
KUNST VOOR DE MARKT
ART FOR THE MARKET
1500-1700

Redactie / *Editors*

Reindert Falkenburg, Jan de Jong, Dulcia Meijers,
Bart Ramakers, Mariët Westermann

Waanders Uitgevers, Zwolle

Uitgave van / *Publication of:*
Stichting Nederlandse Kunsthistorische Publicaties
Foundation for Dutch Art-Historical Publications

Redactie / *Editors NKJ:*
Jan de Jong, Mark Meadow, Dulcia Meijers, Bart Ramakers, Herman Roodenburg,
Frits Scholten, Mariët Westermann

Redactiesecretariaat / *Editorial office:*
Dr. J.L. de Jong, Instituut voor Kunst- en Architectuurgeschiedenis, Rijksuniversiteit
Groningen, Postbus 716, 9700 AS Groningen

Abonnementen / *Subscriptions:*
Waanders Uitgevers
Postbus / *P.O. Box* 1129, 8001 BC Zwolle, *The Netherlands*

Deel / *Volume* 51 zal zijn gewijd aan / *will be devoted to:*
Wooncultuur in de Nederlanden ca. 1400-1800 / *The Culture of Home in The Netherlands*
c.1400-1800
(Redactie / *Editors:* Jan de Jong, Bart Ramakers, Frits Scholten, Mariët Westermann)

Uitgave / *Published by:* Waanders Uitgevers, Zwolle
Ontwerp / *Design:* Gijs Dragt
Druk / *Printed by:* Waanders Drukkers, Zwolle

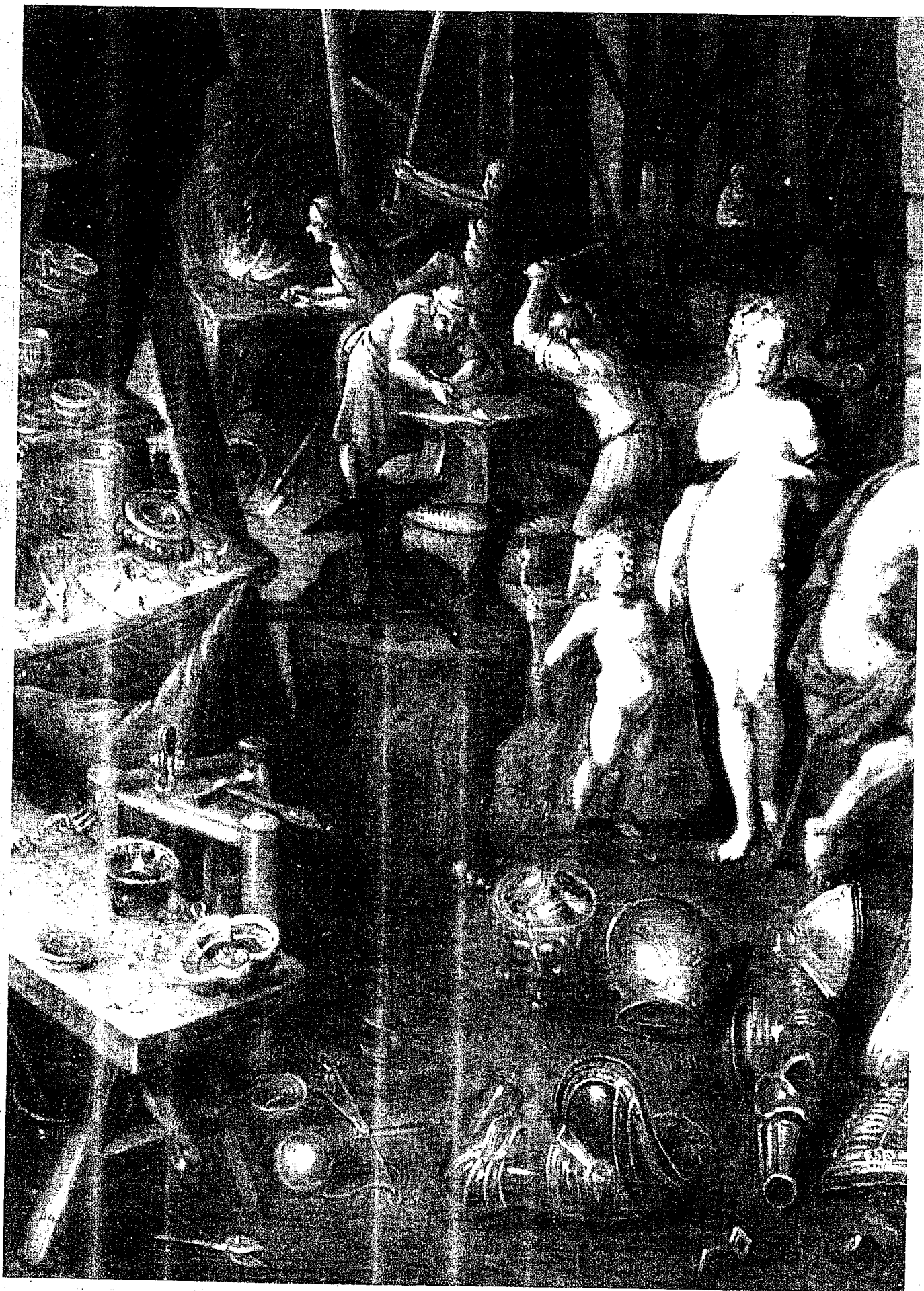
© 2000 Uitgeverij Waanders b.v., Zwolle / *auteurs / The authors*

Alle rechten voorbehouden. Niets uit deze uitgave mag worden vervoelvuldigd, opgeslagen in een geautomatiseerd gegevensbestand, of openbaar gemaakt, in enige vorm of op enige wijze, hetzij elektronisch, mechanisch, door fotokopieën, opnamen of op welke manier dan ook, zonder voorafgaande schriftelijke toestemming van de uitgever.

All rights reserved. Nothing in this publication can be copied, stored in an automated database, or published in any other manner or form, be it electronical, mechanical, by photocopying, recordings or in any other way, without prior written permission from the publishers.

De uitgevers hebben er naar gestreefd de rechten van de illustraties volgens de wettelijke bepalingen te regelen. Degenen die desondanks menen zekere rechten te kunnen doen gelden, kunnen zich alsnog tot de uitgevers wenden.

ISBN 90 400 9420 9
NUGI 921, 911



Exploring markets for Netherlandish Paintings in Spain and Nueva España

Neil De Marchi and Hans J. Van Miegroet

Introduction

Was there a significant (Southern) Netherlandish contribution to the American art trade in the seventeenth century? Duncan Kinkead posed this innocent-looking question, though not quite in this form, in a 1984 article on the Sevillian painting trade with the New World in the second half of the seventeenth century.¹ At the time of asking, scholars would have been able to point to numerous Netherlandish paintings in Spain and Latin America, or to traders such as Chrisostomo van Immerseel or Matthijs Musson, as proof positive of involvement.

The Columbus quincentenary in 1992 sparked fresh interest in the larger question, and several contributions relevant to it have appeared since then.² Yet the evidence offered has not been systematic, nor could it have been, for the key terms of the question – ‘Southern Netherlandish’, ‘contribution’, and ‘significant’ – were not defined.³ In addition, a recent strain of Pan-Europeanism has challenged the notion that any specific imagery qualifies as typical for a particular location, or local practice. Moreover, even if we could agree on what is Southern Netherlandish and significant, it would still not be clear how the supposed contribution occurred. Did international dealers, through their arbitrating activities, help create recognizably Southern Netherlandish imagery? Just how was authorial independence reconciled with foreign artistic taste, without being obliterated? The original question, clearly, cannot be resolved by knowing the numbers of paintings and other images involved. Use of the word contribution, whether Kinkead intended it or not, invites us rather to ponder possible links between trade and the visual culture(s) of the Netherlands, Spain and Nueva España. These links are both numerous and not in all instances directly observable.

We propose a new point of entry into these issues via a study of the behavior of the traders involved. We examine in particular two husband and wife partnerships, that of Chrisostomo Van Immerseel and Marie de Fourmestraux (1621-1648), and that of Matthijs Musson and Marie Fourmenois (1650-1678).⁴ These Antwerp merchants were not ordinary dealers, but ‘vertically integrated’. This means that they were involved with

p. 80
Jan Boots, *Venus and Cupid in the Forge of Vulcan*, detail.

every phase of the business of art, from supplying materials to finding the artists to fulfill their orders, to distributing the product (shipping), to its final marketing abroad. Integrated trader-dealers necessarily influenced the kinds of images made. To describe their business practices is also to identify processes by which atelier production in the Spanish Netherlands, and its associated visual culture, was shaped. There were other influences too, outside those usually considered under artistic factors. One such was Spanish import legislation, which may have precipitated an artificial 'visual divide' between North and South.

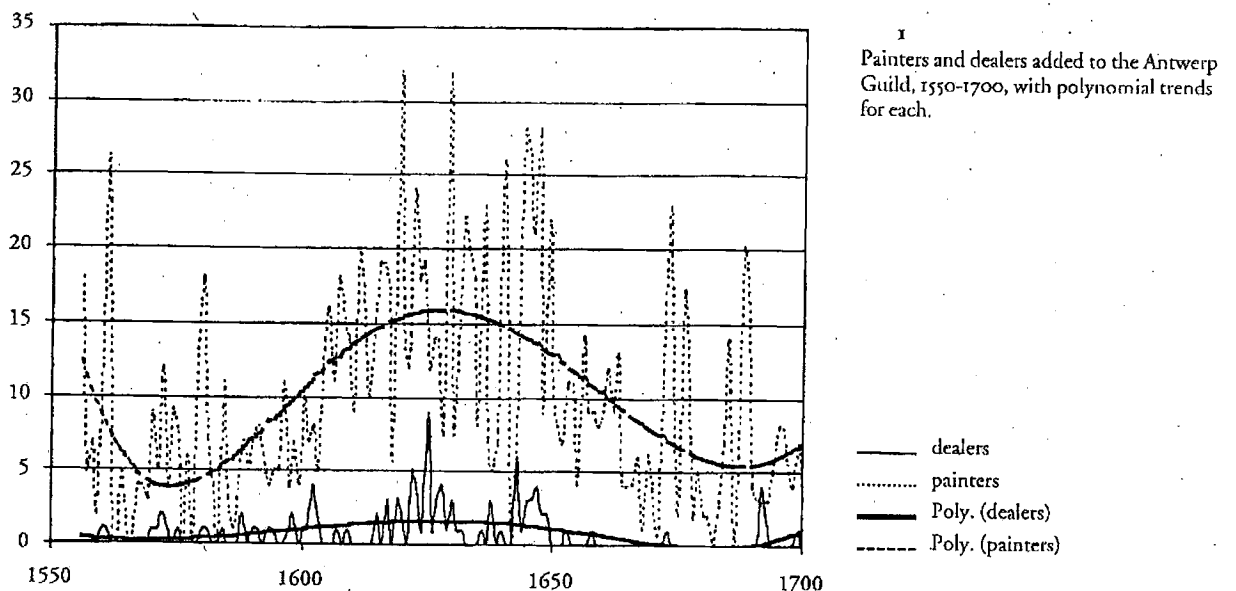
These are the considerations that will occupy us here. They allow the original question to be approached in a meaningful way, even if they help us only part way towards obtaining satisfactory answers to its several elements.

A new breed of integrated specialist dealers

We turn first to the trader phenomenon we have alluded to, in particular to its recognition in contemporary archival records. The recognition was partial. What was acknowledged was the appearance of specialist dealers. That some of these were also vertically integrated and traded internationally was at best implicitly recognized.

Dealing in images already had a long history in Antwerp by the late sixteenth century, but not till then was a sharp distinction made in the official records of the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke, the so-called *Liggeren*, between print sellers and dealers in paintings.⁵ This change came gradually.⁶ The Counter Reformation and the Jesuit emphasis on imagery contributed to an increased awareness of paintings. A concrete primary demand was realized via the needed restoration and refurbishment of damaged churches and a new building campaign for parish churches and church complexes associated with newly established reformist orders. We are not aware of vertically integrated traders in paintings comparable in size and intensity to Van Immerseel and Musson before 1620. But it would not be surprising to find experiments in that direction. After all, international traders in paintings were a natural counterpart to vertically integrated dealer-entrepreneurs in prints and tapestries in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Both print production and tapestry making required substantial capital and active involvement in various stages of the design, production, and distribution process.⁷ Merchants could supply some of this capital, as they did for Christoffel Plantijn's private book trade.⁸ Christostomo van Immerseel's father Jan was similarly engaged with tapestry workshops.⁹

But for vertically integrated traders in paintings to emerge two conditions were necessary: foreign offset, and production capability more than adequate to meet domestic demand. These conditions, especially the second, began to prevail in Antwerp towards the end of the 1620s, but not until then. Guild records distinguished specialist dealers in paintings much earlier, but when international traders emerged the guild did not separately acknowledge them. This was unnecessary since the distinction between a local dealer and a vertically integrated dealer or international trader turned on capital and firm organization, not on the article traded. New Guild membership in the last decade of the sixteenth and the first quarter of the seventeenth



Note: Our polynomial trends here, and in fig. 2, are lines of form containing higher order terms fitted to the series.

Source: Based on P. Rombouts and T. Van Lerijs, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde*, 2 vols., The Hague 1864-1876 (Reprint N. Israel: Amsterdam, 1961).

century reflects the spurt in church-stimulated demand for paintings and involved both makers and various sorts of marketers of paintings (fig. 1).

