



Short notice

‘Vrouwen die brouwen’: The Life and Work of Maritge Claesdr Vooght

• FEMKE VALKHOFF* •

Maritge Vooght, wife of the burgomaster Pieter Olycan, is portrayed here in a traditional pose, sitting proudly upright and looking straight at the viewer.¹ Even in the absence of the pendant portrait of her husband – which is part of the collection of the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art in Sarasota, Florida – the Rijksmuseum had long been introducing Maritge Claesdr Vooght (1577-1644, fig. 1) to its visitors as the ‘wife of’.² As a result of this one-sided perspective and the lack of surviving information, historians and art historians have long had a blind spot when it comes to seventeenth-century women. This is why Vooght’s life, and that of many other portrayed women in the museum, remains invisible. In addition to the standard methodology – traditional archival and literature research – studying the marginalized in history requires more attention to circumstantial evidence.³ This paradigm shift could potentially bring to light stories like Maritge Vooght’s, enabling us to write more inclusive and equitable histories.

Maritge Vooght

Vooght grew up in Haarlem in a prosperous family of brewers: her parents, Volckje Willemsdr Lakeman (?-1603) and Claes Albertsz Vooght (?-1597), owned the ‘Gecroonde Hoefijser’

< Fig. 1
FRANS HALS,
*Portrait of Maritge
Claesdr Vooght*, 1639.
Oil on canvas,
126.4 x 93.2 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. SK-C-139;
on loan from the
City of Amsterdam
(A. van der Hoop
Bequest).

Fig. 2
Maritge Vooght’s
signature. Detail
of Genealogy of
‘Olycan-Vooght en
Lakeman’, eighteenth
century, fol. 4.
Haarlem, Noord-
Hollands Archief,
Van Sypestyn Family
of Haarlem (1614),
inv. no. 71.

brewery on the River Spaarne.⁴ During her childhood, Maritge was probably schooled in reading, writing, arithmetic and bookkeeping along with her two sisters and her brother.⁵ From a young age, children – sons and daughters alike – were educated in order to be of use to the family business.⁶ Maritge Vooght’s ability to write can be inferred from a cut-out of her handwritten signature ‘by my Marijtgen Claes / huys vrou van Olycan’ (by me Marijtge Claes / wife of Olycan), pasted in an eighteenth-century genealogy of her family (fig. 2). Her upbringing in a brewing family meant that Maritge was familiar with the ins and outs of running a professional brewery. When she was about eighteen, she married Pieter Jacobsz Olycan (1572-1658, fig. 3) who was five years her senior and part of an Amsterdam merchant family.⁷ As was customary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this marriage was probably arranged with the help of their parents’ network.⁸ The company owned by Pieter Olycan’s parents traded in commodities such as grain,

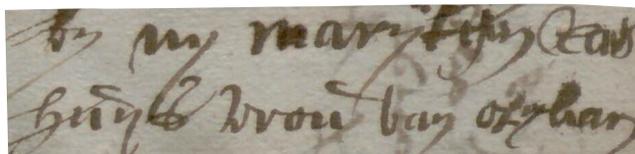




Fig. 3
FRANS HALS,
*Portrait of Pieter
Jacobsz Olycan*, 1639.
Oil on canvas,
111.1 x 86.7 cm.
Sarasota (Florida),
John and Mable
Ringling Museum of
Art, inv. no. SN251.

a crucial ingredient for brewing beer.⁹ The couple's parents may have been trading partners or even old acquaintances, since both fathers – contemporaries of one another – had come from the island of Wieringen, off North Holland.¹⁰

