



laet de Cock coken om tuolckx Wille

Women in the Business of Print Publishing and Printing in the Late Sixteenth- and Seventeenth- Century Low Countries

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At first glance, the publishing and printing of prints in the late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Low Countries seems to have been dominated by men, who were sometimes succeeded by their widows. But was this really the case? By considering print publishers in the context of the family business and going in search of additional source material, this article will demonstrate that the reality was not as black and white as the predominantly male names on surviving prints might suggest. It will become evident that women also played important roles in the print industry, but that their work often cannot be made truly visible, making their contribution in print collections, like that of the Rijksmuseum Print Room, impossible to quantify. What causes this, and how can what is barely visible nevertheless be made convincing? The answers to these questions can only be found when a thorough description of all the tasks involved in the publication of prints is undertaken, which should then be considered in the context of the visibility of female labour participation in early modern sources in general.

< *Detail of fig. 5*

the publisher financed and coordinated the whole process or parts of it, and usually, but not always, – he or she owned the plates. Building up a stock – a collection of copper plates and/or woodblocks – was essential for the creation of a successful business. In this way, prints could be printed as needed, to be subsequently sold and traded – in other words, be republished. The plates formed important working capital. Making new plates, or having them made, was not the only way to expand a publisher’s stock: trading in existing plates took place as well. Print publishers active in the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth century usually had their roots in the physical production of prints. Many of them were trained as printmakers; others were initially book or print sellers, printers or colourists and, in addition, went into publishing. There was no strict separation between the various roles in the production of a print. Even though the verb ‘uitgeven’ (to publish) did exist at that time to describe all the activities involved, publishers were not referred to using the noun ‘uitgever’ (publisher). In documentary sources we find people who published prints with occupations such as plate cutter, plate or book printer, print, book or art seller, and also mapmaker. We usually know that they published because there are prints on which it is stated that they

Print Publishers, Invisible Women’s Work and the Family Business

The role of the publisher was crucial in the production of prints. In principle,



Fig. 1

Print with the notations: 'H Goltzius Invent', 'Jacques Goltzius sculp' and 'Cl Visscher excu'.

JACOB GOLTZIUS II after HENDRICK GOLTZIUS, published by CLAES JANSZ VISSCHER, *Unequal Love*, c. 1605-30.

Engraving, 140 x 184 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-0B-52.948.

published that print, often with a variation of the Latin word 'excudit' (has published) behind the name (fig. 1).¹

Judging by those names, the print publishing industry in the Low Countries in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century seems to have been dominated by men, whose businesses were sometimes continued by their widows. But unlike the names of printmakers and designers, the names of publishers that are mentioned

on prints (e.g. fig. 1) should be seen as company names rather than the names of individuals. The company name was, in fact, the name of the person who was the formal owner. In some firms all stages of the production of prints took place – others outsourced parts or even most of it. This meant that there was an enormous variety of types of print publishing businesses, which also differed widely in size. Sometimes a company was run by

a sole trader, but not normally; like book companies, print businesses were mainly family businesses, in which female members could also participate.²

For the most part, women's labour has been greatly underestimated. The persistent assumption – thoroughly debunked by historians such as Ariadne Schmidt, yet still prevalent in general perception – that (married) women in the early modern period devoted themselves exclusively to household tasks and childcare has greatly contributed to this. Household tasks did not exclude work, and in most urban households, women's labour was simply necessary and desirable – full dedication to children, if there were any, and the household was an ideal that only a small minority could attain.³

Another reason for this undervaluation is that, in general, work undertaken by women in early modern times is poorly visible in written sources. Women were primarily identified by their contemporaries, and therefore also in contemporary sources, on the basis of their marital status: as a young or older daughter (unmarried), housewife (married, which at that time did not equal non-working) or widow. The marital status likewise had implications for the woman's legal status. Although the legal system provided exceptions, married women were in principle under the guardianship of their husbands and officially had no legal capacity, unlike unmarried adult women and widows. Sometimes sources mention an occupation for women as well, but considerably less often than for men, who had a far stronger work-related identity, and, by contrast, were generally identified on the basis of their occupation.⁴ Additionally, work undertaken by women, and men too, could not always be categorized as a well-defined and formalized profession as we now are inclined to consider work. Moreover, combining different types of work in order to generate an income was com-

monplace within early modern households, including those with family-run businesses.⁵ Such activities are often only traceable if they are recorded in contemporary documents for a specific reason or by chance. It is important to realize that these kinds of references are sporadic, but that does not mean that this type of work was unusual.⁶

Specifically, women's work within family businesses has long been underappreciated, because these women are usually hidden behind the name of the male family member who was formally, and therefore also on paper, the head of the company (and the family). This only changed when he died and the widow, or sometimes the daughter(s), exercised the right to continue the company. Not always, but often, this signified a continuation and expansion of the work that she had already been doing before, but now visible or more visible. As Schmidt has demonstrated through detailed research, the largely invisible labour participation of women in family businesses – so-called 'assisting labour' – was crucial for keeping companies and the economy running in the early modern period. Assisting labour encompassed a wide range of work by women 'supporting' male family members, which took place in all economic sectors but was most common in the broad middle class in semi- and highly-skilled crafts and trades, which included print and book businesses. Marriage, or in fact family, gave women access to these seemingly male-dominated craft trades. The most common variant was 'spousal cooperation', whereby married women assisted their husbands, but it could also involve other female relatives, such as daughters, sisters and nieces.⁷

Male and female roles within the family economy were often not equal but rather complementary and could vary depending on the type of business. Whether and to what extent women were involved depended on the type of craft or occupation, the location of

the workshop, the social norms of the shop floor and the availability of time, which would be determined by the woman's stage of life and possibly any other work she performed. Frequently occurring tasks included bookkeeping, recruiting and hiring staff and apprentices, collecting debts and purchasing and selling goods. The idea that typical female activities within the family firm only took place indoors therefore also needs to be refined. Depending on the type of craft or trade, women could be involved in the core production process as well.⁸ Although the precise working relationships between men and women will continue to remain unclear in most cases, because there is simply no documentary evidence, it has been shown that spousal cooperation was desirable and necessary in many semi- and highly-skilled crafts and trades. And the form that the woman's 'assisting labour' took could vary from all kinds of 'supporting work' to the co-management of the business – where the term 'assisting labour' does not quite do it justice.⁹