Specialist dealers in paintings were recognized as a distinct group from 1588 through 1653 (Table 1), though it is no more true that specialists suddenly ceased to exist at the latter date than that dealers in paintings were first born in 1588. The *Liggeren*, moreover, do not record all relevant names. Van Immerseel was never a member of the Painter's Guild, under any designation. Musson is entered as a master painter, but his transformation into international dealer went unnoticed. The Guild records in fact are a very imperfect source of information on the refinements of professional involvement in the art business. Nonetheless, for broad movements in the Antwerp art market the records provide a reliable enough gauge.

Before terms such as 'specialist dealer in paintings' came into use the predominant designation had been the more generic *cunstverkooper* (seller of art), in regular use from 1560 to 1644.¹⁰ It covered a variety of occupations. In 1586, for instance we find among the 'cunstverkoopers' Adriaen Huybrechts, mentioned as both engraver and 'cunstverkooper'.¹¹ Geert de Joode had been admitted in 1547 as 'printvercooper' (dealer in prints), but later appears in the guild records as 'constvercooper and plaetsnyder' (1570) and 'plaetsnyder and kunstverkooper' (1586).¹² Battista Vrindt, accepted in 1575 as 'cunstverkooper', was also an engraver and printer ('figuersnyder- en figuerdrukker').¹³ Hans Lyefrynck, too, registered as master in 1581, was a dealer ('kunstverkooper') as well as a practicing engraver ('figuersnyder').¹⁴ These and other examples,

none of which mentions paintings, seem to indicate that *cunstverkoopers* were more likely dealers in prints than in paintings, though some undoubtedly also dealt in paintings.¹⁵ *Cunstverkooper* overlapped in application with *kunstkoopman*, in use between 1619 and 1647. Both terms eventually gave place to *consthandelaer*, which gained currency between 1658 and 1693 (Table 1).¹⁶ Combined, these three categories span almost the entire period 1550-1700.

It is possible that in the second half of the seventeenth century *consthandelaer* incorporated some of the specialist-in-paintings designations that had been in use since 1588. But the fact is also that the paintings business suffered a sharp decline after 1650; the average annual intake of new painters in the period 1650 to 1700 dropped more than 50 percent compared to the period 1600 to 1650. It is likely therefore that specialists in paintings reverted again to being dealers in art, including paintings, or, like Musson, became international traders in paintings.

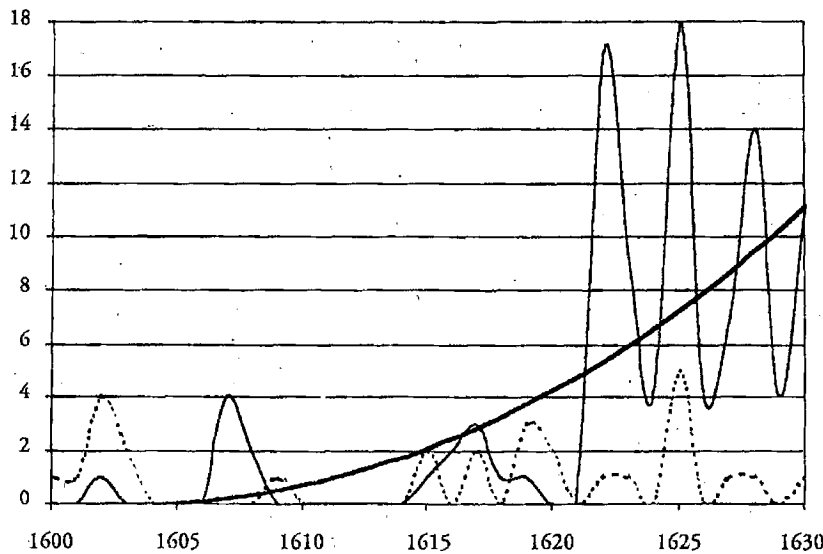
The first use of a new and more specific term of reference was in connection with Hans Grabon's acceptance as one who *handelt met schilderijen* (dealt in paintings) in 1588. This term was in use till 1638.¹⁷

Table 1

Terminology used by the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke to qualify newly accepted members related to the art trade from 1550 to 1700

| | 1560 | 1570 | 1580 | 1590 | 1600 | 1610 | 1620 | 1630 | 1640 | 1650 | 1660 | 1670 | 1680 | 1690 | 1700 | |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--|
| Cunstvercooper 1560 → 1644 | █ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Handelt met schilderijen 1588 → 1638 | | | █ | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Koopman in schilderyen 1594 → 1625 | | | | █ | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Schildery Verkooper 1615 → 1627 | | | | | | █ | | | | | | | | | | |
| Negosant van schilderyen 1628 → 1653 | | | | | | | █ | | | | | | | | | |
| Kunstkoopman 1619 → 1647 | | | | | | █ | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cunsthandelaar 1658 → 1693 | | | | | | | | | | █ | | | | | | |

Source: Based on P. Rombouts and T. Van Lierus, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde*, 2 vols., The Hague 1864-1876 (Reprint N. Israel: Amsterdam, 1961).



2
Dealers and liefhebbers added to the Antwerp Guild, 1600-1630, with a polynomial trend curve for the liefhebber category.

..... dealers
— liefhebbers
— Poly. (liefhebbers)

Note: The trend exaggerates the rise, suggesting that it continued into the 1630s whereas, as fig. 1 makes clear, it peaked in the mid-20s.

Source: Based on P. Rombouts and T. Van Lierus, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde*, 2 vols., The Hague 1864-1876 (Reprint N. Israel: Amsterdam, 1961).

That a new category of specialists in *paintings* was being acknowledged seems certain from the emergence of an array of new terms: *coopman in schilderijen* (1594-1625)¹⁸, *Koopmanschap doende met schilderyen* (having a dealership in paintings),¹⁹ *Neringe doende van schilderye* and *Neringe van scilderye* (making a living by selling paintings).²⁰ These terms were used for three decades from 1594. Another variant is *Schilderyverkooper*, literally seller of paintings, used from 1615 to 1627,²¹ while *Negosant van schilderyen*, was used from 1628 to 1653.²² *Coeper van schilderye* or buyer of paintings, only appears briefly, after 1647.²³ We have here separately acknowledged buyers, sellers, dealers, tradesmen and women, and merchants, all in *paintings*. But the crucial innovatory element is that the generic 'art' is replaced by the specific 'paintings' in 1588. It is as if the Guild noticed a change in the way paintings were being handled and wished to enhance its income and relevance by embracing the change. In the wake of a disastrous fire at the *Beurs Pand* in 1583 and a sustained collapse of revenues from its stalls a new marketing strategy was needed.²⁴ Like any present-day Chamber of Commerce, the guild brought together producers and merchants in paintings by making them members of the same organization.

For the love of art, and profit

This reading is consistent with another phenomenon in the early seventeenth century, a striking rise in the number of *Liefhebbers* joining the Guild through the Chamber of Rhetoric, the *Violieren* (Gillyflower), which had been affiliated with it since 1480 (fig. 2). The term *liefhebber* was codified in

the Guild statutes on 1 June 1619: 'personen die in anderen eeden syn, aengenomen wordende in deze gulde als vry persoonen (...) geen inkomeed (doende), vry van breucken en posten, maar nog wel vallend onder de wakende gilden'.²⁵ This resists helpful translation, though it seems clear from other evidence that such persons came from various occupations and backgrounds.²⁶ Among them were innkeepers, prominent art collectors, art dealers, impoverished socialites, and aristocrats. No doubt some *liefhebbers* joined the guild to receive 'official recognition for their favorite avocation – the collecting of paintings'.²⁷ But the term cannot be restricted in this way, for many were commercially engaged as well.²⁸

Innkeepers often organized raffles, lotteries, and sales of paintings, so their love for paintings almost certainly went together with pecuniary interest. Indeed, the epithet '*liefhebber in schilderyen*' (lover of paintings) appears in 1602 next to the name of Peeter Peetersen, innkeeper, 'den wert in henegou, liefhebber der scilderyen'.²⁹ Lion van Hemelroy, admitted to the guild in 1607, was keeper of the *Golden Head* ('weert of 't Gulden Hooff').³⁰ Hans Sibille, accepted in 1608,³¹ was also an innkeeper, as was Hans Snyers of *The Cross* ('den weert in 't Cruys, tavernier'), accepted in 1614.³² But dealers qualified too. Jan Cooymans, a successful art dealer, entered in 1607 as both 'coopman ende liefhebber'.³³ His was no isolated case, for Hans Geens was accepted as '*liefhebber en schilderyverkooper*' in 1615.³⁴ Michiel Fggebert, admitted in 1647 as *liefhebber*, was also a dealer.³⁵ David Teniers II indirectly corroborates the idea that commerce not infrequently went together with *liefhebberij*. He insisted, upon the founding in 1663 of an official Academy of painting in Antwerp, that *liefhebbers* could not also be dealers, implying that this had been not uncommon.³⁶

Mapping the van Immerseel-de Fourmestraux enterprise

Chrisostomo van Immerseel and Marie de Fourmestraux were first and foremost merchants. Unlike dealers such as Cooymans or Jan Snellinck, they relied little on Guild connections, and from the outset accepted that their ambit would be wider than the local Antwerp market. Chrisostomo learned the paintings trade in the 1620s, as Seville agent to, and perhaps at times as co-principal with, Peter and Antoon Goetkint, specialist dealers in paintings whom he knew through family connections. Earlier, Chrisostomo had experimented with textiles and high-end luxury goods such as tapestries, some valued at over 800 guilders.³⁷ This was an outgrowth of the international trading business in textiles started by his father. Chrisostomo was schooled in this company, and succeeded his father, before heading the Seville branch of operations with Marie, his lifelong partner, from 1621.

The partners moved into paintings on their own towards the end of the 1620s.³⁸ This was just as one of the conditions mentioned earlier was beginning to appear. For three decades there had been a strong growth in the numbers of new painters entering the guild (fig. 1). At the same time signs were appearing that church-related demand had passed its peak.³⁹

Buying in cheaply is always important to a dealer, but was especially so in this instance. Between 1623 and 1628, the Goetkints regularly shipped cases with paintings varying in quality and price to test the market in

Seville.⁴⁰ And when Chrisostomo complained that their expensive paintings were often quite hard to sell, they responded: 'goede stucken moeten dier syn...' (good paintings have to be expensive).⁴¹ But Van Immerseel and de Fourmestraux sensed that local buyers, perhaps reflecting the gradual decline of the Americas trade and hence in the economy of Seville itself, were sacrificing quality for lower price.⁴² In 1629, Marie wrote from Seville to Chrisostomo in Antwerp, urging him to commission one hundred *waterversdoeken* – water-based paintings on thin linen – with sieges and battles, but not to exceed six guilders a piece, since they would not sell above that price.⁴³ From 1629, the numbers of inexpensive *waterversdoeken* become prominent in their shipments (Tables 2 and 3), many for export to Spain and, via Seville, to Nueva España.⁴⁴

Exporting and importing was Van Immerseel's calling. Between 1623 and 1648, he shipped books, tapestries, prints and textiles to Spain, as well as cabinets with small attached paintings on copper.⁴⁵ He and De Fourmestraux were not among Antwerp's largest merchants measured, say, against the firm of De Groote. But after they had moved into paintings they sent what a first assessment indicates must be well over 6,000 in the period mentioned, excluding those on cabinets, which we will not discuss here.⁴⁶ Their return imports to the Southern Netherlands included cochineal, expensive blue dyes, and leather from Havana.

Chrisostomo traveled regularly between Antwerp and Seville, the official point of exit and entry for the Americas trade, though he spent much time in Antwerp acquiring paintings and textiles. Marie stayed in Seville, where she was alternately his selling agent and a principal in acquiring return cargoes.⁴⁷ Her letters contain detailed information on local taste and advice to Chrisostomo, in 'neerland', as to what paintings he should buy, or avoid.

Because of Marie's presence in Seville the partners possessed good first hand knowledge of what buyers there wanted. Some of those buyers purchased for the Nueva España trade and large shipments went there. This is the case, for example, with a 1638 shipment of 504 paintings 'para yndias', sent together with a case of 50 paintings for Diego Coques, consul of the *Nación Flamenca* (Flemish trading nation) in Seville.⁴⁸ For information on what buyers wanted in the Nueva España market, however, Van Immerseel and his wife had to rely to some degree on the reports of returning agents, their own and others. These reports might be excellent. They could also be superficial, based on casual market surveillance or a quite local experience. And there was no way of knowing just how good the information was until the next shipment was there and up for sale. The partnership therefore operated like any prudent investment manager working in the face of uncertainty: they spread their buying across paintings of different sorts to dilute the costs of error in any one direction.