As was customary in those affluent circles, Maritge Vooght and Pieter Olycan had pre-nuptial agreements drawn up to protect their property and capital.¹¹ In other words, this marriage was an agreement between equal parties. If one of them died before they had children, their 'clothes, valuables, jewels, weapon and otherwise all they own' (cleederen, cleinodien, juweelen, geweer ende anders al t'geene ten lijve) – that is, all their personal belongings, along with whatever the two parties had brought to the marriage or inherited during it – would be returned to the deceased's family. Initially, the agree-

ment appears to be somewhat beneficial for Maritge Vooght. Should Pieter Olycan be the first to die, she would immediately receive a one-off widow's pension of 300 guilders and the future income, profits and losses would be divided fairly (halff ende halff) – fifty-fifty – between both parties: Maritge Vooght and the Olycan family.¹² It is unusual, however, that the pre-nuptial agreement makes no mention of Vooght's dowry, which she would certainly have contributed to the marriage. The relationship between the families was apparently so good that it was deemed unnecessary to have the notary record this on paper.¹³ All the same, the marriage would chiefly have worked in Olycan's favour. By marrying a burgher of Haarlem, Pieter Olycan also gained the right to live and work in that city. In 1598 this enabled him to obtain the guild right from the Haarlem brewers' guild. He was taken into the 'Gecroonde Hoefijser' owned by Maritge Vooght's parents and in 1603 Maritge and Pieter even opened their own brewery, the 'Vogel Struys', on the River Spaarne.¹⁴

The Haarlem Brewery

Chronicler Samuel Ampzing (1590–1632) praised brewing as Haarlem's 'eerste Hoofdneringe' (principal trade).¹⁵ Brewers were members of the city's wealthiest elite and were expected to support the city council.¹⁶ The advantageous marriage to Maritge Vooght meant that Pieter Olycan was also able to obtain such high positions. In 1618, he was appointed as a member of Haarlem's city council by Prince Maurice and subsequently served many times as an alderman and burgomaster.¹⁷ The relatively old-fashioned, but unmistakably expensive black clothes Vooght and Olycan wear in their pendant portraits clearly proclaim their prominent status.¹⁸ Among other things, Vooght is wearing silk trimmed with velvet edging, a fur-lined *vlieger*, gold or gilded buttons, batiste cuffs trimmed

with bobbin lace and she holds a prayer book inlaid with silver in her hand (fig. 4).¹⁹ To emphasize their prosperity, these pendants were located 'int voorhuijs' (the entrance hall), the most public space of a seventeenth-century home, so that everyone who visited the couple could admire their eminence.²⁰

As distinguished as these city council positions were, the main source of income remained the brewery, which was legally owned by Pieter Olycan.²¹ As a reference to the importance of his marriage to Maritge Vooght for his career, Olycan even added an ostrich with a horseshoe in its beak to his coat of arms ('Gecroonde Hoefijser' means 'crowned horseshoe' and 'Vogel Struys' means 'ostrich', fig. 5). Despite the lack of information about her working life, it can be stated with some certainty that Vooght must have been involved in the 'Gecroonde Hoefijser' and the 'Vogel Struys' breweries. It is quite possible that she ran them, especially when her husband was absent in pursuit of his many side-lines.²² Hugo Grotius

(1583-1645) wrote in *Parallelon rerumpublicarum* that women 'took upon themselves the management of common property during the absence of their husbands on land and at sea'.²³

Research by historian Marjolein van Dekken into the production and sale of alcohol by women in the Northern Netherlands showed that brewing beer was originally a household task of women.²⁴ It was part of the daily food preparation, just like baking bread and making cheese. In the seventeenth century, however, the brewing process was commercialized in professional breweries and placed under the supervision of town councils and guilds. As a result, following the legislation at the time, the brewing companies were registered in the name of the man.

In the seventeenth century, married women had restricted legal capacity.²⁵ They were not allowed to undertake legal transactions, including the signing of contracts, without permission from their guardian (their husband or another male relative). However,

Fig. 4
Detail of Portrait of
Maritge Claesdr
Vooght (fig. 1).



Fig. 5
Coat of arms of
Pieter Jacobsz Olycan
(also partly visible
in fig. 3). Detail
of Genealogy of
'Lakeman-Fabritius-
Luytges-Olycan enz.',
eighteenth century,

fol. 30. Haarlem,
Noord-Hollands
Archief, Van
Sypestyn Family
of Haarlem (1614),
inv. no. 55.