Women in the Print and Book Industry

Print scholars are certainly aware that women were present in print businesses and their contribution is being increasingly recognized. In general terms, it is even assumed that women often had an important role within the company. Aside from the fact that widows were able to continue the business, it is presumed that they contributed by mainly selling prints (figs. 2, 3), but they could also be active in the publication process, the bookkeeping and sometimes in the making of the plates and the colouring of prints.¹⁰ But the aforementioned poor visibility of women makes it difficult to flesh out their roles in specific cases. And if there is actually a reference to a particular activity, that seems to imply that this was their only task. This often makes women's contributions seem secondary, but is that

truly justified? Recent research into the book industry, which is closely related to the print business, provides relevant insights. In her impressive dissertation on the role of women in early modern printing houses in the Southern Netherlands, Heleen Wyffels has shown that women in the book business could be much more than mere helpers or absentee owners who let men run their companies, as has often been presumed. There was certainly a gender-based division of roles in which women were excluded from the core craft task of book production – the operation of the presses, regarded as typical men's work. Nevertheless, there were all kinds of tasks they could perform that were also essential: from hanging sheets to dry, collecting and arranging printed pages, proof-reading texts and bookkeeping, to executive and managerial work, like developing publishing strategies and supervising staff. Women could furthermore engage in paid activities or employment outside the family firm, providing additional income that could also contribute to the

Figs. 2, 3
SALOMON DE BRAY
(attributed to),
Two Interior Drawings of an Art and Bookshop, c. 1620-40.
Pen on paper,
76 x 76 mm each.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. nos.
RP-T-1884-A-290,
and -291, purchased
with the support
of the Vereniging
Rembrandt.



further expansion of the business. All in all, women were an indispensable and integral part of that industry.¹¹

In the book trade, as in other sectors, widows are the most visible group of women. They had often been partners in the business during their marriage and the loss of a husband therefore also meant the loss of their most important business partner. Widows could officially become owner-managers and represent the company to the outside world, making them visible in imprints and in documentary sources – if there are any. However, it is often assumed that these widows played a passive role, a presumption that does not apply to men. In line with previous book historical research, Wyffels argues that this is unjustified. There were women who had been nominal owners, just as men had been, but there were plenty of widows who were actively involved as owners. The cooperative nature of the trade and the traditional male craft tasks within the business imply that they had to collaborate with male relatives and/or staff, but this does not necessarily



detract from the importance of their work for the functioning of the business and from the fact that they were the owners.¹² These insights also hold true for women in the print industry. Printing, and to a greater degree publishing prints, involved more than just craft work; women could make an important contribution, specifically in coordinating and management roles, even before they continued the family business as widows.

Although it is hard to quantify their contributions, as will become apparent later, widows are the most visible group of women within print publishing businesses as well. They too could be active owner-managers who, with the death of their husband, had also lost their business partner. There is, however, an important difference in the visibility of the output of widows who were primarily involved with book publishing and those who mainly published prints. Art historian Elmer Kolfin has previously remarked that widows who continued the company were common among book publishers, though this is less documented for print publishers.¹³ He does not elaborate on the reason for this documentary dearth. The cause is actually inherent to the practice and the materiality of these widows' products.

When printing books, even in the case of reissues, it is no problem to adjust the imprint: all of the texts have to be reset for a new publication, which makes it obvious that the imprint is updated. In the Northern and Southern Netherlands, widows of book publishers hardly ever used their own name for that. Instead, they emphasized the continuity of the family firm by adding 'widow of' to the name of the late husband, and/or, when applicable, sometimes the name of their printing business, publishing house and/or shop (equal to that of the house in which they were located).¹⁴ The same applied to the

widows of print publishers.¹⁵ In the case of prints, however, changing a publisher's name would have been much more laborious. At best, 'widow' could be engraved or etched onto a copper plate, in front of the name already there, and in the worst case, part of the plate would have to be hammered, sanded down and polished before new letters could be engraved or etched onto it. Customizing woodblocks is even more complicated. Alterations to both plates and blocks often leave traces. When plates changed hands, the name was actually often modified, but not always – certainly not when it involved ephemeral material.¹⁶ My assumption is that, when reissuing plates from the existing stock, widows of publishers did not in principle alter the plates. It would have taken extra time and money and could have unnecessarily damaged the plates or woodblocks.

Moreover, it would not have been a real change of name, but just an addition of the word 'widow'. Why take the trouble if it was not all that relevant? After all, it was not about a change of ownership, but about continuity and carrying on the family business, and the name of the husband was in fact that of the firm. That the contribution made by publishers' widows in the print industry is not as well documented on their products therefore does not mean that they were less active in this sector. However, we only know of them if there are prints on which they can be identified as the publishers or if there are other rare sources that point to their involvement in print publishing. This gives a distorted image of their production and has made some widows completely invisible, as will be further elucidated.

Volcxken Diericx and Elisabeth Versey: Visible through New Plates

One well-known and relatively well-documented example is that of Volcxken Diericx (c. 1522-1600) from Leiden (fig. 4), who after the death of her first husband, Hieronymus Cock (1517/18-1570), continued their successful and renowned Antwerp print publishing house *Aux Quatre Vents* or *In de Vier Winden* for another thirty years (fig. 5).¹⁷ Although it took some time for this to be fully recognized,¹⁸ the consensus now is that she must have played an important role within the company in partnership with Cock during their marriage, and that she continued to manage the company profitably afterwards. She expanded the stock by commissioning new plates and probably also by buying and publishing second-hand plates, and made strategic choices when reissuing from the existing stock.¹⁹ The new prints that Diericx published can be identified by the publishing house's address, *Aux Quatre Vents*, which

Fig. 4
JOHANNES WIERIX
(attributed to),
*Portrait of Volcxken
Diericx*, 1579.
Engraving,
159 x 124 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-67.071.