Tables 2 to 5 show numbers of paintings, their cost prices, supports, and, in some instances, sizes and subjects, for Van Immerseel-De Fourmestraux shipments to Seville in 1629, 1642, and 1643. In principle they might have tried to address the problem of their uncertain knowledge of buyers' preferences in Nueva España by varying paintings almost randomly. But that would suggest that they knew nothing, which is not the case. They knew that there was a stable underlying demand for devotional paintings, and it is not

Table 2
Shipment of paintings (case #4) from Antoon Goetkint (Antwerp) to
Christostomo Van Immerseel (Seville) in 1629

| quantity (guilders) | cost/unit (guilders) | total | material | subject | author |
|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 50 | 2.2 | 110 | waterdoeck | heremyten | Andries Van Eervelt |
| 40 | 2.75 | 110 | waterdoeck | lantschappen | Andries Van Eervelt |
| 12 | 8 | 96 | doek | lantschappen | Jacques Van Uden |
| 12 | 35 | 420 | cartieren | lantschappen | Jacques Van Uden |
| 12 | 4 | 48 | doek (vierendeelen) | schipvaerdye | Andries Van Eervelt |
| 12 | 4 | 48 | doek (vierendeelen) | schipvaerdye | Andries Van Eervelt |
| 9 | 2.15 | 19.4 | waterdoeck | grote jachten | Andries Van Eervelt |
| 6 | 10 | 60 | dobbel doecken | not specified | Jacques Van Uden |
| 6 | 2.1 | 12.6 | doek | lantschappen | Peter van de Huysse |
| 6 | 1.15 | 6.9 | doek | lantschappen | Peter van de Huysse |
| 6 | 0.9 | 5.4 | doek | lantschappen | Peter van de Huysse |
| 6 | 14 | 84 | doek (9/4) | schipvaerdye | Andries Van Eervelt |
| 6 | 7 | 42 | doek (7/4) | schipvaerdye | Andries Van Eervelt |
| 4 | 7.5 | 30 | | tyen van het jaer | Jacques Van Uden |
| 2 | 4.5 | 9.0 | doek | lantschappen | Peter van de Huysse |
| 189 | 5.8 | 1102 | :Totals | | |

Source: Jean Denucé, *Lettres et documents concernant Jan Breugel I et II*, (*Sources pour l'histoire de l'art flamand III*), Antwerp 1934, 65-66, doc. 28, and Antwerp, Stadsarchief, *Insolvente Boedelkamer*, IB 224.

surprising that these make up a substantial share of shipments both from 1629 and from the early 1640s. In the 1643 shipment, for example, 60% of the paintings were devotional (Appendix, Doc. 3). The percentages for the earlier shipments cannot be determined because the specification of subject or subject type is partial, but the *least* the share of devotionals could have been in the 1629 shipments was 26 and 30 % for cases nr. 4 and nr. 5, respectively.⁴⁹

A second observation concerning subjects is that shipments for any single period – thus grouping the two for 1629 and those of 1642 and 1643 – contained numerous paintings of recognizable themes, for which well-known models existed, especially in Antwerp and Mechelen. These include seascapes, landscapes, hunt scenes, battles and sieges, flower pieces, and series: *The Four Elements*, *The Five Senses*, and *The Times of the Year*. A well-formed taste for these subjects had developed in Spain, and we must assume had spread in some measure to Nueva España.

Sizes present problems that lie beyond the scope of this article, but on supports some shifting over time must be noted. Whereas the 1629 shipments comprised only linen and canvas, those of 1642 and 1643 contained a significant fraction of panels and copper plates (*laminas*).⁵⁰ The impression

Table 3
Shipment of paintings (case #5) from Bernard Vermeurs (Antwerp) to
Chrisostomo Van Immerseel (Seville) in 1629

| quantity | cost/unit (guilders) | total (guilders) | material | subject | author |
|------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| 50 | 4 | 200 | doek | ? | Jacques Uden |
| 22 | 2.2 | 48.4 | watervf doecken | hermyten | Maurits Moreels |
| 12 | 18 | 216 | doek | ? | Momper/Staf:Bruegel |
| 9 | 2.15 | 19.4 | watervf doecken | jachten | Maurits Moreels |
| 6 | 2 | 12 | watervf doecken | heremyten | Jan de Helt |
| 5 | 11 | 55 | ? | sinnekens | Bruegel |
| 1 | 10 | 10 | ? | bancquetken | Maarten Pepijn |
| 3 | 6 | 18 | ? | devotien | Maarten Pepijn |
| 3 | 2 | 6 | watervf doecken | evangeli | Jan de Helt |
| 2 | 2 | 4 | watervf doecken | | |
| 1 | 8 | 8 | plaet | matie beldeken | Maarten Pepijn |
| 1 | 11 | 11 | watervf doecken | oordeel | Maurits Moreels |
| 1 | 16.5 | 16.5 | watervf doecken | slag van pavien | Maurits Moreels |
| 116 | 5.4 | 624.25 | :Totals | | |

Source: Jean Denucé, *Lettres et documents concernant Jan Breugel I et II, (Sources pour l'histoire de l'art flamand III)*, Antwerp 1934, 67-68, doc. 30, and Antwerp, Stadsarchief, Insolvente Boedelkamer, IB 224.

one gets from the limited information revealed by these tables is that radical switching in the composition of shipments was *not* what Van Immerseel and De Fourmestraux opted for. Instead, they appear to have varied amounts and types cautiously, hoping neither to run ahead of the market by too much in any one direction, nor to send 'old' goods, no longer much in fashion.

Their operating procedure was in equal shares prudent and remarkable. It seems that they tried to put together shipments that were either 'large' or 'small'. A large shipment comprised around 200 paintings, and a small shipment around 100. This pattern is discernible in the four tables presented. It holds also for other shipments not shown: three in 1638 (Appendix, Doc. 1), and a 'small' shipment from 1646, of 88 paintings. The same pattern is reflected in the overall cost of paintings in various shipments. A small shipment comes in at between 620 to 760 guilders, a large one at between 1,100 and 1,630, generating an average value per painting in the range of 5.4 to 7.7, across large and small shipments.⁵¹

Though the number of observations is small and our reading therefore tentative, the impression of a pattern is confirmed by other information summarized in Tables 2 to 5. In particular, the distributions of cost prices per

Table 4
Shipment of paintings (case #W.2) from Jan Bollaert (Antwerp) to Pedro de Weyer (Seville), in Van Immerseel's accounts, 20 August 1642

| quantity | cost/unit (guilders) | total (guilders) | material | subject | author |
|----------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------|
| 120 | 2 | 240 | liencos al temple | ? | not specified |
| 28 | 2.5 | 70 | ? | apostolos epicos | " |
| 14 | 4 | 56 | liencosittos | " | " |
| 8 | 6 | 48 | tabla | flores | " |
| 8 | 6 | 48 | tabla y laminas | illuminaciones | " |
| 7 | 18 | 126 | liencos | batallas | " |
| 6 | 6 | 36 | liencos al oleo | payses | " |
| 5 | 4 | 20 | liencosittos | los sentidos | " |
| 4 | 10.5 | 42 | tabla | flores | " |
| 4 | 12 | 48 | liencos | los tiempos | " |
| 3 | 6 | 18 | tabla | veronica | " |
| 2 | 108 | 216 | laminas | los elementos | " |
| 4 | 96 | 384 | laminas | los elementos | " |
| 2 | 6 | 12 | liencos largitos | ? | " |
| 1 | 36 | 36 | lamina | juizo de paris | " |
| 1 | 36 | 36 | lamina | nostra senora | " |
| 1 | 96 | 96 | laminas grandes | el crucifix | " |
| 1 | 96 | 96 | laminas grandes | triumpho christo | " |
| 219 | 7.4 | 1628 | :Totals | | |

Source: Antwerp, Stadsarchief, *Insolvente Boedelkamer. Rekeningen CVI: Naamloos 1627-55*, IB 21811 (*Rekeningen en Rekeningen-courant*). Also see Appendix, doc. 2.

shipment – the numbers in price classes, lowest to highest – are remarkably similar across shipments, and over time.⁵² Three of them (1629 nr. 4, 1642 and 1643) peak in the range one to three guilders, while that for 1629 nr. 5 peaks at just a little higher. The main difference captured is a change over time: the later shipments included more high-priced individual paintings and series, which may reflect growing wealth in the colony or an individuation of preferences, or both. But because the cost price distributions remain roughly the same, it is meaningful to compare the *average* cost prices of a painting shipment by shipment. These show a rising trend, in keeping with the larger numbers of higher-priced paintings in later shipments, but at any point in time they fall within a narrow range; in historical sequence: 5.8 guilders and 5.4 for 1629, 7.4 and 7.7 for 1642-43. The number for the 1646 shipment already mentioned is 8.6.

The following intriguing strategy begins to emerge. Van Immerseel and De Fourmestraux, faced with uncertainty about the character of demand in Nueva España, kept to some standard themes. However, they

Table 5

Shipment of paintings (case #GB-A-B) from Gillis Bollaert (Antwerp) to Jacobs (Seville) for Van Immerseel's account, 8 November 1643

| quantity | price/unit (guilders) | total (guilders) | material | subject | author |
|-----------|--------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|----------|---------------|
| 24 | 1.1 | 26 | liencos | profanas | not specified |
| 16 | 1.1 | 17.9 | liencos al temple | profanos | " |
| 10 | 21.8 | 218 | laminas | devocion | " |
| 10 | 5.4 | 54 | tablas al oleo | ? | " |
| 9 | 5.4 | 48.6 | tablas al oleo | profanas | " |
| 7 | 5.4 | 37.8 | liencos | profanas | " |
| 7 | 19 | 133 | liencos al oleo | ? | " |
| 6 | 4.3 | 25.8 | liencos | ? | " |
| 5 | 12.0 | 59.8 | liencos | profanas | " |
| 2 | 20.9 | 41.8 | liencos | profanas | " |
| 2 | 21.7 | 43.4 | liencos al oleo | ? | " |
| 1 | 54.3 | 54.3 | lamina | profana | " |
| 99 | 7.7 | 760.3 | :Totals | | |

Source: Antwerp, Stadsarchief, *Insolvente Boedelkamer: Rekeningen CVI: Naamloos 1627-55*, IB 218/1 (*Rekeningen en Rekeningen-courant*). Also see Appendix, doc. 3.

varied the numbers for each type of support, size, and price range, in such a way that the overall cost remained roughly constant (though 'large' or 'small'), and the average cost price too was held to within a narrow range, shipment after shipment. This behavior is consistent with that of a mutual fund manager with various funds, though each either 'large' or 'small', who alters their composition according to what appear to be shifts in the market, so as to achieve a target rate of return on each. Assuming that the partners hoped for a constant average markup on selling prices over their cost prices (roughly stable across large and small shipments at any one time, as we have seen), we can interpret their aim too as the pursuit of a roughly constant target rate of return, shipment by shipment.

This sort of characterization of the Van Immerseel-De Fourmestraux business strategy may seem abstract and unrelated to the paintings they bought and sold, reflecting another set of considerations entirely. Not so. When trying to understand how different types of imagery became more or less prominent over time, grasping the business strategies of those involved in commissioning and selling paintings is anything but remote. In fact, for an integrated dealer-producer-marketer, the choice of an investment strategy is part of the very same processes that select imagery. And when the scale of operations is as substantial as that of the Van Immerseel-De Fourmestraux enterprise, the impact of their choices on the imagery produced in Mechelen and Antwerp seems undeniable.

Visual Divide

In Seville and Nueva España the challenge was to supply a mixed and uncertain demand with imagery from various painters and in different price ranges. Van Immerseel and De Fourmestraux – and other dealers operating in their league – could easily control subject matter, material and finish simply by bulk purchasing and commissioning. Through acquisitions attuned to Spanish demand, and, derivatively, those (they hoped) of buyers in Nueva España, they were in fact shaping a recognizable Antwerp and Mechelen product.

Local ateliers – the 'Brueghel enterprise' is an obvious but instructive instance – adjusted readily to their demand. They were well aware what kind of imagery international traders like Van Immerseel were buying. Such large-scale operations, often sustained over several decades, caused widespread visual adaptation and conformity. This, in turn, helped stabilize local sets of traditions and visual strategies for which there existed high demand. Greater homogeneity resulted, making workshop production from Mechelen (the home of the *watervarf* on linen technique) and Antwerp easier to identify. Given Spanish restrictions on imports from 'rebel' territories, to which we turn in a moment, recognizability was a definite benefit.