Fig. 6

FRANS HALS,
Portrait of Aletta
Hanemans, 1625.
Oil on canvas,
123.8 x 98.3 cm.
The Hague, Maurits-
huis, inv. no. 460.



Fig. 7

Geertruyt Olycan's
signature. Detail
of Genealogy
'Olycan-Voogt en
Lakeman', eighteenth
century, fol. 6.
Haarlem, Noord-
Hollands Archief,
Van Sypestyn Family
of Haarlem (1614),
inv. no. 71.

historian Ariadne Schmidt writes that in the province of Holland, unmarried women (aged twenty-five and older) and widows were regarded as legally capable.²⁶ For instance, Aletta Hanemans (1606-1653, fig. 6), the widow of Jacob Pietersz Olycan (1596-1638), who was

Maritge Vooght and Pieter Olycan's son and likewise a brewer by trade, continued to run the brewery under her own name after her husband's death.²⁷ So, women who outlived their husbands are generally recorded in the archives, but unfortunately the married Maritge Vooght, who died before her husband, remains largely invisible.²⁸

Nevertheless, women still played an important part in the brewing business and its operations. The Haarlem

brewers' books for the period 1518-1663 show that almost one in five brewers were women.²⁹ In reality, the number of women who were active in breweries must have been higher: after all, married women are generally overshadowed by their husbands in the archives. However, wives and daughters of brewers were certainly active in the family business.³⁰ Although this did not place women on an equal footing with their male relatives, the early-modern household can still be regarded as a family economy, in which husband, wife and children jointly contributed to the financial well-being of the family.³¹

Invisible Lives

Maritge Vooght and Pieter Olycan had fifteen children in total, eight of whom survived infancy.³² By means of marriage politics, all their children either allied themselves to descendants of well-to-do Haarlem brewing families, or continued to run a relative's brewery.³³ It is quite possible that the knowledge gained during their childhood in their parents' brewery proved useful during the rest of their marriages and working lives. This becomes particularly clear when considering the inheritance of the 'Vogel Struys' brewery through the female line with the Vooght-Olycan family. After Pieter Olycan's death, daughter Geertruyt Olycan (1603-1666, fig. 7) inherited the brewery, after which she is listed as a *brouwster*, the owner of the brewery, in the archives.³⁴

In addition to the efforts of family members, female employees, such as *comptoirmeiden*, were hired for administrative tasks, like bookkeeping and the sale of the beer.³⁵ An agreement regarding the division of the inheritance after Pieter Olycan's death shows that Maritge Vooght must also have been responsible for administrative matters concerning the breweries. For the sale and value of the 'Paauw' brewery, which adjoined the 'Vogel Struys' and under that name

was also the property of Vooght and Olycan, reference is made to a 'note written by the late Maria Vooght' (*aenteijkeninge bij wijlen Jouffrouw Maria de Vooght Claes dochter geschreven*), in which she herself recorded the value of the brewery.³⁶

The fact that the latter archival document is the only reference to Maritge Vooght's involvement in the brewery, is a reflection of the fate of most married seventeenth-century women. Their legal status limited their visibility, self-determination and opportunities in the labour market. The virtual absence of direct references to their lives means that they are largely overlooked, considered as inactive, or even deliberately ignored. Even so, it has been shown that in practice women actually were able to escape this restrictive legal reality.³⁷ For example, women not only fulfilled an important role in breweries, they could also run their own businesses as an *openbaar koopvrouw* (public merchant).³⁸

By setting aside the male perspective and connecting all potential leads, it is possible to tell a credible life story of a portrayed woman like Maritge Vooght. Now she is no longer just the 'wife of', but will go down in history as Maritge Vooght, Haarlem brewer, with a rich family history full of women who brew (*vrouwen die brouwen*).

