholic	no	painter	
Pourbus I	Frans	1545	1581	1564	stayed	Antwerp	?	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Primont	Hans	?	after 1608	1567	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	house painter	
Prince, de	Jan	?	?	1551	last mentioned in 1589	?	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Prince, de	Lenaert	?	?	1578	last mentioned in 1589	?	Catholic	no	painter	
Provost	François	1532	?	1558	1589	departed for unknown destination	Calvi- nist?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i> , art dealer	
Putte, van de	Andries	?	?	1580	1587	Middelburg	?	no	painter	
Queborn, van	Daniel	c. 1555	c. 1605	1577	1585	Middelburg, The Hague	Calvinist	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i>	moved to The Hague c. 1595
Rem	Hans	1567	c. 1620	?	before 1594	Amsterdam	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i> , wallpaper painter, water-colour painter, engraver, art dealer	became poorer of Amsterdam in 1594
Rem	Joris	?	1603	1533	1586	Kampen	Lutheran	no	house painter, decorator	
Rem	Lodewijk	?	1603	1574	1586	Kampen	Lutheran	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Remeus	David	1559	1626	1573	stayed	Antwerp	?	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i> , gilder	
Reyns	Arent	?	?	1584	last mentioned in 1584	?	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Ridder, de	Karel	?	?	1580	last mentioned in 1585	?	?	no	painter	
Riegouts (alias Regardts)	Aart	?	c. 1587	?	stayed	Antwerp	Catholic	no	painter	
Ryckaert I	David	1560	1607	1585	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	painter	

Appendix (continued)

Last name	First name	Year of birth	Year of death	Year of inscription	Year of departure	Destination	Religion	Work known	Type of artist	Notes
Ryckere, de	Bernard	1527	1590	1561	stayed	Antwerp	?	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i> , draftsman	
Samels	Laureys	?	?	1547	last mentioned in 1589	?	?	no	painter	
Schille, van	Hans (alias Jan)	?	?	1532	last mentioned in 1586	?	Catholic	no	<i>kunstschilder</i> , engraver, architect	
Schille, van	Aron	?	?	1582	last mentioned in 1582	?	?	no	painter	
Schillemans	Peter	?	?	?	last mentioned in 1586	?	?	no	house painter	
Schooff II	Gerard Jacobsz	?	1624	1575	stayed	Antwerp	Catholic	no	<i>kunstschilder</i> , art dealer	
Schotels	Hans	?	?	?	last mentioned in 1585	?	?	no	painter	
Scoetelman	Hans	?	?	1585	last mentioned in 1584	?	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Severyns	Hans	?	?	?	last mentioned in 1585	?	?	no	painter	
Silverlinx	François	1547	?	1573	last mentioned in 1583	?	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Smidt	Ambrosius	?	?	1540	last mentioned in 1589	?	Catholic	no	painter	
Smidt, de	Jan	?	?	?	last mentioned in 1585	?	?	no	painter	“of dubious religion” in militia register 1585
Smits	Guilliam	?	after 1599	1584	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	chest painter	
Smits	Hans	?	1593	1572	stayed	Antwerp	Lutheran	no	painter	
Snellinck	Jan	1549	1638	1574	stayed	Antwerp	Calvi- nist/ Catholic	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i> , art dealer, cartoon painter, water-colour painter, tapestry designer	
Somer, de	Jacques	1538	?	1560	last mentioned in 1589	?	Catholic	no	cartoon painter	

Appendix (continued)

Last name	First name	Year of birth	Year of death	Year of inscription	Year of departure	Destination	Religion	Work known	Type of artist	Notes
Spierinx I	Anthonis	c. 1558	1625	1584	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	painter, playing cards painter, printer	
Steenwijck I, van	Hendrick	c. 1550	1603	1577	1586	Frankfurt am Main	Lutheran	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Steylaert	Juliaan	?	?	1581	last mentioned in 1586	?	Calvinist	no	painter	
Tevele	Peeter	?	after 1620	?	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	painter	
Thielt, van	Jan	?	after 1602	?	1585	Delft	Calvinist	no	painter	
Thysz.	Hendrick	?	1600	?	1583	Mechelen, Delft	Calvinist	no	painter	active in Mechelen 1583-87, then moved to Delft
Tigem, van	Merten	?	?	1580	last mentioned in 1580	?	?	no	cartoon painter, tapestry designer	
Uden I, van	Peter	?	?	?	last mentioned in 1585	?	Calvinist	no	cartoon painter, tapestry designer	
Valck, de	Peeter	?	?	1582	1582	Middelburg	?	no	house painter	
Valkenborch I, van	Maarten	1534	1612	1564	1586	Frankfurt am Main	Lutheran	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Valkenborch, van	Quinten	1532	?	?	1586	Frankfurt am Main	?	no	painter	
Velde, van de	Gillis	?	?	1580	last mentioned in 1580	?	?	no	painter	
Velde, van de	Peter	?	?	1584	last mentioned in 1585	?	Calvinist	no	painter, gilder	
Velde, van de	Hans	1552	1609	?	1586	Amsterdam	?	no	painter, art dealer	
Veltbraecken, van	Cornelis	?	?	1559	stayed	Antwerp	Catholic	no	house painter	
Verbiest	Steven	?	?	?	last mentioned in 1589	?	Catholic	no	house painter	
Verbraecken	Amand	1543	?	1556	stayed	Antwerp	Catholic	no	painter	
Verschueren	Niklaas	?	?	?	last mentioned in 1585	?	Catholic	no	painter	