Fig. 5
 JOHANNES OR
 LUCAS VAN
 DOETECHUM after
 HANS VREDEMAN
 DE VRIES, *Street View
 with on the Corner
 the Printshop Aux
 Quatre Vents*, 1563.
 Etching, 211 x 259 mm.
 Amsterdam,
 Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
 BI-1897-A-972-3, gift
 of A.N. Godefroy.

she consistently used after Cock's death, and/or a variant of 'widow of Hieronymus Cock', often in Latin. Thanks to, among other indications, the inventory of her estate that was drawn up after her death and the stock of plates and impressions of those plates listed in it, we also know that Diericx continued to publish part of the existing stock after Cock's passing.²⁰ I am not aware of any cases where she changed or adapted the publisher's name on these plates, which confirms that it was not necessary. This makes it difficult and often impossible to determine which surviving prints from the existing stock were published before Cock's death, and which were issued when Diericx was running the company as a widow. It is always hard

to determine when a specific print was printed and published. If a print is actually dated, this usually only tells us the earliest date that it could have been produced (*terminus post quem*): new impressions were generally made as needed without the date on the plate being adjusted.²¹ Watermarks can sometimes offer a solution, although they are also only useful as *terminus post quem* and are hardly ever precise. For example, we know of a group of impressions that mention Cock as the publisher, printed on paper with a watermark that can be dated from around 1578 to 1600. This dating is after Cock's death in 1570 and during Diericx's lifetime, which probably indicates that these impressions were published by Diericx (fig. 6).²²



Elisabeth Verseyll (1653-1726), the widow of Nicolaes Visscher II (1649-1702) and the last head of one of Amsterdam's most successful print publishing dynasties, also did not amend the publisher's name when reissuing plates from the existing stock. In general, her husband, Nicolaes II, likewise does not appear to have done this with reissues of the plates left by his father, Nicolaes I (1618-1679), nor did either of them do so with reissues of plates previously published by Claes Jansz Visscher II (1587-1652), the founder of the company and the father of Nicolaes I.²³ They only adapted the publisher's name when it came to the publication of an updated map, when the old plate was significantly altered and it was important to emphasize this.²⁴ New prints published by Verseyll usually feature a variant of 'widow of Nicolaes Visscher',²⁵ but we also know of cases where she only used the (company) name Nicolaes Visscher.²⁶

Grietgen Gerrits van Almesick: Invisible through an Existing Stock

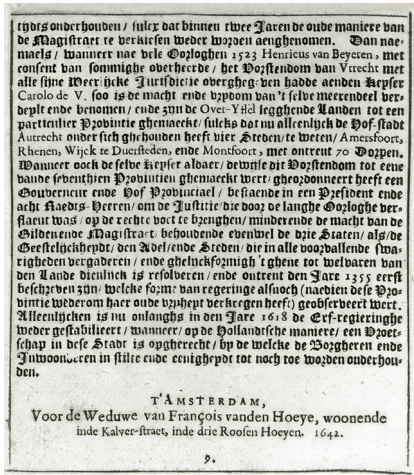
The examples of Diericx and Verseyll therefore show that it was not only the work that women probably performed in partnership with their husbands that is not visible on the prints, but that a large part of the production for which they were responsible as widow-publishers also remains invisible to us. As a result, in print collections their names are by no means linked to all of the prints that were published under their direction. This must likewise hold true for countless other widows, as well as for other family members who continued to publish unadjusted existing stock, alongside new prints. Additionally, there are widows who have remained completely unknown because they may have only published existing stock or did not provide any new plates with a publisher's name.

Fig. 6
Print with the notation 'H. Cock excu. 1561' on the boulder to the right of the centre.
JOHANNES or LUCAS VAN DOETECHUM (attributed to) after HIERONYMUS COCK, 1561, *Third View of the Ruins of the Palatine*, etching and engraving, 230 x 323 mm, published by VOLCKEN DIERICX c. 1578-1600. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1985-217, purchased with the support of the F.G. Waller-Fonds.

An example of such a widow is Grietgen Gerrits van Almesick (?-1644). Little was known about her, other than the fact that she married the printmaker and publisher François van den Hoeye (1590-1636) in 1613 and that she was the mother of Catrina (1615-1670) and Rombout (1622-1667/70), likewise a printmaker and above all a publisher.²⁷ Until now, Grietgen herself was not known to have been a publisher. However, in the will that she had drawn up just before her death in 1644,²⁸ she is identified as ‘weduwe van Françoij van[den] Hoeije, kunstvercoopster’ (widow of François van den Hoeye, art seller). The document indicates that she actively managed the family business after her husband’s death, with the assistance of her son Rombout. The clauses state that ‘after the death’ of her husband, Rombout ‘steadily helped [her], assisted her in all difficulties, and, alongside her, maintained her shop and trade as he still does’.²⁹ Because of his role in the company, in addition to his statutory inheritance, Rombout was entitled to half of everything that had been acquired ‘through his [Rombout’s] and the testatrix’s [Grietgen’s] diligence and industriousness’ since the death of François.³⁰ It is also stipulated that Rombout was to receive ‘all of the testatrix’s shop goods and plates’, the value of which would have to be assessed.³¹ In addition, he was entitled to the use of De Drie Roosen Hoeyen, her house in Kalverstraat – in fact also the business premises – in which he would share ownership with his sister. It is likewise apparent from the will that Grietgen employed a manservant, who most probably assisted her in the company as well, and to whom she bequeathed 50 guilders. Quite probable is that the young Hugo Allard I (1625-1684) – later known as a printmaker, publisher and print seller, and from 1647 the husband of Maria de Goijer, a niece of the family – had