- * My sincere thanks to Jenny Reynaerts and Maria Holtrop for their tireless feedback and suggestions and to Frans Grijzenhout and Pieter Biesboer for their help in transcribing and interpreting the archival documents. I am also indebted to Judith Noorman and the members of her research project 'The Female Impact'. Thank you for listening to and allowing me to tell Maritge Vooght's story time and again.
- 1 'Maritge Vooght, echtgenote van burgemeester Pieter Olycan, poseert hier in een traditionele houding, fier rechtop, de toeschouwer recht aankijkend.' See www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/SK-C-139 (consulted 13 April 2022).
 - 2 In the literature, Maritge Vooght is also usually described as the 'wife of' Pieter Jacobsz Olycan or as a 'daughter of' Claes Albertz Vooght. See Jonathan Bikker et al., *Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam. Volume 1: Artists Born between 1570 and 1600*, coll. cat. Amsterdam 2007, p. 178; Sebastiaan A.C. Dudok van Heel and Marten Jan Bok, *'Frans Halsen' aan de muur: Omgang met familieportretten in Haarlem: Voocht-Olycan-Van der Meer*, The Hague 2013, p. 5. In Vooght's signature referred to in this article, she also describes herself as 'huys vrou van Olykan' (wife of Olycan); we do not know which document she signed in this way. So, there is a similarity between how she identified herself and the way researchers described her in past decades.
 - 3 With the term marginalized, I describe those who do not identify as a cis, white, western man. In *Public Faces and Private Identities in Seventeenth-Century Holland: Portraiture and the Production of Community* (Cambridge 2009), Ann Jensen Adams writes about circumstantial evidence: 'When judiciously used, circumstantial evidence, that of the rise of parallel phenomena in the culture, suggests associations, an alternative to, if not far better than, our projection of our own twenty-first-century interpretations into the visual material.' In this way, the missing information about the life of Maritge Vooght can be connected to corresponding information that indirectly tells us something about the subject in question in order to come to a plausible conclusion.
 - 4 Dudok van Heel and Bok 2013 (note 2), pp. 8-9, 27.
 - 5 Haarlem, Noord-Hollands Archief (hereinafter NL-НІМННА), Van Sypestyn Family of Haarlem, accession number 1614, inv. no. 55, Genealogy of 'Lakeman-Fabritius-Luytges-Olycan enz.', eighteenth century, fol. 9. The siblings were Dirckje, Cornelia and Willem Vooght.
 - 6 Dorothee Sturkenboom, *De ballen van de koopman: Mannelijkheid en Nederlandse identiteit in de tijd van de Republiek*, Gorredijk 2019, p. 109.
 - 7 NL-НІМННА, Doop-, trouw- en begraafboeken of Haarlem (hereafter ДТВН), accession number 2142, inv. no. 47, Ondertrouwboeken Nederlands hervormde kerk Haarlem, fol. 37: 'get[rouw]d den 17 september 95'; NL-НІМННА, 1614 Van Sypestyn Family of Haarlem, inv. no. 72, Genealogical register of the Olycan family, fol. 4. IJsbant Olycan (1604-1660), who was Maritge Vooght and Pieter Olycan's son, notes: 'Nae dat hij [Pieter Olycan] wel schrijven, cijfferen, en franchois geleert hadde is geset opt passamentwercken, daerna in de coopmanschap geooffent ende viermaal in Spangien voor coopman gesonden, mitsgaeders oock in Oostlandt, tot dat hij ontrent 23 iaer out sijnde tot haerlem is getrouwt met Maritgen Claes Voocht, ende is alsoo brouwer geworden.' (After he [Pieter Olycan] had learned writing, arithmetic and French, he turned to trimmings, thereafter trained as a trader and was sent to Spain four times as a merchant, and moreover in eastern lands too until, when he was about twenty-three years old, he married Maritgen Claes Voocht in Haarlem, and thus became a brewer.)
 - 8 Eddy de Jongh, *Portretten van echt en trouw: Huwelijk en gezin in de Nederlandse kunst van de zeventiende eeuw*, exh. cat. Haarlem (Frans Hals Museum) 1986, p. 28.
 - 9 NL-НІМННА, Van Sypestyn Family of Haarlem (1614), inv. no. 72, Genealogical register of the Olycan family, 1629, fol. 6. The Olycan family based their surname on the parental company 'de Olycan' which dealt in various commodities: 'doende coopmanschap en factorien in graenen, olij, en andere waeren' (trading and factoring in grain, oil and other wares); see Marjolein van Dekken, *Brouwen, branden en bedienen: Productie en verkoop van drank door vrouwen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden, circa 1500-1800*, Amsterdam 2010, p. 38.
 - 10 Dudok van Heel and Bok 2013 (note 2), p. 8.
 - 11 NL-НІМННА, 1614 Van Sypestyn Family of Haarlem, inv. no. 910, Pre-nuptial agreement of 'Pieter Jacobse Olycan and Maritgen Claesdr Voocht' before the notary in Haarlem, 1595.
 - 12 Ibid. 'ende sal schade ende vaste winst ende verlies bij staende huwelicke vallende oft