3
Maarten Pepijn, *The Crossing of the Red Sea*, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten.

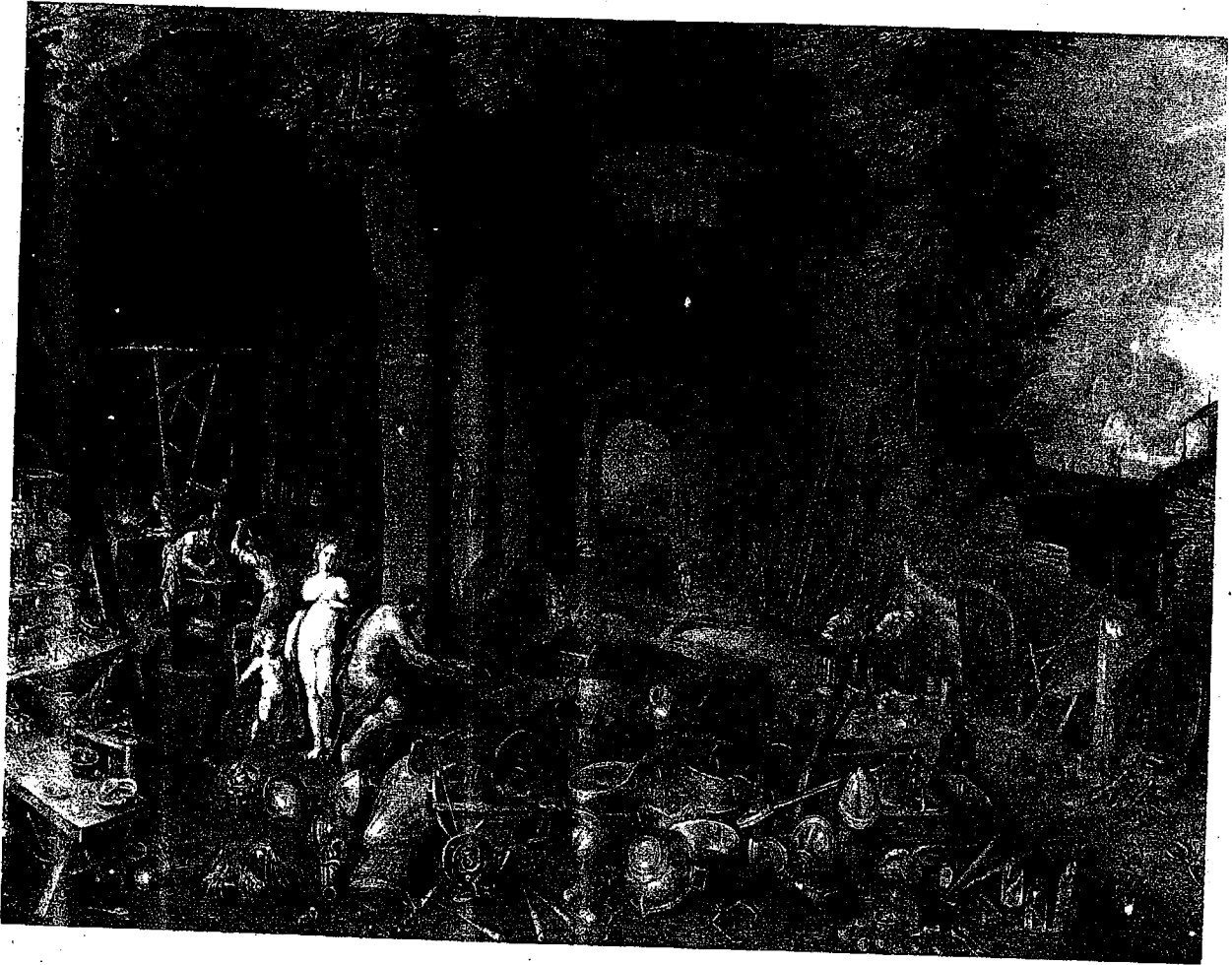


Van Immerseel and De Fourmestraux, as we have seen, increasingly shipped both profane and religious subjects priced for the upper end of the market. These included multiple versions of the *Five Senses* or *Flowers* by Jan Breugel II, the occasional, though hard to find *Madonna del Rosario* by Abraham Janssens, and large copper plates (*laminas*) with *Los Elementos*, *El Crucifix*, or the *Triumpho Christo* (see Table 4), all in the near-one hundred guilders range. In the lower middle range we find *Life of the Virgin* by Frans Francken, oil paintings by Joos de Momper, or large canvases by one of Van Immerseel's favorites, Maarten Pepijn (fig. 3). Lower down they supplied mainly *landscappen*, series of *hermyten* or *ermitanos*, *emperors* and *empresses*, *evangeli*, *Griecken*, *bataillen*, and, of course, massive quantities of standard *devoties* and series of small copper plates such as those by Adriaen van Stalbempt or Jan Boots (fig. 4), all of limited price and artistic pretension (Tables 4 and 5).⁵³ For export to Nueva España, the partners preferred *laminas* by de Momper (fig. 5) and his colleagues.⁵⁴

Yet the abundance of *liencos al temple* (tempera on canvas) and *watervervloeken* in Van Immerseel's variable 'portfolio' approach suggest that he considered the market not large enough at the upper end to make specialization in that segment worthwhile, given the costs and risks of the trade. His preference is shown in the 1643 shipment via Gillis Bollaert to Jacobs (Table 5); of the 99 paintings packed, at least 30 were inexpensive *liencos profanas*, costing between 2 and 20 guilders.⁵⁵ But at the lower end there was stiff competition. Traveling sales-persons, the so-called *peruleros*, ordered cheap Netherlandish paintings for export to Nueva España, some from Salomon Paradis, a Fleming who had a specialized shop, gallery, and something like a bargain basement, near the cathedral.⁵⁶ And there was the ever-present threat of being undermined by cheap copies done on the spot either in Seville or in Mexico, of paintings that sold well.

If anticipating demand in markets in Seville and (especially) Nueva España was uncertain, the legal context of exporting to Spain was not. Not only did it reserve business in Spain and the Americas for Spanish citizens only, which led the pragmatic Chrisostomo and his partner to seek naturalization in 1629 (granted in 1631). But, from 1603 onwards, a new law even required notarized affirmation of the provenance of each product exported from the Southern Netherlands to Spain and Nueva España.⁵⁷ Imagery imported into Spain had to be reliably certified (*Carta de certificacion para España*) as *not* having been made by artists in Middelburg, Haarlem or Amsterdam, or elsewhere in what the Spanish considered 'rebel provinces'.⁵⁸ Considering the sheer volume exported from Antwerp, such legislation supplied local painters with an incentive to differentiate their products from what Spanish customs officials at first glance might mistake for 'Dutch'. Tonal imagery from Adriaen van de Venne to Jan van Goyen, or the typically Haarlem *ontbijtjes* by Nicolaes Gillis, Floris Van Dyck or Pieter Claesz, would have fallen within this category. It is no surprise, then, that these, and similar types of paintings, were hardly traded to Spain.

This legal environment probably helped create an artificial divide between the visual cultures of the Northern and Southern Netherlands.



⁴
Jan Boots, *Venus and Cupid in the Forge of Vulcan*, Private Collection, U.S.A.

Along with the focused acquisitions of international dealers like Van Immerseel, the legal restrictions contributed to defining mass-produced imagery as identifiably 'Southern Netherlandish', perhaps even as 'MECHELS' or 'Antwerps'.

**Making and marketing paintings for Spanish domestic markets:
Musson and Fourmenois⁵⁹**

Matthijs Musson and Maria Fourmenois were also prudent, but they operated in a different manner than Van Immerseel and De Fourmestraux. They depended wholly on agents to feed them information on buyers' preferences in local markets in Spain: Malaga, Cadiz, Madrid and Bilbao. Rather than try to improve on their agents' information by regularly traveling themselves to these cities, they hedged in two other ways. First, they chose their agents from among friends, or family and friends of good Antwerp Guild and merchant contacts. Second, while simply accepting without question, and filling, their agents' orders, they sought to reduce their



risk by pursuing arrangements whereby an agent simply paid for the paintings on delivery in Antwerp, either in person or through a representative. This sort of agreement made agents into clients using their own capital and relieving Musson and Fourmenois of virtually all risk and hassle. If this arrangement was not available, they preferred splitting ownership with an agent, so that the same incentive to do well would apply to them both. And, failing that, they sought to go shares with another principal, which at least meant that any loss would be spread. Only as a last resort would they engage in a pure commission relationship with an agent.

Table 6 ranks the kinds of arrangements available, starting at the top with the most preferred (least risk to Musson and his wife). Table 7 shows the full range of their relationships with agents in their Iberian trade as a whole. Clearly they were not wholly successful in avoiding risk. Yet of the fourteen known connections, fully half were of the fee-for-service sort: zero financial commitment, except during the making of the paintings, and no waiting or uncertainty about receiving payment from abroad. In five of the remaining arrangements Musson shared ownership, hence the risk, of shipments, with other principals, or with agents, or at least tried to go shares with one or both. All four kinds of relationship were used in the trade to Cadiz and we shall concentrate here on that market alone.

5
Joos de Momper, *Landscape with
Gunmen and Horse Riders*, Private
Collection, Brussels.

Table 6
Organizational forms available to Musson (most preferred at top)

| | |
|---|--|
| ↓ | <p>Fee for service: Musson supplies paintings to order, delivering in Antwerp or shipping with immediate payment at pre-agreed prices. Close to zero risk of non-payment; zero exchange risk; low hassle (packing, shipping arrangements); short waiting period for payment.</p> <p>Participation – joint ownership of shipments – with an agent: Musson and his agents both have the same incentive to succeed.</p> <p>Participation in ownership of shipments, with other principals: Musson's risk is spread, but there is still a risk that the selling agent will fail.</p> <p>Commission system: Musson is the principal, and agents sell or buy for a small percentage of the value of the goods. Here all the risk falls on Musson unless he can persuade unsuccessful agents to take over paintings that have not sold.</p> |
|---|--|

Musson cultivated three business relationships involving Cadiz. One was with a good friend, Carlos Vinck, who inherited wealth and trading experience from his father, a silk and tapestry merchant.⁶⁰ The paintings supplied in fulfillment of orders from Vinck probably were delivered to Vinck himself in Antwerp. There is no record of Musson's having shipped on his behalf, or of his usual ten per cent *provisie* for services such as packing and shipping. Musson simply charged Vinck variable markups on costs, as far as we can tell within his usual range (roughly fifteen to forty per cent). It must be assumed that payment was received on delivery.⁶¹

A second relation, Juan Moller(s), of whom we know little other than that he operated in Cadiz, received paintings both through an intermediary in Antwerp and shipped by Musson.⁶² In some of his shipments to Moller Musson went shares with his brother-in-law, Cornelis de Baillieur. He also shared on at least one occasion with Moller himself.⁶³ Whereas the arrangement with Vinck was fee-for-service, Moller was clearly an agent though, as was common, he also switched roles easily between agent and principal.⁶⁴

Musson's third relationship was of the pure commission type. It involved a partnership formed by two Cadiz-based agents, Francisco van Susteren and Arnaldo Polenter. Neither, as far as we can tell, had any previous experience in selling paintings.⁶⁵

With Vinck the business part of the relationship spanned the years 1650 to 1662.⁶⁶ Musson dealt with Moller from 1662 to 1665; with Van Susteren and Polenter he sustained dealings from 1664 to 1668. Broadly speaking, then, it seems that Musson sought a continuous contact with the Cadiz market, but with only one client or agent at a time. Perhaps he feared the market would not sustain more. Or, as we might infer from a comment he made to Roeland van Kessel, briefly an agent of his in Malaga, perhaps he simply thought it unwise to deal with two persons in the same city at once.⁶⁷

Table 7
Musson's relationships with agents in the Iberian Trade

| City | Dates | Type of relationship | Fee for | Participation: | | Pure |
|---------|-------|----------------------------|---------|-----------------|---------------------|------------|
| | | | Service | (a) w/agents | (b) w/principals | commission |
| ? | 65-74 | Marines | | | | |
| Bilbao | 65-73 | Goet | | | | |
| Cadiz | 50-68 | Vinck | | | | |
| Bilbao? | 68-7* | Van der Borch | | | | |
| ? | 68-77 | Du Pon. | | | | |
| Bilbao | 52-71 | De Backer | | | | |
| ? | 72-77 | Van Hoecke | | | | |
| Madrid | 73-75 | Van Hove & Fighé | | | | |
| Malaga | 57-63 | De Cocquiel & Parsons* | | | | |
| Malaga | 57-76 | Van Damme† | | | | |
| Cadiz | 62-65 | Moller | | | | |
| Malaga | 62-64 | Van Kessel & Simons† | | | | |
| Cadiz | 64-68 | Van Susteren & Polenter | | | | |
| Malaga | 57-63 | De Cocquiel & Parsons# | | | | |
| Malaga | 57-76 | ?Van Damme# | | | | |
| ? | 56-68 | ?Santels | | | | |

* Initial offer refused, later partially accepted.

† Offer made. ‡ Cornelis de Bailleur co-principal.

De facto commission relation.

Source: Erik Duverger, *Nieuwe gegevens betreffende de kunsthandel van Matthijs Musson en Maria Fourmenois te Antwerpen tussen 1633 en 1681*, Gent 1969; reprint of *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis en de Oudheidkunde*, 21 (1968)

Differentiation in the Cadiz market

Whatever Musson's reasons for this one-at-a-time approach, he ignored his own rule in the Paris market; and, in any case, though further obscuring his logic, the Cadiz market was not one, but a composite of reasonably distinct segments. We say this not on the basis of direct knowledge of buyers, but of the price ranges selected by each agent, and the very different kinds of paintings supplied to them. First prices.

Each of these three business relations occupied a distinct position within the total range of prices. There is overlap, especially between Vinck and Moller. But, as Table 8 shows, Vinck positioned himself in the middle to upper part of the market, while Moller requested fewer of the most expensive paintings, at the same time extending his range downwards, which Vinck chose not to do, to the very lowest price class. Van Susteren and Polenter, as is confirmable from their correspondence with Musson, were uncertain about just where to aim, but in fact they opted principally for the two lowest price classes. The distribution by price classes is not seriously affected by the mix of supports – plates versus *doeken* – since plates heavily dominated the orders of all three.⁶⁸

Table 8
Concentrations of paintings by price class, Musson's Cadiz agents

| Price class (guilders) | Client | | |
|---------------------------|---------|---------------|----------------------------|
| | Vinck | Moller | Van Susteren & Polenter |
| | | (percentages) | |
| 50-99 | [17] | 6 | |
| 25-49 | [53] 70 | [49] | 17 |
| 10-24 | 30 | [19] 68 | [37] |
| < 10 | | 26 | [46] 83 |

Within their chosen price ranges Vinck and the others had to be competitive. But what did this mean? The economist's model of 'perfect competition' supplies a useful point of reference. Perfect competition is characterized by three features: a large number of sellers and buyers, so that any one is virtually anonymous and without power to affect price; prices, therefore, that are to be taken as given; and a product that is standardized. None of these conditions applied strictly in Cadiz.