also worked for Van Almesick: she left him 50 guilders worth of shop goods.³²

The explicitly mentioned shop inventory and plates, the repeatedly noted ‘diligence and industriousness’, the stated profits of the business and the manservant: everything points to a thriving company where prints were both sold and published. For it is very unlikely that at the time of François’s passing, there was enough printed stock to last for the eight years until Grietgen’s death. Moreover, there is little point in owning plates if they are not to be printed (the printing in this case probably happened in-house).³³ Like Diericx and Versey, Van Almesick too must have republished the plates from the existing stock, without adapting the publisher’s name. There is one source that confirms this: the printed imprint in letterpress on a reissue of a city view of Utrecht. François is listed as the publisher on the print, but in the accompanying text sheets, which had to be reset for the reissue, it says ‘For the widow [of] François van den Hoeye, living in De Drie Roosen Hoeyen, 1642’ (figs. 7, 8).³⁴ We also know of two prints from before 1644 on which Rombout is mentioned as the publisher. The first is from 1636³⁵ and was possibly also engraved by him, and the second can be dated to 1641.³⁶ However, we should not regard these prints as independent publications by Rombout. He was still a minor at that time – aged thirteen or fourteen when the first one was produced, eighteen or nineteen for the second – and was therefore still under parental authority, in his case under that of his mother and his guardians.³⁷ It is far more likely that his mother financed these publications and that his name had already been put on them because of his involvement in the company as a youth and his status as its intended successor. Accordingly, upon his mother’s death, the company name would have reflected not only his father’s name but also his own.



Figs. 7, 8
 Imprint on the republication with the statement 'Voor de Weduwe François vanden Hoeye, woonende inde drie Roosen Hoeyen, 1642', letterpress, 1642. The Utrecht Archives, cat. no. 28377. Detail of the accompanying print with the notation 'Amstelodami Franciscus Hoesius Excudit', added by Van den Hoeye in 1634. JAN HENDRIKSZ VERSTRAELN after JOOST CORNELISZ DROOCHSLOOT, 1624-25, *City View of Utrecht*, etching and engraving, 402 x 2015 mm, published by GRIETGEN GERRITS VAN ALMESICK in 1642. The Utrecht Archives, inv. nos. 29372-29375.

The 'swaricheden' (hardships) that Grietgen mentions in her will probably refer to both personal and professional difficulties, which are deeply intertwined in a family business. The death of François in July of the plague year 1636 marked the beginning of a very challenging period. There was much more going on than the will reveals. In addition to Rombout, there were four more teenage children living at home: Geertruij, Sara, François and Gerrit, all of whom would die within a few months of their father.³⁸ Apart from the undoubtedly unimaginable grief, this probably also had implications for the business; their deaths left fewer helping hands, in the business as well as in the household. Of Grietgen and François's seven children, only the first child, a baby daughter, passed away during François's lifetime.³⁹ This does not mean Grietgen was not already working in the business before 1636. As Marleen Puyenbroek aptly states in her recent article on the work of married women in artists' households, the collaboration between husband and wife was often a 'dynamic partnership'.⁴⁰ Having (young) children could imply a woman was less able to participate in the business or other work for a period of time. However, the availability of time for work could increase again as

the children grew older, or with household and childcare support from staff – which, in Grietgen and François's case, is not unlikely – and/or help from older children and/or other family members.⁴¹

In any case, Van Almesick was demonstrably active as a publisher and must have been responsible for many publications between 1636 and 1644. Yet, despite this, she can no longer be directly linked to any surviving prints today, except for that single copy of the Utrecht townscape. Unfortunately, this means that she will remain invisible in most print collections, including that of the Rijksmuseum Print Room (fig. 9).

Sara de Bari: More than just one Print in her own Name

Thanks to the capital his mother had left him, Rombout was able to successfully continue and expand the business. In 1647, he married Sara de Bari (1620-1697), whose parents were a shopkeeper and a merchant.⁴² Sara's mother, Maria Rogiers (c. 1587-?), had made various arrangements in her 1643 will for the continuation of her shop and trade by her three daughters, who were most likely already involved in the company. Sara and her sisters would therefore be able to support themselves if, or for as long as, they remained un-

married.⁴³ Were they to marry, they would, in addition to contributions in the form of goods and/or money, bring so-called 'transferable skills' with them.⁴⁴ In this case, these related to running a shop, such as bookkeeping, buying and selling goods, etc., which could be applied in different types of firms. This know-how would enable them to contribute to the family income by 'assisting' their husband and/or running their own firm. So, even though Sara did not come from a publishing family, she brought with her valuable and versatile knowledge and experience.

Rombout and Sara divorced from bed and board in 1662. This indicates that the marriage was not legally dissolved, but that the couple did separate physically and financially. The husband's marital authority over his wife ceased, which allowed her to regain control of her own property and become legally competent. An inventory was then drawn up to facilitate the division of the common estate and the arrangements associated with it.⁴⁵ Rombout and Sara's inventory lists the shared household goods, the joint business capital and the associated debts. It includes two printing presses and over a thousand copper plates, with a total value in excess of 6,180 guilders.⁴⁶ What happened after this document was drawn up cannot be precisely reconstructed, but Sara and Rombout continued to work independently as print sellers and publishers, and it seems that they had made arrangements about this. In March 1664, Rombout served Sara with a writ, which referred to him as a 'print-vercoper' (print seller), instructing her to return the plates for three maps he had lent her without delay, as he required them for his plate sale.⁴⁷ These were not just any maps, but three extremely expensive ones that had to be printed from multiple plates and were among the most highly valued plates in the inventory, with a

combined value of 445 or 620 guilders. Sara's answer is clear: she will return the plates as soon as she 'will have as many impressions as are allowed her.'⁴⁸ This, therefore, would have been part of the arrangements made. It confirms that Sara also continued to publish prints. A further indication that Sara was active as a publisher after 1662 is that in May 1664 she became a member of the booksellers' guild, founded in 1662. She was among those who switched from the Guild of St Luke to the booksellers' guild after it was determined in 1664 that print and art sellers who used printing presses –