- opcomende over beijden zijden deezen ende gedragen werden halff ende halff (in the event of the marriage failing or coming to an end, damages and fixed profit and loss will be borne by both sides half and half). At the time, 300 guilders was comparable to a craftsman's annual wage. When compared to the yearly income of brewers of approximately 5,000 guilders a year, as estimated by Pieter Biesboer in *Collections of Paintings in Haarlem, 1572-1745*, Los Angeles 2001, p. 7, Maritge Vooght's widow's pension does not appear very substantial.
- 13 NL-HlMNHA, 1614 Van Sypestyn Family of Haarlem, inv. no. 917, Pre-nuptial agreement of 'Jacob Pieterse Olycan and Aeltien Hannemans', 1624. The pre-nuptial agreement of Jacob Pietersz Olycan, who was Maritge Vooght and Pieter Olycan's son, and Aletta Hanemans does mention a dowry. With thanks to Pieter Biesboer for the explanation.
 - 14 Dudok van Heel and Bok 2013 (note 2), p. 27.
 - 15 Samuel Ampzing, *Beschryvinge ende lof der stad Haarlem in Holland*, Haarlem 1628, p. 337-38. See www.dbnl.org/tekst/ampz-001besco101/index.php (consulted 23 April 2022). Ampzing regarded brewing as Haarlem's most important industry: 'Hier kome so voor aen de konst van Bier te brouwen, Die wy voor 'teerste hoofd van onse nering houwen' (Foremost here is the art of brewing beer, which we regard as our principal trade). In his list of 'Groote Brouwerijen der Stad Haerlem. Op het Sparen. Tuschen de S. Katharijnen ende S. Nikolaes Bruggen', 'Het Hoef-yser' and 'De Vogel-struys' breweries are also mentioned.
 - 16 Pieter Biesboer, 'The Burghers of Haarlem and Their Portrait Painters', in Seymour Slive et al., *Frans Hals*, exh. cat. Washington D.C. (National Gallery of Art)/London (Royal Academy of Arts)/Haarlem (Frans Hals Museum) 1989, pp. 23-44, esp. p. 25.
 - 17 NL-HlMNHA, 1614 Van Sypestyn Family in Haarlem, inv. no. 55, Genealogy 'Lakeman-Fabritius-Luytges-Olycan enz.', eighteenth century, fol. 30. 'Pieter Jacobsen Olijcan is openen 25 octob: 1618 door sijn Excell. Prins Maurits van Orange ... tot Raat en Vroetschap der stad haarlem Verkooren alsmede ten selven dage tot schepen 't geen hij ook geweest de jaren 1619 president 1621. 1622. 1625. 1626. 1629. Wort Burgemeester 1630. is het mede inde jaren 1639. 1645. 1646. 1653. president 1654.' (On 25 October 1618 Pieter Jacobsen Olijcan was elected a member of the Haarlem city council by His Excellency Prince Maurits of Orange as well as on the same day an alderman which he had also been in the years 1619 President 1621. 1622. 1625. 1626. 1629. Becomes burgomaster in 1630. Is also that in 1639. 1645. 1646. 1653. President 1654.) In 1639, Maritge Vooght and Pieter Olycan had their portraits painted by Frans Hals.