It is known that some South Netherlandish painters settled in Seville. There were active workshops run by Spanish artists there, and several shops, like that of Salomon Paradis, mentioned earlier, even specialized in Netherlandish paintings.⁶⁹ This meant that copies could be made for any type of

painting that proved a good seller. A supplier such as Musson, operating in the separate, though neighboring, Cadiz market, had to be careful not to charge above the Seville price for a credible substitute. Nonetheless, Musson did not portray himself as powerless to affect price. He did not claim to be able to undersell *local* copyists, but in a letter to his friend and agent in Malaga, Van Damme, he did assert that he could supply more cheaply than anyone else in *Antwerp*.⁷⁰

If cost curves were not all the same – price was not simply a given, the same for all sellers – and cost anyway not the sole factor of influence, neither did Musson's clients behave as if they were taking their chances in a market of anonymous buyers and sellers. Vinck and Moller agreed with Musson on prices up front,⁷¹ and neither, as far as we know, complained about his prices being too high or the product in some other way inappropriate. More significantly, they continued to order from him, suggesting that they knew their niche in the Cadiz market well enough to judge accurately what their kind of buyer wanted and at what prices. This required discriminating knowledge quite incompatible with anonymity, and knowledge of a sort Van Immerseel and De Fourmestraux could only wish for concerning Nueva España. It is true that Van Susteren and Polenter complained about Musson's prices being too high.⁷² But they had trouble selling both large, costly plates, priced at between 25 and 32 guilders, and the very smallest and cheapest plates, so-called *Passies* and *Grieken*, priced at just 28 and 46 *stuivers* each. So presumably most of their difficulties were due to inexperience.⁷³

Let us turn now to what the non-price factors might have been. Recall that the third condition in the perfect competition model is a standardized product. The Cadiz market belies this notion. One of Musson's claims was that he could be relied upon to provide not just the best price in Antwerp, but work of the best *quality* at the lowest possible price. He explained to De Cocquiel and Parsons – unsuccessful agents of his in the Malaga trade, who had asked for a reduction of almost sixty per cent on some plates they had ordered – that for the lower price only much inferior work could be expected. But he added: 'it is anyway not my style to have such poor paintings made'.⁷⁴ Since Musson supplied many cheap plates, something more is implied in this phrase than simply a direct relationship between quality and price. 'The best for the lowest possible price' conveys that something extra. This is exactly what Musson assured Roeland van Kessel, early on in their relationship, that he was getting. I send you, he said, 'all beautiful and refined work and at the lowest price available in Antwerp'.⁷⁵

But there is another sense in which it seems likely that Musson was able to compete on non-price factors. Quality can mean, not simply excellent goods for the lowest price, but goods that matched buyers' preferences more closely than others could. This might seem a strong position to impute to Musson. Surely a painter on the spot in Cadiz knew his buyers better than some distant supplier in Antwerp, who never even visited Spain. Yet this is exactly the sort of local knowledge to which the specialist dealer-trader in paintings might have been expected to aspire, and to require of agents. Oddly enough too, though the situation of an international trader presented obvious challenges, very specific communication about preferences is exactly what is not only called for, but possible, in the case of paintings.

Other manufactured commodities were, and are, different. Linens, for example, were made to physical specifications: lightness, fineness, strength, and whiteness. Grades were sufficiently standard that linens could be ordered and sold simply by place of origin: *Kamerijks lijnwaard*, for example, was fine-weave linen from Kamerrijk (Cambrai), Valenciennes, or Louai, sent to Haarlem for bleaching and exported to Spain or Spanish America as *'olanes* or *toilles baptistes*.⁷⁶ Or, as in the case of lace, production could be matched to preferred patterns, of which sample cards were available.⁷⁷ But paintings admit of infinite variations, and cannot easily be graded. This very property, however, can be turned to advantage. If the precise character of buyers' preferences can be transmitted by good agents on the spot, and a supplier has the artists at hand who can translate these into images, paintings contain the potential to be fashioned so as to yield satisfaction on an almost person-specific basis. Van Immerseel and De Fourmestraux were not able to exploit this possibility for Nueva España and had to settle for a different strategy: getting it right 'on average'.

Musson, we suggest, was able to compete in Cadiz in part by closely tailoring the product to buyers' preferences. At least he was able to do so when supplying Vinck and Moller. With Van Susteren and Polenter the case is harder to make, because their grasp of what their buyers wanted and were prepared to pay seems to have been shaky at best – so much so that it is hard even to speak of 'their' buyers. Vinck and Moller, however, though to a degree even Van Susteren and Polenter, as we shall see, in differing ways all conveyed preferences to Musson that were unusually specific.

We observe this in the instructions Musson received as to sizes, supports, and subjects. It also comes out in other ways, unrelated to artistic criteria. Thus Moller asked particularly that the figures in some hunt scenes be as large as possible (*soo groot als die vallen connen*). He also urged that care be exercised to ensure that a group of twelve, *different Bloemwerk*, would constitute a genuine assortment (*curieus* [curiously, carefully] *ghesorteert*). And, referring to a group of twelve paintings, he advised that they be attractive, with many figures, suitable for hanging in a home (*om in huis te ghebruïjcken*).⁷⁸

Such details in a purchase order suggest particular clients, or at least types of buyers, already in view. That is probably what we should infer too from the precision with which sizes were specified. This precision is not found in the instructions Musson received from his chief Paris agent, Jean-Michel Picart, who would employ standard names corresponding to approximate size classes for copper plates and canvases, or, on occasion, allow even more room for choice, as when he asked for three or four *wat groetachtich*.⁷⁹

By contrast, in the instructions Musson received from certain of his clients in the Spanish trade, including Vinck and Moller in Cadiz, there was a specificity about size which suggests that particular spaces might have been in view – perhaps in a church, or the quarters of a religious order. Thus the *priester* Geoet, and his close associate Jacques de Backer, both of whom sold in Bilbao, might request canvases of size two thirds of a *vara* by two; or one and seven-eighths of an *el* by three and one eighth; or 2 *ellen min een talie* by two and one half.⁸⁰ Vinck and Moller, like Picart in Paris, stuck to standard

sizes, indicated by name, but these were invariably stated: 4 guilder plates, 10 guilder plates, *allegrootste soort*, and so on. Moreover, they too could be just as demanding as Geoet and De Backer. Vinck at one point ordered canvasses which he later asked to be enlarged, by one eighth of an *el* in both height and breadth.⁸¹

Finally, the same pattern is repeated with subjects: many standard themes are mentioned quite briefly, but detail is added where a particular model is to be followed, a specific moment in a narrative captured, or a point to be made. This too represents a departure from the practice in Musson's Paris trade, though here the difference lies in the sort of detail, not the degree. Picart conveyed lots about line, coloring and finish, very little about the precise variant desired of a standard subject. But the latter sort of precision marked orders not just from Cadiz but from other Spanish cities as well. Van Susteren and Polenter requested a *Christmas night* after De Crayer and a *Crucifixion* after Van Dyck – not versions of either after Rubens.⁸² And they carefully delineated what each of two narrative paintings of the story of Dorinda and Silvio, from Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*, should contain. The first was to portray Silvio's love for Dorinda and his remorse at accidentally wounding her, the second, her embrace of the deadly wound from the one she loved.⁸³ Similarly Vinck, requesting the familiar *Diana returning from the hunt*, specified also a particular variant: *Deana comende van de jacht, den godt van artryck Pan comt haer teghen met vruchten om haer te affriseren*.⁸⁴ Since the same delivery contained another painting, *Deana van de jacht comt*, it seems likely that the more precisely specified version was for a particular buyer.

These are isolated examples in a sea of shorthand designations in which no specific reference is conveyed. Moreover, it is not clear whether these are literally the instructions of a client, or Musson's notes to himself. But neither that distinction nor the selection bias is material here. Our point is that there *are* cases in which something more specific is clearly intended. In these instances Musson recorded the exact request carefully, so that he could convey it to his selected artist. Such expanded instructions about subjects are still more rare in the Paris trade.⁸⁵ That they do occur with some frequency in the Spanish trade suggests a refinement in Spanish markets, even if partial, of the relationship between agent and buyer, hence also dealer and artist, in the direction of knowing and matching individuated preferences.

We mentioned above in passing that distinct segments are visible in the Cadiz market, identified by price classes *and* subject preferences. Subject differences are displayed in Table 9. Moller concentrated on *devosies* (two thirds of his total), and Vinck on *poeterye* and 'Roman history' (close to three fifths), while Van Susteren and Polenter appear to have hedged by securing works in almost all available categories. Their cover-all-bases approach is somewhat reminiscent of Van Immerseel-De Fourmestraux shipments. Van Susteren and Polenter's purchases were divided between *devosies* and Old Testament themes (together not quite half), *poeterye* and Roman history (one fifth), and a substantial component of secular subjects (nearly one third). A note to the Table explains these contemporary categories and gives examples for each.

Table 9
Paintings shipped to Musson's clients in Cadiz, by category

| Category ⁸⁶ | Vinck | Van Susteren & Polenter | Moller |
|------------------------------------|------------|----------------------------|--------|
| | Percentage | | |
| Poeterye/Romansche historiën | 59 | 20 | 0 |
| Devosie and Oudt Testament | 33 | 49 | 69 |
| Jachten, kermissen, 5 Sinnen, etc. | 8 | 31 | 31 |
| Total (known subject): | 160 | 112 | 99 |
| Total (subject not given): | 60 | 30 | 36 |

These differences are intriguing, but space constraints prevent us from discussing them more fully. The important consideration here is that they confirm from yet another perspective that the Cadiz market was separable and clearly was segmented by good agents. Segmentation was essential if agents were to be aware of and, with the help of their supplying dealer, match their buyers' preferences. Van Susteren and Polenter, it is worth noting, were both the least specialized of Musson's Cadiz agents and the least successful.

Conclusion

The early years of the seventeenth century saw the emergence of a new sort of dealer in Antwerp, one who was first of all a *specialist* in paintings, but then also a merchant, engaged in cross-border trade. The standard procedures of the international merchant were applied in this case too, which meant being involved in acquiring the desired goods, as well as in their shipment, and their disposal, usually with the help of agents, at foreign points of sale. A difference between paintings and other goods is that paintings are infinitely variable, hence buyers who wished to do so could express their individual tastes. Though many requests received by the merchant commissioning paintings to fill the orders of an agent were standard (undifferentiated), others were not. Either way, the merchant's commissions clearly determined what was made – at least by ateliers keen to have the employment. And when acquisition was on a large scale, this meant that a definite character was being imparted to visual imagery.

Where individual preferences mattered the merchant depended on accurate and detailed local market information being sent by agents. If this was not available, or the accuracy of the information received was uncertain, as in the case of Van Immerseel and De Fourmestraux vis-à-vis the market in Nueva España, the merchant had to find ways of reducing the effect of error. Van Immerseel and De Fourmestraux did this, or so it seems, by varying the composition of their shipments – sizes, supports, subject types, prices – while aiming at a fairly stable average rate of return on each. Musson and Fourmenois, later in the century, and working with often very good agents

in a local Spanish market, trusted the appropriateness of the requests transmitted to them. At the same time they minimized the exposure of their own capital, through a variety of risk-sharing arrangements with their agents, or with other principals.

Each of these responses seems appropriate given the circumstances. The situation faced by Musson and Fourmenois, however, is closer to one in which finely individuated preferences were known and could be matched by tailor-made paintings. This was an exciting new prospect, marking a return to the close matches possible in an age of patrons and client-artists, with the striking difference that this was now being achieved on a large scale and across political and cultural boundaries.

The differences in strategy employed by these two partnerships are variations on a single theme, which is that vertically integrated merchant-dealers were bound, in the nature of the case, to exert an influence on the visual imagery of their supplying cities, here Mechelen and Antwerp. Grasping their business strategies is a useful way of pinning down how exactly that impact was registered. In the story we have told this impact was accentuated by the quirk of Spanish law which, early in the century, required that imported paintings be certified as not having been made by artists in rebel territory.

These two elements combined – the fact of vertically integrated, specialist merchant dealers, together with this legal requirement – made it almost inevitable that a strongly evidenced ‘South Netherlandishness’ – or at least a distinguishable ‘non-Dutchness’ as contemporaries understood this – would characterize the imagery produced specifically for Spanish and colonial markets in the seventeenth century. The integration of business needs and visual culture in this situation was complete, hence the integrated treatment we have offered is, we believe, the appropriate way to pursue a meaningful answer to the question with which we began.

Appendix

Transcripts of selected original documents

Doc. 1

Antwerp, 1638, 9 November. — Excerpts from a letter written by Chrisostomo Van Immerseel to his wife, Marie de Fourmestraux in Seville, about a large shipment of three cases with 504 paintings for Nueva España ('Yndias') for his own account and one case of 50 paintings for Diego Coques, consul of the Flemish nation in Seville from 1625 to 1648. Stadsarchief, Antwerp, Insolvente Boedelkamer, IB 204 (3) 13 (numbered).

[in pencil] 185

Hermana mia [...] wel meucht toeven om met de schepen die eerst van dover en/ sullen vertrecken al te mael samen te gaen. eene andere/ casse schilderyen nr. 5. met die van jaques arcx⁸⁷ nr. 1. syn daer/ naer versonden wete noch niet in wat schip gelaeden syn/ debra seyde my gisteren daer noch een tonneque cochénille resteren/ te arriveren dat den heere in selve salve laete artivere men secht hier/ dat een schip hamborge comende van sanlucar gecept Joris Farmuie/ saude verloren syn. ende dat het seer costelyck geladen quam waer/ mede naer vrindelycke groetenisse gods bevelen blyvende altyt/ Ul geaffectioneerden man/ [signed:] Chrisostomo van ymerseel/

hier mee gaen de testimonie van/ nr. 2.3.5. met schilderyen die versonden syn/ ende van nr. 6 el escritorio dat noch hier blyft/ tot dat op het gaene reselveren. sal seer fray syn//

[small inserted leaf:]⁸⁸

[in pencil] 186

| | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| caxa nr. 2 con 108 piecas pinturas | } In den regen/ boge met/ timothee arnauts/ |
| caxa nr. 3 con 199 piecas pinturas | |
| caxa nr. 5 con 197 piecas pinturas | |

504 piecas por quenta de Chrisostomo van ymerseel/
que son para cargar/ su dicha quenta para yndias/

caxa nr.1. con 50 piecas pinturas/ para diego cocques⁸⁹/
caxa nr.6. con un escritorio de ebano/ guarnado de cobre dorado con 62 blanca de malinas assi misma para cargar//

Doc. 2

Antwerp, 1642, 20 August. – Copy of an invoice filed among Van Immerseel's accounts of a case of paintings (W.2) sent by Jan Bollaert in Antwerp to Pedro van de Weyer in Seville. Stadsarchief, Antwerp, Insolvente Boedelkamer, IB 218/1 (Rekeningen Chrisostomus Van Immerseel: Naamloos 1627-1654).