Fig. 9
Print with the notation 'Franciscus Hoeius excudit', added by Van den Hoeye in 1613-36. NICOLAAS BRAEU after KAREL VAN MANDER, 1598, *Saturnus*, engraving, 265 x 165 mm, possibly also published by GRIETGEN GERRITS VAN ALMESICK, ROMBOUT VAN DEN HOEYE and SARA DE BARI after 1636 – the plate was still in Rombout and Sara's stock in 1662. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-BI-4275.



in other words, those who printed prints (or had them printed) and could therefore be regarded as publishers – were allowed to choose membership in either guild.⁴⁹

The further arrangements between Sara and Rombout cannot be determined, but at least some of the plates would have been sold to cover the debts. Contrary to what is assumed,⁵⁰ Rombout did not go to the East Indies directly after the separation in 1662, but around the end of 1667,⁵¹ and not all plates were sold in 1662. Sara, at least, is very likely to have kept some of them as her will of 1670 mentions copper plates to be appraised, as well as a shop selling maps and ribbons.⁵² It is more probable that these plates were mainly items that Sara had kept from the joint inventory, rather than plates that were all new. There are several indications

for this. In the 1662 inventory many plates for maps are mentioned, and the quoted will refers to a map shop. This does not necessarily imply she only sold printed maps as opposed to other kinds of prints, but it does suggest that, at that time, maps were most probably her core business. We also know of one print that has Sara's own name engraved on it as its publisher: 'Sara de Bari Excudit' (fig. 10). This print is an addition to prints for the popular Royal Bible, which were already in the stock in 1662 and were published under Rombout's name.⁵³ It could well be that Sara had hung on to those plates after the division of the estate, continued to publish them and that she had an additional print made. The fact that her own name came to be on this new plate is quite unique, but can be explained by

Fig. 10
Print with the notation
'Sara de Bari Excudit'.
ANONYMOUS after
PIETER SYMONSZ
POTTER, *Elijah
and the Widow of
Zarephath*, 1662-97.
Engraving,
370 x 477 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-1889-A-14981.



her uncommon legal position: she was no longer under Rombout's marital authority and was separated from him commercially. This does not mean that a break with the company name Rombout van den Hoeye and an adjustment to the plates in the existing stock was necessary. People would continue to associate her with that name professionally as well as legally.⁵⁴ Continuity of the company's name must also have been a consideration for her, all the more so after Rombout's departure and because she had a child with the same name who would later participate in the family business. Publishing and selling prints from already existing plates bearing Rombout's name would thus not have been a problem for Sara.

There is still more to tell and find out about Sara and Rombout that will not be covered in this article. Important to note here, however, is that Sara remained active as an art seller until at least 1693 and probably until her death in 1697, with her own shop in her home, which she continued to call De Drie Roosen Hoeyen even after moving house. Her wills dated 1670, 1677 and 1693 tell us that she was assisted in her activities by her own three Hoeyens: her children Margareta (1648-1679), Maria (1655-1699) and Rombout (1657-1739), all of whom remained unmarried. It is unclear whether she also carried on publishing all of that time. In her wills of 1677 and 1693, there are references to their 'art', the shop and the shop goods, but plates are no longer specifically mentioned. This could indicate that she no longer owned a quantity of plates worthy of mention, which might not rule out that she published on a small scale, combining this with selling art and prints published by others.⁵⁵ Above all important for us, however, is that, at least for a period, she was independently active as a publisher. The fact that she knew how to do so implies that, during her marriage, she had

acquired the necessary trade-specific knowledge, experience and connections and therefore had already been playing an important role in the business in partnership with Rombout. Sara was responsible for the publication of many more prints than that one print bearing her name, both before and after the separation.

Anna Beeck: An Exception?

More visible is Anna Beeck or Westerste(d)e (1657-after 1717), who had her name Anna Beeck included on the many prints she published (fig. 11). Her husband, publisher Barent Beeck (1654-before August 1713), had abandoned her and their seven children in 1693 and gone to the East Indies, leaving her in a similar legal position as De Bari. Aside from undoubtedly republishing from the existing stock, she focussed on publishing maps and other prints based on current events, for which new plates were created.⁵⁶ The fact that she published under her 'own' name was also due to her uncommon legal position – not legally divorced, but no longer under her husband's guardianship and not (yet) a widow. Her use of 'Anna Beeck', with her husband's surname, must have been a deliberate choice in order to show continuity and keep the company recognizable. It was uncommon for a wife to adopt her husband's surname, and when this was done, it was usually for practical reasons, as in this case. In legal documents, she continued to use her own surname of Westerste(d)e.⁵⁷ At first glance, Anna Beeck seems to have been an exception, though only because the many new prints she published carry 'her' name due to her exceptional legal position. It was not because she published as a woman – many others did that as well, in a family business hidden behind the names of their husbands, brothers or sons, or as widows, with output that may or may not be recognized as theirs.