 - 18 Henk van Nierop, 'The Anatomy of Society', in Ronni Baer et al., *Class Distinctions: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt and Vermeer*, exh. cat. Boston (Museum of Fine Arts) 2016, pp. 23-40, esp. p. 38. 'Nobles, regents, and rich merchants had themselves portrayed with the trappings of their wealth.'
 - 19 Bianca M. du Mortier, 'Het kostuum bij Frans Hals', in Slive et al. 1989 (note 16), pp. 45-60, esp. pp. 45-50. A *vlieger*, or *vlieger* costume, was worn mainly in the first quarter of the seventeenth century and had its origins in the *tabbaerd*, a long straight coat. The *vlieger* costume consisted of a bodice and a skirt with the *vlieger*, a long, sleeveless over-gown or cape over them. Fur-lined *vliegers* were expensive and considered status symbols.
 - 20 Biesboer 2001 (note 12), p. 180; Bikker et al. 2007 (note 2), p. 179; Dudok van Heel and Bok 2013 (note 2), p. 6. According to the estate inventory of Geertruyt Olycan (1603-1666) drawn up after her death, the pendant portraits of her parents were located in the entrance hall of the house adjoining de 'Vogel Struys' brewery.
 - 21 Biesboer 1989 (note 16), p. 23. The managerial posts were not well paid, but did grant prestige and influence within Haarlem.
 - 22 NL-HlMNHA, 1614 Van Sypestyn Family of Haarlem, inv. no. 55, Genealogy of 'Lakeman-Fabritius-Luytges-Olycan enz.', eighteenth century, fol. 30. In 1622, for example, Pieter Olycan travelled to Hasselt in Overijssel as captain of the Haarlem civic guard to free the city from the Catholic enemy.
 - 23 'bij de afwezigheid harer mannen te land en ter zee het bestuur van 't gemeenschappelijk vermogen op zich nemen', *Sturkenboom* 2019 (note 6), p. 108. From the Dutch translation of *Parallelon rerumpublicarum* (Comparison of republics), 1602, by Johan Meerman (1753-1815), *Vergelijking der gemeenebesten*, 1801-03, vol. 2, p. 144.
 - 24 Van Dekken 2010 (note 9), p. 34.
 - 25 *Ibid.*, p. 26; *Sturkenboom* 2019 (note 6), p. 146; Ariadne Schmidt, 'Vrouwen en het recht: De juridische status van vrouwen in Holland in de vroegmoderne tijd', *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie* 58 (2004), pp. 27-44, esp. pp. 30-32, 35-36.
 - 26 Schmidt 2004 (note 25), pp. 30, 32.