[recto]

Jhs en Amberes 20 agosto 1642/

Facture van de casse met schilderyen W.2. door *sieur* Jan Bollaert aen *sieur* Pedro de Weyer geconsigneerd/⁹⁰

| | |
|--|------------------|
| 2 laminas los elementos a 18 Lib. | Lib. 36.-.-/ |
| 4 laminas los elementos a 16 Lib. | Lib. 64.-.-/ |
| 10 dosenas liencos al temple a 4 Lib. dosena | Lib. 40.-.-/ |
| 7 liencos dobles batallas a Lib. 3 | Lib. 22.16.-/ |
| 14 liencosittos a 4 fl. pieca | Lib. 9.-6.-8/ |
| 5 liencosittos los sentidos con guarnicion a 4 fl. pieca | Lib. 3.-6.-8/ |
| 4 flors en tabla con guarnicion de erbario gevlaempst | Lib. 7.-.-/ |
| 8 paneelen flores con guarnicion a 1 Lib. pieca | Lib. 8.-.-/ |
| 28 apostolos epicos con guarnicion a 8 s. 4 d. pieca | Lib. 11.13.-4/ |
| 4 liencos los tiempos a 2 Lib. pieca | Lib. 8.-.-/ |
| 2 laminas el juicio de paris y nostra senora con angeles | Lib. 12.-.-/ |
| 2 liencos largitos a 1 Lib. pieca | Lib. 2.-.-/ |
| 6 liencos payses al oleo a Lib. 1 | Lib. 6.-.-/ |
| 2 laminas grandes con guarnicion d erbario el crucifix/ y el triumpho de christo y del carmen a Lib. 16 | Lib. 32.-.-/ |
| 3 veronicas en tabla con guarnicion | Lib. 3.-.-/ |
| 8 illuminaciones en tabla y laminas a Lib. 1 | Lib. 8.-.-/[...] |

Doc. 3

Seville, 1643, 8 November.— Copy of the invoice from Philip and Robert Jacobs to Christostomo Van Immerseel concerning a shipment of 2 cases of paintings from Antwerp to Sevilla. Stadsarchief, Antwerp, *Insolvente Boedelkamer, IB 218/1 (Rekeningen Christostomus van Immerseel: Naamloos 1627-1654)*.

[recto]

Abas en sevylla a 8 de novyembre de 1643/ Copia duna quenta de 2 caxas de pintúras no. A.B. cambiado por Filipe y/ Roberto Jacobs de quenta de Senor Crisostome van ymerseel a disposition de/ Giles bolart⁹¹ [...]

Declaros de la aduena como sigue/

| | |
|--|--------------|
| 16 liencos al temple profanos a 4 Reales | 64 R/ |
| 1 lamina profana en 200 Reales | 200 R/ |
| 9 tablas a l oleo profanas a 20 Reales | 180 R/ |
| 5 liencos profanas a 44 Reales | 220 R/ |
| 2 liencos profanas a 75 Reales | 150 R/ |
| 7 liencos profanas a 20 Reales | 140 R/ |
| | 945 R [...]/ |

[verso]

16U800/

Si contar la partidas datras

Lo signo es de devocion/

| | |
|--|-------------|
| 24 liencos al temple a 4 Reales | 96 R/ |
| 10 laminas de devocion a 80 Reales | 800 R/ |
| 10 tablas de pintura al oleo a 20 Reales | 200 R/ |
| 7 liencos al oleo al 70 Reales | 490 R/ |
| 2 liencos al oleo a 80 Reales | 160 R/ |
| 6 liencos dhor (?) a 16 Reales | 96 R/ [...] |

Notes

We are grateful to Jonathan Israel and J.M. Montias for conversations and comments on ideas expressed in earlier versions of this article, to Filip Vermeylen for sharing his then unpublished article with us, to Jan de Maere for the photographs of paintings in private collections, and to Joost Vander Auwera, Mariët Westermann, and the anonymous NKJ readers for valuable suggestions.

1 D. Kinkead, 'Juan de Luzón and the Sevillian Painting Trade with the New World in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century', *Art Bulletin* 66 (1984), 303-12, esp. 305. Kinkead documented 1,509 examples of Sevillian paintings made expressly for and exported to the New World in the years 1647 to 1665, and estimated that 24,000 pictures may have been exported from Seville to the Spanish colonies in the second half of the century. As more names of painters, traders, and networks are emerging in ongoing archival studies, so is the known number of Netherlandish images shipped to Spain and the Americas. Erik Duverger recently reported that one trade sent nine shipments in a single year, 1651, including 1,500 oils and *waterversfloeken*, plus 7,200 'small framed paintings,' and 100,000 devotional parchments and prints. E. Duverger, 'The Forchondt Family of Antwerp and the Art Trade with Spain and Portugal in the Seventeenth Century', paper delivered at the International Conference *Art for the Market*, Middelburg, 10-12 December 1998.

2 See J. Guadalupe Victoria, 'De Vlaamse kunst in Nieuwe Spantjen', in E. Stols and R. Bleys, *Vlaander en Latijns-Amerika: 500 jaar confrontatie en métissage*, Antwerp 1993, 155-67; Paul Vandenbroeck, 'Missionerings-iconografie aan weerszijden van de Atlantische Oceaan', and 'Van de God-mer-de-Slangenstaf naar de Hemelse Artillerie', in *América Bruid van de zon, 500 jaar Latijns-Amerika en de Lage Landen*, cat. exh. Antwerp 1992, 77-96, 157-68; and *Rubens e il suo secolo*, cat. exh. Città del Messico 1998-9 and Ferrara 1999, esp. contributions by J.G. Everaert, A. Balis, R. Ruiz Gomar and R. Velásquez Martínez del Campo. See also C. Bargellini, 'Paintings on

- Copper in Spanish America,' in *Copper as Canvas. Two Centuries of Masterpiece Paintings on Copper 1575-1775*, cat. exh. Phoenix Art Museum and Mauritshuis, New York-Oxford 1999, 31-44.
- 3 Kinkead used Flemish, not Southern Netherlandish, but this too is a problematic term.
 - 4 The standard work on Musson and Fourmenois still is E. Duverger, *Nieuwe gegevens betreffende de kunsthandel van Matthijs Musson en Maria Fourmenois te Antwerpen tussen 1633 en 1681*, Gent 1969; reprint of *Genève Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis en de Oudheidkunde*, 21 (1968). Also useful, though to be used with care, are J. Denucé, *Brieven en documenten betreffende Jan Breugel I en II (Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de Vlaamse Kunst, deel 3)*, Antwerp, 1934, and *Idem, Na Peter Pauwel Rubens. Documenten uit den kunsthandel te Antwerpen in de XVIIe eeuw van Matthijs Musson*, Antwerp 1949. For an excellent introduction to the Van Immerseel family's trading activities within the context of Spanish Netherlandish international trade see E. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders of de handelsbetrekkingen der Zuidelijke Nederlanden met de Iberische wereld (1598-1648)*, Brussels 1971. See also J. Everaert, *De internationale en koloniale handel der Vlaamse firma's te Cadix, 1670-1700*, Bruges 1973, and R. Baeters, *De nazomer van Antwerpens welvaart. De diaspora en het handelshuis De Grootte tijdens de eerste helft der 17de eeuw*, 2 vols, Brussels 1976. Our study of the Van Immerseel-De Fourmestraux enterprise has also been informed by a variety of unpublished sources in the Antwerp Stadsarchief, especially those from the *Insolvente Boedelkamer* IB201 (*Grootboek B van Chrysostomus van Immerseel te Sevilla, 1610-1611*); IB202 (*Index op Grootboek C van Chrysostomus van Immerseel, 1612*); IB203 (*Index op een grootboek of een kasboek*); IB204 (*Briefwisseling uitgaande van leden van de familie van Immerseel*); IB210-216 (*Handelsbriefwisseling ontvangen door Chrysostomus van Immerseel*); IB217/1 (*Briefwisseling gezonden aan Maria de Fourmestraux, 1622-1652; aan Susanna van Immerseel en aan diverse leden van de familie van Immerseel*); IB217/2 (*Briefwisseling gezonden aan verwanten en bekenden van de familie van Immerseel, 1584-1649; afschrijven van brieven, 1602-1646; varia*); IB218 (*Rekeningen en Rekeningen-courant*); IB219 (*Handel van Chrysostomus van Immerseel*); IB221 (*Wisselbrieven, 1589-1645*); IB223 (*Akten in verband met handel, 1529-1652*), and IB224, a file containing all the original documents published in Denucé 1949, *op. cit.* in this note.
 - 5 P. Rombouts and T. Van Lerijs, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde*, 2 vols., The Hague 1864-1876 (Reprint N. Israel: Amsterdam 1961).
 - 6 Cornelis Darthois, for instance, admitted in 1570 as 'cunstvercooper', seems to have been a dealer in paintings as well (Rombouts & Lerijs I, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 240, n. 2).
 - 7 For pertinent discussions on print production, see A.K.L. Thijs, *Antwerpen, internationaal uitgevercentrum van devotieprenten, 17de-18de eeuw*, Leuven 1993, esp. 102, and Jan Van der Stock, *Printing Images in Antwerp. The Introduction of Printmaking in a City: Fifteenth Century to 1585*, Rotterdam 1998.
 - 8 L. Voet, 'Christoffel Plantijn en het Iberisch schiereiland,' in *Christoffel Plantijn en de Iberische Wereld*, cat. exh. Antwerp 1992, 71-73.
 - 9 Stols I, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 173.
 - 10 Accepted in 1560: 'Gheert Gysbrechtsen, cunstvercooper [...]' (Rombouts & Lerijs I, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 220); in 1570: 'Cornelis Darthois, cunstvercooper [...]' (*ibid.*, 240). Geert de Jode was entered as master, in 1547 as 'printvercooper,' and is mentioned under the rubric 'Leerjongens' in 1570 as 'constvercooper and plaetsnyder' (*ibid.*, 159, 242). Accepted in 1571: 'Francoys Kriek, cunstvercooper [...]' (*ibid.*, 244); in 1572: 'Wyllem vanden Wympele, oudekleerkoper als kunstkooper [...]' and 'Lambertus Boxtaen, constvercooper [...]' (*ibid.*, 246); in 1573: 'Adriaen Huybrechts, cunstvercooper [...]' (*ibid.*, 250); in 1575: 'Batista Vrindt, cunstvercooper [...]' (*ibid.*, 259); in 1580: 'Gillis Sadeler, cunstvercooper [...]' (*ibid.*, 272); in 1581: 'Hans Lyefrynck, figuersnyder en cunstvercooper [...]' (*ibid.*, 279); in 1591: 'Abraham Willemsen, cunstvercooper [...]' (*ibid.*, 365); in 1600: 'Cornelis van Roosendale, cunstvercooper [...]' (*ibid.*, 411); in 1603: 'Zander Franssen, constvercooper [...]' and 'Jan Aertssen, constvercooper [...]' (*ibid.*, 422); in 1644: 'Nicolae de Weese, constvercooper ende pampieren [...]' (*ibid.*, 1620).
 - 11 *Ibid.*, 304, 307.
 - 12 *Ibid.*, 159, 242, 307.
 - 13 *Ibid.*, 259.
 - 14 *Ibid.*, 279.
 - 15 In 1619, Lucas Vorsterman not only entered as engraver, but also as 'kunstkoopman', further strengthening our impression that the category meant a dealer in prints rather than paintings 'Lucas Vostermans (I), plaetsnyder en kunstkoopman' (Rombouts and Van Lerijs I, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 500).
 - 16 Accepted in 1658: 'Henderick vander Mylen, consthandelaer [...]' (Rombouts & Van Lerijs II, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 292). The following entries have not been incorporated in our statistics as dealers, though we suspect that they were active in the art trade as well. Accepted in 1660: 'Constantia Segers, handeleresse [...]' (*ibid.*, 311), in 1661: 'Jouffrouw Susanna Herck, handelaerse [...]' (*ibid.*, 326); in 1662: 'Anna ende Magdalena Cuypers, handeleerssen [...]' (*ibid.*, 334); in 1668: 'Maria Jansens, handeleers [...]' (*ibid.*, 392); in 1677: 'Maria Smeysers, handeleers [...]' (*ibid.*, 460), in 1687: 'Clara-Catarina Smout, handeleers [...]' (*ibid.*, 521); and, finally, in 1688, Susanna Forchondt (*ibid.*, 532). Less ambiguous are the following entries, which are part of our graphs. Accepted in 1673: 'Jan-Baprista Nuyts, consthandelaer [...]' (*ibid.*, 434); in 1692: 'Jouffrouw Elisabeth du Fier, constvercooperster, Franciscus d'Endieu, handelaer van const, Michiel Verbist, consthandelaer [...]' and 'Peter Lits, consthandelaer [...]' (*ibid.*, 558-59); in 1693: 'Wouter Dieltiens, consthandelaer [...]' (*ibid.*, 568); and, in 1699: 'Gilian Verdueren, meester int printverkoopen [...]' (*ibid.*, 620).
 - 17 Accepted in 1588: 'Hans Gabron, oudeleercoper end handelt met schilderien [...]' and 'Joys van Bimont, oudeleercoper maer handelt met schilderien [...]' (Rombouts and Van Lerijs I, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 326); in 1638: 'Jan Geerts, handelaer met schildery [...]' and 'Peeter Sermens (Schermers), handelaer met schildery [...]' (Rombouts & Van Lerijs II, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 106). Early on, it seems, 'dealer in paintings' was applied to individuals who were primarily dealers in second-hand clothes, an occupation traditionally associated with the buying and selling of paintings, among other items acquired at estate sales. By 1638, however, there are new members who