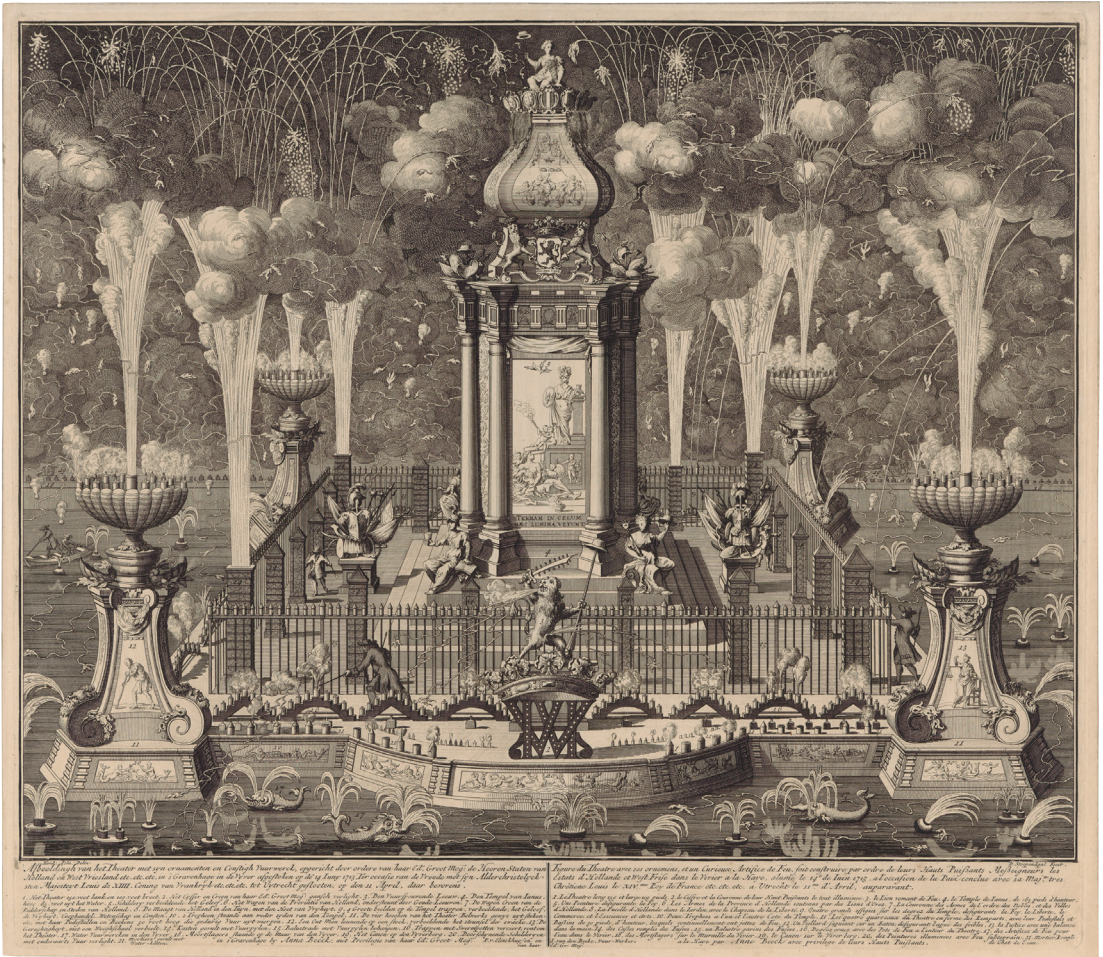


Fig. 11
Print with the notation
'by Anna Beeck'.
DANIËL STOPENDAAL
after HENDRIK POLA,
*Fireworks at the
Celebration of the
Peace of Utrecht, 1713*.
Etching and engraving,
474 x 543 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. RP-P-OB-70.158.

Mynken Lieftrinck and her Daughters: Plate Printers

If it is known that a publisher owned one or more intaglio presses in this period, it is fair to assume that he or she was also the printer and that the printing would have taken place 'in-house' – with plate printers and journeymen often employed for that purpose. However, outsourcing the printing was more common. Printing plates was a highly specialized and labour-intensive craft and required the collaboration of several people (fig. 12).⁵⁸ A person recorded as a plate printer could either be someone working in salaried employment, carrying out the actual printing work alongside

others, or someone who should rather be seen as a business owner, whether or not still directly involved in the printing process and possibly active as printmaker and/or publisher as well. If the publisher had also been the printer, this was sometimes stated on the plates, but if the printing work had been outsourced, the printer's role would generally not have been mentioned on the plate. This is in contrast to books, where the imprint on the title page usually does show the name of the printer, who was responsible for the correct typesetting of the text. This makes plate printers, who made impressions of an already fixed image and had no responsibility for its

that she traded in prints and books as well – seemingly on a modest scale – and that a small number of prints were published under her husband's name.⁶⁵

Initially, it is only her name that is mentioned in the payments; later, there is sometimes the addition of the name of her second husband Pauwels van Overbeeck I (c. 1530-?), whom she had married in 1563, soon after the death of her first husband Frans Huys (c. 1522-1562). It could be assumed that Mynken and Pauwels had a printing firm and that as a woman she only managed the financial side of the printing, but it is far more likely that she was actually entirely responsible for the printing within their business. Not only because, as can be seen in her inventory, she owned the presses and was therefore the owner of the fixed assets needed for the printing, but also because it would not be Pauwels or their son Pauwels II who continued the printing for Plantin-Moretus after her death, but Lynken Huys (?-?), one of the daughters from her first marriage. Tanneken (?-1608), another daughter of Mynken and Frans, was also active as a plate printer for a period of time. Plantijn had hired her in 1583, along with her mother and a certain Jacques vander Hoeven, for the printing of the intaglio prints for his large bible.⁶⁶

We know very little about Pauwels. In 1572, he was registered with the guild as a painter, but he was probably mainly active as an etcher and draughtsman who mostly worked for publishers and occasionally published himself. In any case, he made topographical prints.⁶⁷ It then seems that we should consider the spousal cooperation between Mynken and Pauwels in the context of a print business where plates for prints were made; prints were published on a small scale; prints were printed on a large scale (not only from plates made in-house); prints, books and printing ink were traded; and prints were coloured. The exact

division of roles cannot be determined, but it can be assumed that as a printmaker, Pauwels was responsible for making plates and that the printing of plates – whether made by him or not – was Mynken's responsibility. She probably employed plate printers to execute the physical printing work.⁶⁸

We can only speculate about the working relationship between Mynken and her first husband Frans. He is primarily known as a printmaker and was employed by Antwerp print publishers, like Mynken's brother Hans Liefrinck I (1514/15-1573) and the couple Volcxken Diericx and Hieronymus Cock.⁶⁹ Frans had started to make illustrations for Plantijn's first book with engravings. When he died in 1562, Plantijn commissioned Frans's brother Pieter to complete the plates and to print them. But after the first edition (1566), Mynken – who charged a lower rate – would continue the printing. We do not know whether Frans (or possibly even Mynken at that time) was also printing prints like his brother Pieter; there are simply no sources to consult. Nonetheless, Mynken's work as a printer is still regarded as an extension of that of Frans.⁷⁰ But might we not see it instead as a continuation of the work she had already been doing, in other words, her part in the division of labour during her first marriage? Given the likelihood that Mynken contributed both her own expertise and her family's capital, it is even possible she followed a division of roles she knew from her parents, which was subsequently adopted by her daughters.