- 27 Van Dekken 2010 (note 9), p. 94; Dudok van Heel and Bok 2013 (note 2), pp. 12-13. In 1630 Jacob Pietersz Olycan took over the 'Gecroonde Hoefijser' from his uncle Willem Claesz Vooght (1572-1630), Maritge Vooght's brother. Jacob Olycan died in 1638, after which Aletta Hanemans continued to run the brewery. The pendant portraits of Hanemans and Olycan are both in the Mauritshuis.
- 28 NL-HlMNHA, 2142 DTBH, inv. no. 71, Begraafboeken Nederlands hervormde kerk, 1639 januari 8 - 1650 januari 29, fol. 104. Maritge Vooght did not survive Pieter Olycan: he died in 1658 and she died in 1644. In the week of 10 December she was interred within the church walls of the Grote Kerk in Haarlem, where only the wealthiest could afford their last resting place.
- 29 Van Dekken 2010 (note 9), pp. 47-49. The brewers' books were kept by Haarlem's treasurer.
- 30 Ibid., pp. 76, 100.
- 31 Ibid., p. 101; Ariadne Schmidt, 'Vrouwenarbeid in de vroegmoderne tijd in Nederland', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 2 (2005), no. 3, pp. 2-21, esp. p. 11; Alice Clark, *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century*, London 1992 (third edition, first edition 1919), pp. 6-8. Clark mentions 'Three systems for Industrial Organisation': 'Domestic Industry', 'Family Industry' and 'Capitalistic Industry'. The concept of the family industry can be compared with the family economy, 'in which the family becomes the unit for the production of goods to be sold or exchanged'.
- 32 NL-HlMNHA, 1614 Van Sypestyn Family in Haarlem, inv. no. 71, Genealogy of 'Olycan-Vooght en Lakeman', eighteenth century, fol. 6-7. The children who survived infancy were Jacob (1596-1638), Volckgen (1597-1630), Nicolaes (1599-1639), Geertruyt (1603-1666), IJsbant (1604-1660), Maria (1607-1655), Hester (1608-1654) and Dorothea (1613-1662). In the seventeenth century, pregnancy, childbirth and raising children had a huge impact on the lives of women, both disadvantageous and advantageous. For Maritge Vooght, bearing fifteen children meant that she was often pregnant, risking her own life when giving birth. In 'Women Alone in Early Modern Dutch Towns: Opportunities and Strategies to Survive', *Journal of Urban History* 42 (2016) 1, pp. 21-38, esp. 24-25, Ariadne Schmidt and Manon van der Heijden describe how the chances of women dying in childbed were fourteen per thousand. Furthermore, infant and child mortality rates were high. If children survived infancy, raising them was often the task of women, which in turn influenced their professional lives. However, wealthy families were able to afford staff and wet nurses to take care of their children. Children were also considered advantageous for the family economy. They were educated to work in the family business in order to be able to inherit it after their parents' death.
- 33 Biesboer 1989 (note 16), p. 27; Dudok van Heel and Bok 2013 (note 2), p. 8.
- 34 Dudok van Heel and Bok 2013 (note 2), pp. 6-8; Biesboer 2001 (note 12), p. 180; Richard W. Unger, *A History of Brewing in Holland, 900-1900: Economy, Technology and the State*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne 2001, p. 160. Unger makes a distinction between two definitions of the seventeenth-century word *brouwster*: the highest paid assistant of the brewer who was in charge of the boiling of the beer and a woman who owned her own brewery. The second definition applies to Geertruyt Olycan.
- 35 Van Dekken 2010 (note 9), pp. 110-11; Unger 2001 (note 34), p. 160. Unger also describes *brouwsters* who oversaw the boiling of the wort with hops and *wringsters* who mixed the malt with hot water.
- 36 NL-HlMNHA, Oud Notariële indexen, accession number 1617, inv. no. 19.214, Accoord, 20 September 1660, fol. 306v. This agreement is the result of a lengthy dispute between the relatives of Maritge Vooght and Pieter Olycan. After Olycan's death in 1658, the final outcome was apparently not recorded until 20 and 21 September 1660 by the notary Nicolaas van Bosvelt. The 'Paauw' brewery, including the washhouse, beer house and malthouse, which from that moment on would no longer come under the supervision of the 'Vogel Struys' brewery, was finally sold to Tyman Oosdorp (1613-1668), widower of Hester Olycan (1608-1654), who was Maritge Vooght and Pieter Olycan's daughter. Tyman Oosdorp agreed to the value of the brewery as noted by Maritge Vooght during her lifetime.
- 37 Schmidt 2004 (note 25). In her article, Schmidt describes the opportunities that early-modern, married women had to circumvent the law.
- 38 Ibid., p. 36; Schmidt 2005 (note 31), p. 8; Van Dekken 2010 (note 9), p. 26; Sturkenboom 2019 (note 6), p. 149. The statute of the 'openbaar koopvrouw' allowed married women – with their husbands' permission – to run their own businesses, sign contracts and take on debts.