- apparently became dealers in paintings without first or additionally being second-hand clothes dealers.
- 18 Accepted in 1594: 'Lambrecht de Jode, koopman in schilderyen [...]' (Rombouts and Van Lerijs I, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 376), also mentioned as 'coopman van schilderye' in 1595 (*ibid.*, 388); in 1597: 'Daniel de Villiers, coopman van schilderye [...]' in 1598: 'Peter Goetkint, koopman [...]' and 'Anthoni Goetkint, koopman [...]' (*ibid.*, 400); in 1602: 'Hynrick Ceynen, coopman van schilderye [...]' (*ibid.*, 418); in 1617: 'Hans Leys, coopman van schilderye [...]' (*ibid.*, 546); in 1619: 'Hans opden Craen, coopman van schilderye [...]', and 'Isebrant Peeters, coopman van schilderye [...]' (*ibid.*, 560-61); in 1620: 'Michil van Elselant, coopman van schilderyen [...]' and 'Jaques de Bie, coopman van schilderyen [...]' (*ibid.*, 568); in 1625: 'Lowis van Dycke, coopman van schilderye, Gilliam Willemsen, coopman van schilderye, Francois Goris, coopman van schilderyen, Abraham Jannen, coopman van schilderyen, Hans van Stock, coopman van schilderyen [...]' (*ibid.*, 624-25). 'Koopman' and 'handelaer' comprise rather wide-angled terminology that may, or may not, include art dealers. For example, we find in 1561: 'Jan Giems, coopman [...]' (*ibid.*, 224); in 1564: 'Hans Lenaerts, koopman [...]' (*ibid.*, 230, n. 5); in 1584: 'Hubrecht Beda, stofder en coopman [...]', in note 3 corroboration that he was also a painter (*ibid.*, 284); or in 1603: 'Willem Gerbrantssen, coopman [...]', and 'Gielis Verburcht, coopman [...]' (*ibid.*, 422). But in 1593, Thomas Cassier was accepted as painter and dealer, and here one could argue that he was involved in the art trade (*ibid.*, 369). A similar case can be made for Nicolaes de Bruyn, accepted in 1601 as 'plaetsnyder en coopman', likely both engraver and (print) dealer (*ibid.*, 416). And when, in 1598, Pieter II and Anthoni Goetkint were accepted, they were also entered each as merchant ('koopman'), but here we know certainly that they were both art dealers (*ibid.*, 400).
- 19 Accepted in 1602: 'Maria van Cleve, coopmenscap doende met schilderye [...]' (Rombouts and Van Lerijs I, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 418).
- 20 Accepted in 1602: 'Hector van Oosten, neringe doende van scilderye [...]' and 'Baltasar Hertichs, neringe van scilderye [...]' (*ibid.*, 418).
- 21 Accepted in 1615: 'Jaques Kersavent, coumaker en schilderyverkoopmer [...]' (Rombouts and Van Lerijs I, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 513); in 1617: 'Balthasar Luypaert, schilderyverkoopmer [...]' (*ibid.*, 546); and, in 1627: 'Jan Geraedts, schilderye vercoopmer [...]' (*ibid.*, 649).
- 22 Accepted in 1628: 'Peeter de Cat, negosant van schilderyen [...]'. He was inscribed under both the 'volle meesters' and the 'wynmeesters' (Rombouts and Van Lerijs I, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 664, 668). Accepted in 1633: 'Flups Denavent, negosiant van schilderye [...]' (*ibid.*, 248, 253).
- 23 Accepted in 1647: 'Peeter Heyndrieck, coeper van schilderye [...]' (Rombouts and Van Lerijs II, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 191). This terminology seems to echo the older 'oudeleercoeper', where the buying aspect ('coeper') is also more strongly emphasized than the selling ('vercoopmer'), though it is not clear whether the distinction was really drawn in these terms.
- 24 On the *Bears Pand* see Filip Vermeulen, 'Marketing Paintings in Sixteenth Century Antwerp: Demand for Art and the Role of the Panden', m. meo 1998.
- 25 The statutes were published at the beginning of this century by F. Donnet, *Het Jonstich Versaem der Violieren, geschiedenis der rederykkamer de Olyfiak*, Antwerp 1907.
- 26 A. A. Keersmaeckers, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpse rederykkamers in de jaren 1585-1635*, Aalst 1952, 10. With thanks to Joost Vander Auwera for the Donnet and Keersmaeckers references.
- 27 Z.Z. Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp 1550-1700*, Princeton 1987, 52.
- 28 J. Duverger in: H.E. Van Gelder, *Kunstgeschiedenis der Nederlanden*, vol. 5, Antwerp 1964, 760.
- 29 Rombouts and Van Lerijs I, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 419. As early as 1550, there were at least thirteen new members accepted via the affiliated Chamber of Rhetoric, *De Violieren* or Gillyflower (commonly referred to in the documents as the 'blomme' or the flower), but no member is specified as 'liefhebber' (*ibid.*, 173). In 1573, Jan de Keyser was mentioned as 'liefhebber' (but of what?). We suspect that he was also a dealer, since he was a seller of old clothes ('oude cleercoeper'), a profession traditionally involved in public sales of paintings, as noted in note 17, (*ibid.*, 251).
- 30 Rombouts and Van Lerijs I, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 440.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 447.
- 32 *Ibid.*, 505.
- 33 *Ibid.*, 440.
- 34 *Ibid.*, 514.
- 35 In 1647, accepted as 'liefhebber onder de Blom/Violiere [...]', 'Michiel Eggebert, kunstkoopman [...]' (Rombouts and Van Lerijs II, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 193). In 1655, he was not paying his contributions to the Guild and is listed among 'liefhebbers die niet en betalen [...]' (*ibid.*, 275); ditto in 1656 (*ibid.*, 284), 1657 (*ibid.*, 291). His funerary debt ('dootschuld') was paid in 1658-59: 'Michiel Egbert, kunstkoopman, 6 gl. aen knaep ghegeven, 1 gulden.. 5.0 [...]' (*ibid.*, 299).
- 36 Filipczak, *op. cit.* (n. 27), 51.
- 37 One such shipment is dated 24 February 1616, comprising five tapestries of the *Story of Alexander the Great*: 'Sieur Chrisostomus van ymmerseel is debituere den 24. februarij/ voor 5. stucken tapytserien hystorie van Alexandre [...]' These were sent to Jacques Sonnynt to be paid for by Laurens de Smit (probably entered in the Van Immerseel Journal of 26 March 1616). Another shipment mentions a cycle with the same theme for Sieur Vigneron as follows: 'Sieur Chrisostomo van ymmerseel is schuldich aen jan van der goes de jongerel vuer 5 stucks tapiterien 4 diep historie van alixandre magnus te weten 32|28|24|20|16| tsamen 120 aen daeraen gecort com aen quade mate blyft weete aen 199- / te 29 (?) s 6 d del con val Lib 145:15:6/ hier tgene goet gedaen voor provision 4 d. vande ponde Lib 2: 8:6 [...]' for a total (pounds Flemish) of 143: 7. Stadsarchief, Antwerp, *Insolventie Boedelkamer*, IB 218 (1), *Rekeningen voor Chrysostomus Van Immerseel (1608-1654)*.
- 38 The Spanish crown was experiencing growing financial difficulties. The state-owned silver returned from Peru and Nueva España fell from the equivalent of 30.2 million guilders, 1611-15, to 18.1 million in each of the next two five-year periods. The Crown declared bankruptcy in 1627, and in 1628 the 'rebel' captain Piet Heyn took the silver fleet from Nueva España. For the whole decade of the 1630s the return was only 10 million guilders. See J. Lynch, *Spain under the Hapsburgs*, vol. 2: *Spain and America, 1598-1700*, Oxford 1969, 71, 74, 76, 77, 85, 115. At

- the same time, war expenditure in the Low Countries, mostly by Spain, had been rising. War outlays there totaled the equivalent of 38.2 million guilders in the six-year period starting in 1614-15, almost doubled after the renewal of hostilities following the truce of 1609-21, to 71.3 million for the first six years of the 1620s, were maintained at 55.3 million through 1631, but plummeted to 27.9 million in the years 1642 to 1647. See G. Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659. The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries' Wars*, Cambridge 1972, 294-5. One reason for the declining state-owned silver imports was that a growing proportion of output was being retained in the colonies. Van Immerseel and his wife saw this expanding market and in 1629 began applying for a naturalization certificate. This enabled them to trade legally with Nueva España (Stols I, *op. cit.* (n. 4) 119).
- 39 Nor until 1633, with the deaths of both the Bishop of Antwerp, Malderus, and the Archduchess Isabella, did the post-1585 expansionist Tridentine church begin to experience loss of momentum and of some of its prominence in the life of Antwerp. But the signals that an accommodation with economic realities would have to be reached had been mounting for some time. The magistracy had subsidized the church's building, educational and charitable programs consistently, if not lavishly, since 1595 with cash transfers, grants of land and buildings, and tax concessions. During the Twelve-Year Truce (1609-21), however, the city began to run deficits and had to reduce the rate at which it gave assistance. At the same time, the numbers of 'religious' continued to grow, from 1 in 123 citizens in 1578-81, to 1 in 52 in 1629. The great wave of building, however, was over by the late twenties, and from 1633 it was clear that an era had ended. See M. J. Marinus, *De Contrareformatie te Antwerpen (1585-1676). Kerkelijk leven in een grootstad*, Brussels 1995, 77, 79-81, 182.
- 40 For an overview of the Goetkints letters to Van Immerseel, plus invoices, and shipments, see Denucé 1934, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 34-37, 38-39, 44-51, 61, doc. nos. xii, xiv, xvii-xix, xxv. For letters from Anthoni Goetkint (dd. 8/1/1628; 15/1/1628; 18/1/1628, and 3/8/1628), see Antwerp, Stadsarchief, *Insolvente Boedelkamer*, IB211/2, *Handelsbrief-wisseling ontwangen door Chrysostomus Van Immerseel*.
- 41 Denucé 1934, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 35.
- 42 Between 1606-10 and 1646-50 the gross tonnage in the American trade of Spain more than halved: from 273, 560 tons it fell to 121, 308. See Lynch, *op. cit.* (n. 38), vol. 2, 11. Lynch speaks of an 'emphatic collapse' in the period 1630-41 (*ibid.*, 115).
- 43 Stadsarchief, Antwerp, *Insolvente Boedelkamer*, IB214, Letter dd. 24 April 1629. Also see Stols I, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 171.
- 44 Four 1628 shipments in cases #1-2 have not been used here, since we have knowledge of their contents, but no cost-price information. See Denucé 1934, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 64-65, doc. no. xvii.
- 45 Fragments of their largely unpublished correspondence, mainly letters from Chrisostomus to Marie, and detailing their practices and shipments between 1625 and 1648, have been preserved in Antwerp, Stadsarchief, *Insolvente Boedelkamer*, IB 204, *Briefwisseling uitgaande van leden van de familie Van Immerseel*.
- 46 A still incomplete and preliminary count of the cases shipped can be constructed as follows: 1622 (3 cases), 1623 (8 cases), 1624 (5 cases), 1628 (4 cases), 1629 (2 cases), 1630 (2 cases), 1632 (3 cases), 1635 (3 cases), 1638 (4 cases), 1639 (1 case), 1642 (3 cases), 1643 (3 cases), 1645 (2 cases), 1646 (2 cases). The number of paintings shipped must be significantly higher than 6,000, since a number of additional cases were sent, but it is not always clear what exactly Van Immerseel's role was. This is partly related to his practice of combining elements of the older itinerant merchant's style with the most flexible aspects of the commissionaire system – quick switching of roles from principal to agent depending on the situation and what was most advantageous at that moment – a shift not always clearly articulated in the original shipping documents, invoices, 'memorialen', or in the copies of the fragmentary 'journaal' entries.
- 47 She was also financial agent, finding Chrisostomo the cash needed to purchase paintings, from anyone willing to put up the money. A case in point is her dealings with Levinio Cornelio, SAA, *Insolvente Boedelkamer*, IB 204 (3) 13 (numbered), also mentioned in Stols I, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 171, n. 240, 379, n. 233.
- 48 Antwerp, Stadsarchief, *Insolvente Boedelkamer*, IB 204 (3) 13, *Letter of Chrisostomus Van Immerseel to Marie de Fourmestraux* (dd. 9 November 1638), 186 (numbered; small inserted leaf). For a detailed transcription of the relevant parts, see Appendix, doc. 1.
- 49 This estimate counts *hermyten, evangeli, devotien, Marie belden* as devotional, which seems appropriate. Some proportion of 'landscapes' probably included devotional staffage, which would raise the numbers. There is no indication that this demand ebbed over the period we are concerned with.
- 50 *Lamina* is a thin sheet, which can be either a kind of paper or metal. In modern usage, a qualification is expected to indicate which. This qualification does not appear in the records we have seen, but we know from the sources pertaining to the Musson-Fourmenois trade that *placten* were in increasing demand in Spain itself. There can be little doubt that the *laminas* shipped by Van Immerseel and De Fourmestraux were copper plates, which were quite popular in Nueva España. See also Bargellini, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 33.
- 51 Sales reports by Philip and Robert Jacobs to Chrisostomo Van Immerseel show that the two cases of paintings, A and B, shipped from Antwerp under the trademark of Gilles Bollaert, were valued at fl. 1071, thus a 'large' consignment (Antwerp, Stadsarchief, *Insolvente Boedelkamer*, 218/ I *Rekeningen en Rekeningen-courant. Rekeningen voor Chrysostomus Van Immerseel (1608-1654)*, 9 September 1646 [Jacobs]). The documents specify: (1644) 'Coopmanschappe competerende xrisotome van/ immerseel syn schuldich aen principio februario lib. 27 12.7 over/ vrachten, tollen, provisie ende onkosten op 2 cassen schilderyen no. A. B./ door filipe y Robert jacobs als verpand medegaende reckeninge lib. 27.13. 7 [...] vande vercochte schilderyen lib. 56.17.6/ 1646 aen 25 october lib. 93.17.5 die hem goetdoen in de reckeninge courant/ voor resto van tgene netto uitgebrocht hebben 2 cassen no. A. B. schilderyen lib. 93. 17.5/ [total]: lib. 178.8.6 [...] and in 1646: '... Moet hebben voor 25 october lib. 178.8.6 doen Philipe y Robert/ Jacobs goet voor het netto provisie van 2 cassen schilderyen/ no. A. B: voor haer vercocht is verns