The fact that Mynken's name as a printer can now be linked to countless prints from Plantin-Moretus publications, including many held in the collection of the Rijksmuseum (e.g. fig. 13), is especially remarkable because printers of prints are virtually invisible. The contribution of other women – and men too – who, like Mynken, were



Fig. 13
Print printed by
Mynken Lieftrinck.
JOHANNES WIERIX
after PIETER
VAN DER BORCHT,
*Birth of Christ, in
Officium B. Mariae
Virginis*, Antwerp:
Christoffel Plantijn,
1573.
Engraving, 112 x 74 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-1904-1217.

owner-managers of a plate printing firm, will probably remain shrouded in mystery. Due to the lack of good sources, particularly other business archives, and considering the wide variety of types of printing companies and women's life paths, it is impossible to determine how representative Mynken's activities are. But this case can be seen as representative in the sense that print firms could be very versatile, and that the women working there could have diverse and managerial roles, not only as widows, but during their marriages as well.

The print depicting the print publishing couple Diercx and Cock clearly illustrates the collaborative character of their firm, possibly representative of many family businesses. Part of

a series of twenty perspective city views, it is the only street scene that shows an (idealized) business premises – that of *Aux Quatre Vents*, which was responsible for the publication of these prints. In it we can see both the man and the woman who had made this firm a success. Volcxken Diercx's name is even part of the humorously intended phrase below the illustration (see p. 6).⁷¹ But, as in other sectors, the role that women played could vary from case to case, and the contribution of (married) women in the print industry generally remains difficult to assess due to their lack of visibility in documentary sources. Widows of print publishers are indeed more visible, but as has been substantiated, not as visible as they could have been due to the custom of not adapting the name on plates to be printed when continuing the family business. In some cases, additional (archival) research makes it possible to identify such women and show in what ways they (co)operated, but the fact is that for many of them this will remain impossible. Therefore it is important to view the names of print publishers on prints as company names, where the predominantly male names can also imply female participation, as well as, in a broader sense, the involvement of multiple family members. Because, as has already been briefly discussed in relation to Van Almesick and De Bari, children could participate in the company as well, and in their turn be hidden behind the name of their father and/or mother. This intergenerational aspect of family businesses requires more research. To specify the role of women from this perspective, one could further look at the activities of (unmarried) daughters and sisters, who are largely absent from this article. They too could certainly have played an important part in the operation of print publishing companies; in some cases, they were even the intended successors.

ABSTRACT

At first glance, the publishing and printing of prints in the late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Low Countries seems to have been dominated by men, who were sometimes succeeded by their widows. By considering print publishers in the context of the family business and going in search of additional source material, this article demonstrates that the reality was not as black and white as the predominantly male names on surviving prints might suggest. As in other sectors, the work of women in print firms is usually hidden behind the name of a male relative. Their contribution often remains unseen or undervalued and is difficult to quantify in print collections like that of the Rijksmuseum Print Room. Widows – usually the most visible group of women – in general made no changes to the (company) name engraved on the plates when publishing prints from the existing stock, which has not enhanced their visibility. Contemporary documents show that their contribution, as well as that of married women, could indeed have been significant. This article contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of the print industry, where the predominantly male names can self-evidently imply female participation, which could have been not merely ‘supporting’ but actually essential for keeping the businesses running.

NOTES

- 1 Nadine Orenstein et al., ‘Print Publishers in the Netherlands 1580-1620’, in Ger Luijten et al., *Dawn of the Golden Age: Northern Netherlandish Art, 1580-1620*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 1993, pp. 167-200, esp. pp. 167-73; Elmer Kolfin, ‘Amsterdam, stad van prenten: Amsterdamse prentuitgevers in de 17de eeuw’, in Elmer Kolfin and Jaap van der Veen (eds.), *Gedrukt tot Amsterdam: Amsterdamse prentmakers en -uitgevers in de Gouden Eeuw*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Museum Het Rembrandthuis) 2011 pp. 11, 21-25, 37; Antony Griffiths, *The Print Before Photography: An Introduction to European Printmaking 1550-1820*, London 2018, pp. 270-76; Irene Schrier, *Nicolaes de Clerck, boeckvercooper ende const-drucker: Boek en prent bij de Delftse uitgever Nicolaes de Clerck (ca. 1599-1623)*, Amsterdam (dissertation University of Amsterdam) 2019, pp. 42-49. For the many ways in which publishing is mentioned on prints, see Ad Stijnman, ‘Terms in Print Addresses: Abbreviations and Phrases on Printed Images 1500-1900’, version 25 March 2024, pp. 1-2, 18-19, <https://tulip88x.wixsite.com/ad-stijnman/recent-publications>.
- 2 Schrier 2019 (note 1), pp. 42-49, 120.
- 3 Ariadne Schmidt, ‘Labour Ideologies and Women in the Northern Netherlands, c.1500-1800’, *International Review of Social History* 56 (2011), pp. 45-67, esp. 45, 51-58, 61-67; Dorothee Sturkenboom, *De ballen van de koopman: Mannelijkheid en Nederlandse identiteit in de tijd van de Republiek*, Gorredijk 2019, pp. 143-45. For an excellent explanation on the origins of this assumption, especially in the field of art history, see Marleen Puyenbroek, ‘Dynamic Partnership: The Work of Married Women in Dutch Seventeenth-Century Artists’ Households’, *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 74 (2024), pp. 44-75, esp. pp. 41-48.
- 4 Ariadne Schmidt, ‘Vrouwen en het recht: De juridische status van vrouwen in Holland in de vroegmoderne tijd’, *Jaarboek Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie* 58 (2004), pp. 26-44, esp. pp. 28, 42-43; Ariadne Schmidt and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, ‘Reconsidering The “First Male-Breadwinner Economy”: Women’s Labor Force Participation in the Netherlands, 1600-1900’, *Feminist Economics* 18 (2012), no. 4, pp. 69-96, esp. pp. 71-73.
- 5 Heleen Wyffels, *Women and Work in Early Modern Printing Houses: Family Firms in Antwerp, Douai, and Leuven (1500-1700)*, Leuven (dissertation Catholic University of Leuven) 2021, p. 26.
- 6 As in the case of Dorothea Martens, see footnote 59.
- 7 Ariadne Schmidt, ‘The Profits of Unpaid Work: “Assisting Labour” of Women in the Early Modern Urban Dutch Economy’, *The History of the Family* 19 (2014), no. 3, pp. 301-22, esp. pp. 306.
- 8 Schmidt 2014 (note 7), pp. 302, 309-13, 318-19; Wyffels 2021 (note 5), pp. 24-25, 282-83.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Griffiths 2018 (note 1), pp. 44-47, 226. The fact that the role of women is increasingly being recognized can be seen, for example, in the sub-headings in the introductions to *New Hollstein Dutch* volumes. In the one about the Muller dynasty (1999), women – although some of them were known at the time to have played an important role – are not mentioned in the headings, whereas they are mentioned in the volume about the Lieftrinck dynasty (2021).