Appendix (continued)

Last name	First name	Year of birth	Year of death	Year of Guild inscription	Year of departure	Destination	Religion	Work known	Type of artist	Notes
Vinckboons	Gillis	c. 1543	?	1569	last mentioned in 1586	?	Lutheran	no	painter	
Vinckboons	Philips	c. 1545	1601	1580	1586	Amsterdam	Calvinist	no	wallpaper painter, water-colour painter	
Viruly I	Willem	1551	1602	1579	1582?	Rotterdam	Calvinist	no	<i>kunstschilder</i> , art dealer	married in Rotterdam in 1582
Visschere, de	Rijkaard	?	?	1581	last mentioned in 1585	?	?	no	house painter	
Vissenaken	Jerominus	?	after 1617	1579	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	painter	
Vleinck	Jacques	?	?	1545	last mentioned in 1585	?	?	no	painter	
Vogeleer, de	Nicolaes	1530	?	?	1590?	Amsterdam	?	no	house painter	became poorter of Amsterdam in 1590
Voornboorch, van	Peeter	?	after 1606	1582	stayed	Antwerp	Catholic	no	painter	
Voort, van der	Jheronimus	1533	after 1597	?	1589	Vlissingen	Calvinist	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Vos, de	Maarten	1532	1603	1558	stayed	Antwerp	Lutheran	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i> , tapestry designer, decorator, glass painter, draftsman	
Vredeman de Vries	Hans	1526	1609	?	1586	Germany, Poland, Dutch Republic	Calvinist	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i> , decorator, water-colour painter, draftsman	
Vroyck (alias Joye)	Jacques	1552	before 1625	?	stayed	Antwerp	Lutheran	no	man, engraver	<i>kunstschilder</i> , art dealer

Appendix (continued)

Last name	First name	Year of birth	Year of death	Year of Guild inscription	Year of departure	Destination	Religion	Work known	Type of artist	Notes
Vromans	Jan	?	1592	1582	1586	Delft, Amsterdam	Calvinist	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	moved to Amsterdam in 1591
Vromans I	Pieter	?	1624	?	1588	Delft	Calvinist	no	water-colour painter	
Vyls	Jan	?	?	1581	last mentioned in 1581	?	?	no	house painter	
Waegewiels	Jacques	?	?	?	last mentioned in 1585	?	?	no	painter	
Wael I, de	Cornelis	1537	?	1560	stayed	Antwerp	Catholic	no	painter	
Wael, de	Jan (alias Hans)	1558	1633	1584	1584	Paris, Antwerp	?	yes	<i>kunstschilder</i>	active in Paris 1584-1588, then returned to Antwerp
Wauters	François	?	?	1584	last mentioned in 1584	?	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Weyts I	Pauwels	?	after 1618	1579	1583	Dordrecht	?	no	<i>kunstschilder</i> , art dealer	
Willems	Geert	?	?	?	last mentioned in 1585	?	?	no	painter	
Willems	Hans	?	?	?	1586	Middelburg	Calvinist	no	painter	
Wils	Hans	?	?	?	last mentioned in 1585	?	Lutheran	no	painter	
Wortelmans	Damiaan	?	?	1534	last mentioned in 1589	?	Catholic	no	<i>kunstschilder</i>	
Wortelmans	Adriaen	?	1625	?	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	painter	
Wyere, van de	Aert	?	1583	?	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	painter, art dealer	
Wyere, van de	Jacques	1542	after 1596	1554	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	painter, art dealer	
Ykens	Hans	1543	?	?	stayed	Antwerp	?	no	painter	
Ykens	Simon	?	after 1607	1570	1585	Middelburg	?	no	painter, decorator	
Yser	Dirk	?	?	1536	last mentioned in 1586	?	Catholic	no	painter	