- medegaende copys blyct/ waer aen my gedragen lib. 178.8.6 [...]'. Antwerp, Stadsarchief, *Insolvente Boedelkamer*, 218/I: *Rekeningen en Rekeningen-courant: Rekeningen voor Chrysostomus Van Immerseel (1608-1654)*, Coopmanschappen Jacobs 1644-46.
- 52 Graphs of these distributions have not been included but are available on request.
- 53 Also see Appendix, docs. nos. 2 and 3.
- 54 In Van Immerseel's own words: 'dán haude my meest/ aen laminas ordinari doecken ende doeckens van/ monopart ende Andere dat tot cargasoen dienen mach/ op indien want geene rekeninge maecke in sevillen/ het te vercoopen [...] ten waere met occasie aan perroleros [...] (I prefer laminas and ordinary small cavases (or linens?) by de Momper and others that I can use to ship to the Indies, since I do not count on selling any of these in Seville, except to merchants traveling with the galleons to the Americas). Stadsarchief, Antwerp, *Insolvente Boedelkamer*, IB 204 (3) 13, *Letter Chrysostomus Van Immerseel to Marie de Fourmestraux* (dd. 17 January 1635), 167.
- 55 Also see Appendix, doc. 3.
- 56 Stadsarchief, Antwerp, *Insolvente Boedelkamer*, IB 212, *Letter of Francisco Souing to Chrysostomus Van Immerseel* (dd. 25 October 1616). Also see Stols I, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 169, n. 225, who mentions that *peroleros* trading in Nueva España ordered Netherlandish paintings via Salomón Paradis.
- 57 This was part of the protectionist system of Juan de Gauna (customs tariff edict of Philip III 27 February 1603; accepted by Albert and Isabella in ordinance of 5 April 1603), paying duties of 30% on all goods (*el derecho del treintá*). Spanish Netherlandish goods were not taxed, but they needed a *testimonio, certificación* or *atestación*. Lists were made of things typically 'Dutch' and 'South-Netherlandish,' and there were also lists with known Dutch forgeries after Spanish Netherlandish products. See Stols I, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 32-34.
- 58 In a 1631 *certificación* drafted for Van Immerseel, for instance, this was literally expressed as 'no venieron de Holanda, Zelanda o otras partes rebeldes [...]'. Also see Denucé 1934, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 52-55 (notarized certification of 1627), 74-76 (notarized certification of 1631), and SAA, IB 224.
- 59 Fourmounois played a major role in this partnership. She was the widow of the merchant Cornelis de Wael, and brought to her marriage with Musson in 1647 trading experience in mirrors and glassware, as well as somewhat more than fl.10,000 in goods and fresh capital. Maria also helped Musson focus what under his keeping had been a mixed and not highly successful trade ranging across paintings, porcelain, glassware, pewter and prints. Together they added painted cabinets to these export lines, but dropped the other items, confining themselves mainly to paintings, mirrors, and cabinets. Maria saw to the mirrors, did much of the correspondence, and very largely kept the books, the latter two essential aspects of successful international trading. On all this see Duverger, *op. cit.* (n. 4), esp. 6, 42-4. Nevertheless, our concern here is with paintings alone and for that reason we will speak chiefly in terms of Musson's trade, since he was the one who took the initiative in that sphere.
- 60 Vinck is listed among prominent Flemish merchants in Cadiz. See Baetens I, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 122-3, 210; II, 66.
- 61 We have used Duverger, *op. cit.* (n. 4), as primary source for published documents concerning the Musson-Fourmounois trade, supplemented by Denucé 1949, *op. cit.* (n. 4). Denucé was not able to modify the final proofs of this work before he died, and for this and other reasons it must be used circumspectly. To save space we give here lists of relevant page numbers in both sources for Vinck, and for the other agents, yet to be discussed: Moller, and Van Susteren and Polenter, with the warning, however, that not all pertinent printed documents are properly dated or labelled. In many instances too there is clarifying information that can be gleaned, and added to orders or shipping documents, from recorded dealings with individual artists, but it is impossible to indicate in summary form all the cross-links and inferences that have led to each particular use we have made of the evidence. For Vinck see Duverger, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 73, 75, 77-8, 80, 86, 90, 91, 95, 110, 119, 150, and Denucé 1949, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 87, 89, III, 123, 125, 151, 206, 210, 211, 264. For Moller, consult Duverger, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 122, 128, 129, 133-4 and Denucé 1949, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 255, 258, 259, 267-8, 270, 277, 290-91, 310-11. For Van Susteren and Polenter see Duverger, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 130, 132, 136, 141-2, 146, 147-8, 149, 151, 176, 236, 237, 240, 241, 243, 244, and Denucé 1949, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 303-4, 314-15, 318-19, 320, 325-8, 329, 342-3, 358, 355, 359-60.
- 62 The sole intermediary on whom we possess information was one Coenraet Scholten. He appears as carrier of a *memoriken* of the prices at which Moller wanted certain paintings. See Duverger, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 128. It seems that he also made some purchases of his own, including a *Lieve Vroue van palmenhout*, which were packed and shipped along with Moller's order. *Ibid.*, 129, fol. 131, and 133, fol. 7. A person of the same name also appears a decade later, interested in the same item. *Ibid.*, 171. Musson shipped to Moller via Middelburg, using Theodoor van Kessel as transshipper, and to Ghent, thence via Oostende. *Ibid.*, 122, 133.
- 63 *Ibid.*, 128, fol. 129 (Denucé, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 267).
- 64 The tone of a letter from Moller to Musson (Duverger, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 229) makes clear that he considered himself basically Musson's agent. Nevertheless, he functioned in all the roles of a typical agent who might also perform as a principal: going shares with Musson, as we have seen; proposing to use the proceeds of sales of paintings to purchase return cargoes when he could not be sure of getting a good exchange rate for cash remittance (*ibid.*); and actually sending a cargo of mats on one occasion (Duverger, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 126, fol. 120).
- 65 Van Susteren and his brother Pedro maintained a business in Cadiz as commission agents in Cadiz till the end of the century (Everaert, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 41, 586).
- 66 This excludes a single landscape sold to Vinck in 1668, after a gap of six years in recorded dealings (Duverger, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 150).
- 67 'Aen twee dieferenten parsonen in cet staer vinde dat niet gheraden [...] (*ibid.*, 230).
- 68 The importance of plates, already visible in later shipments by Van Immerseel and De Fourmestraux, became much greater in the second half of the century.
- 69 P. Cherry, 'Seventeenth-Century Spanish Taste', in M.B. Burke and P. Cherry ed., *Collections of Paintings in Madrid: 1601-1750*, 2 vols. Los Angeles

- 1997, vol. 1, 4, n. 25, citing E. Stols, 'La colonia flamenca de Sevilla y el comercio de los Países Bajos españoles en la primera mitad del siglo XVII', *Anuario de Historia Económica y Social* 2 (1969), 376-77.
- 70 'Oock sullen de stucken beter coop staen als iemant van hier derrewaerts can synden [...]' (Duverger, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 203, doc. XI). This letter is relevant to Cadiz since Musson asks Van Damme if he is interested in large plates of the type he had seen at Vinck's house — and of which Vinck had already taken many.
- 71 'Veraccordeert' is a word that occurs in the records for both Vinck and Moller, along of course with listed requests and the mention of price: *tot* so many guilders (*ibid.*, 75, fol. 59v, and 150, fol. 71v, for Vinck, and 128, fol. 130v), where both the *memoriken* of prices and *tot* appear.
- 72 They wrote on 28 September 1664, of a shipment sent either the preceding March or somewhat later, that '...de groote platen willen noch al niet aen de man [...]'. This was followed on 12 October 1664: 'Dienende alleen tot advis differente coopers op Ul. schilderiijn hebben gehadt, maer alsoo hun te hooch van prijs vielen niet connen accorderen. Moeten nu andere verwachten, die meerder liefhebber syn anders tot de gestelde prijzen sullen soo licht niet van raecken [...]' (*ibid.*, 237, docs. LXIII and LXIV).
- 73 Cases nos. 10 and 12, shipped, respectively, 22 March 1664 and soon thereafter, each contained some large plates and the latter also thirty four small plates. All it seems were sold by early May 1665, but at loss-making prices. And Van Susteren and Polenter charged abnormally high *onkosten*. Musson claimed to have lost fl. 70, which would have meant a loss of 13 per cent on basic costs at his end, excluding shipping and handling, interest and any allowance for his risk. See Denucé 1949, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 303-4 (case nr. 10) and 311, with Duverger, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 130 (for case nr. 12), and Denucé 1949, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 359-60 for both, plus correspondence as follows: *ibid.*, 318-19.
- 74 Duverger, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 205, doc. XIV.
- 75 'Is allemael fracy ende net goet ende de naeste prys dat hier te becomen is [...]' (*ibid.*, 233, doc. LIV). This letter was sent jointly by Musson and de Baillieur.
- 76 Van Susteren and Polenter asked for and were sent some by Musson. *Ibid.*, 231, doc. LII. On the nature of this cloth see Stols I, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 146-7, and Everaert, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 253.
- 77 Duverger, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 234, doc. LVI.
- 78 *Ibid.*, 128, fol. 129.
- 79 *Ibid.*, 122, and 230-31, doc. LI. Not that Picart was casual about size, but he frequently ordered by author and by the type of work for which a particular artist was well known. These restrictions took precedence over exact size, and left Musson free to select paintings from his own stock, or the stock of often-busy artists, without the hindrance of exact size requirements.
- 80 *Ibid.*, 140 fol. 19, 143, fol. 30, 145, fol. 36, 153, fol. 103v. One *vara* was the equivalent of 84 cm, a *Brabant el* was 69 cm, and a *taly* 4.3 cm.
- 81 'De Doeken van Monseur Finck moeten een achtendeel hoegher weesen, een achtendeel breder weesen [...]' (Duverger, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 91, fol. 78v).
- 82 *Ibid.*, 141-2, fol. 22v.
- 83 'Doerinda veerlieft synde op Silvio die de jacht bemint haer den boch met den pyl presentert [...]; and 'Doerinda is daer Silvio met Linco haer tuys draghen oft de wont haer stecht ende antwoordt hem dat den stech haer aenghenaem is ende sterft [...]' (*ibid.*, 147, fol. 52). A version of the first is in Budapest. See Aladin McNeil Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia. Pastoral Art and Its Audience in the Golden Age*, Mont Clair, NJ 1983, 194, fig. 179.
- 84 Duverger, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 75, fol. 61v.
- 85 Neil De Marchi & Hans J. Van Miegroet, 'Novelty and Fashion Circuits in the Mid-Seventeenth Century Antwerp-Paris Art Trade', *Journal for Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 28/1, (1998), 201-246.
- 86 Explanation of contemporary usages: *Poeterye* covers mythical themes ('Daer Kalisto comt voor Deana, Rinaldo en Armda, Bachus en Venus[...]'), but also various allegories ('Daer den Peys gecront wort, Mars hebbende de vry const onde den voet [...]'). *Romansche Historiën* includes subjects such as Alexander cutting the knot, the Rape of the Sabines, *Scipio Africanus*, the Battle of the Amazons, and Nero and Agrippina. *Devotie* appears to have been used of series such as The Life of the Virgin, The Life, or Passion, of our Lord, Saints and Apostles, but also virtually all New Testament themes, from Paul's conversion to the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes, and the Wedding in Cana. *Oudt Testament*: although New Testament subjects were treated as *devoties*, the (few) Old Testament subjects in the records of Musson's Cadiz sales appear to have been treated more as narrative, being typically included, along with Roman Histories or *Poesiën*, under the generic *Fugure*. Common subjects included Belshazzar's Feast, Esther before Ahasuerus, the Battle of Jericho, David and Abigail, and the Golden Calf. The remaining category is *outs*, and covers a variety of secular, often standard, subjects, plus images that would have been recognizably 'Flemish.' Vinck purchased two sets of the Five Senses and one Ark of Noah (included in this instance here rather than under *Oudt Testament*, since where the Senses and the Ark were listed together this typically meant 'after Brueghel', for whom an 'Ark' could also be a 'Paradise'). Vinck also took a *Schepvaert* (by Bonaventura Peeters) and a 'lantschap met Jouffrou ende Sinoers [...]'. Van Susteren and Polenter were sent two *jachten*, a Five Senses after Van Ostade, four *Boerekermisen* (Van Neeck), a Four Elements (Boots), seventeen *lantschappen brandekens*, one of *Den Vogelemsanck*, and a 'Boer die melck schenkt met eene boerin [...]'. Moller ordered eighteen *jachten*, twelve 'Battailliën te water ende te lande', and a 'Blommen van Brugel'.
- 87 Possibly identical with Jacques Estarque from ca. 1607 in Seville (for a brief biography, see Stols II, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 27).
- 88 Trademark of Chrisostomo Van Immerseel in the left margin.
- 89 Trademark of Diego Coques in the left margin.
- 90 Pedro de Weyer traded in Seville between 1620 and 1650 as an associate of Pedro Michielsen. For a brief biography, see Stols II, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 71.
- 91 Trademark of Giles Bollart in the left margin.