- 11 Wyffels 2021 (note 5), pp. 10, 22-25, 58-59, 66-67, 95-97, 116, 282-90.
- 12 Ibid., pp. 35-38, 147, 237-54, 280, 287.
- 13 Kolfin 2011 (note 1), p. 53, n. 52.
- 14 Wyffels 2021 (note 5), pp. 235-36.
- 15 I do not know of any publishers' widows from the late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Dutch Republic who used their own names on prints. In any case, I know of only two women who published under their 'own' name: Anna Beeck and Sara de Bari, see pp. 16-19 of the present article.
- 16 Griffiths 2018 (note 1), p. 141; Schrier 2019 (note 1), 47-48.
- 17 B.P. Tuin, 'Hieronymus Cock's Volck: Her Family, Wealth and Anxieties', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 39 (2017), no. 3, pp. 141-60, esp. pp. 141-43.
- 18 Orenstein et al. 1993 (note 1), p. 175. For example, here it just says: 'Cock's widow continued to print some of the old plates until her own death in 1600.'
- 19 Jan Van der Stock, 'Hieronymus Cock en Volcxken Diericx: Prentuitgevers in Antwerpen', and Joris Van Grieken, 'Facetten van de uitbouw en de exploitatie van een uitgeversfonds', in Joris Van Grieken et al., *Hieronymus Cock: De renaissance in prent*, exh. cat. Leuven (M Museum) 2013, pp. 14-21, esp. pp. 16-20, and pp. 22-29 resp.; Arthur J. DiFuria, 'Towards an Understanding of Mayken Verhulst and Volcxken Diericx', in Elizabeth Sutton (ed.), *Women Artists and Patrons in the Netherlands, 1500-1700*, Amsterdam 2019, pp. 157-77, esp. pp. 159-61, 165-68, 171; Wyffels 2021 (note 5), pp. 2-5, 253-54, 270.
- 20 Van Grieken 2013 (note 19), pp. 22-28.
- 21 Griffiths 2018 (note 1), pp. 76, 132.
- 22 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. nos. RP-P-1985-211 to RP-P-1985-222.
- 23 For example, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1908-3788. I have not been able to analyse the entire stock of the Visschers; it is far too extensive for that. If dates or other dating aids are missing, it is often impossible to determine who is the publisher of a specific print. The extensive stock and the similarity of the names cause a lot of confusion around the Visschers, resulting in many prints, including numerous ones in the Rijksmuseum collection, being attributed to the wrong family member, or to just one, while there could be more. On the importance of reissues, specifically with regard to the Visschers, see Orenstein et al. 1993 (note 1), pp. 170-71, 195.
- 24 See for example Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-AO-15-10A-1.
- 25 See for example Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. nos. RP-P-OB-83.483 and RP-P-AO-9A-30-1.
- 26 See for example Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. nos. RP-P-OB-83.323 and RP-P-OB-83.429.
- 27 I have found no other information about her in literature; even in ECARTICO there is no mention that she was ever active as a publisher and art seller.
- 28 Amsterdam City Archives (henceforth NL-ASDSAA), Doop-, trouw- en begraafboeken (Baptism, Marriage and Burial Registers, henceforth DTB, accession no. 5001), inv. no. 1130, fol. 105, 2 November 1644.
- 29 'naert overlijden'; 'geduijrich [heeft] geholpen, in alle swaricheden geadsisteert, ende haer winckel ende neringe neffens haer opgehouden heeft, gelijk hij noch doet'. NL-ASDSAA, Notariële archieven (Notarial Archives, henceforth NA, accession no. 5075), inv. no. 1865, notary Frans Uijttenbogaert, will 11 October 1644, fol. 13-14.
- 30 'soo door zijne [Rombouts] als hare Testatrices neersticheijt en[de] industrie'. Ibid.
- 31 'alle haer Testatrices winckelgoet ende platen'. Ibid.
- 32 Ibid. Rombout inherited the working capital and thus had a major advantage over Catrina. Therefore, the necessary buyout and payment arrangements were made in order to achieve an equal distribution. See NL-ASDSAA, NA, inv. no. 1793, notary Cornelis Vliet, division of the estate 22 June 1645, fol. 250-252. At that time, the printmakers and publishers Claes Jansz Visscher II and Robert de Baudous were Rombout's guardians; this is a good example of how print families were interconnected, not only through kinship, but also through business ties and friendships. Maria de Goijer was a daughter of Sara van den Hoeye, François's sister.
- 33 At that time plate printers were in principle not mentioned on the plates, unless the publisher also printed in-house, in which case indications such as 'printed at ...' can be found on prints. There are also publications by François and Rombout that contain this. See for example Bibliothèque Nationale de France, inv. no. IFN-8491128; Rotterdam, Bibliotheek Rotterdam, Atlas van Stolk, inv. no. 10666. This is further explained on pp. 20-21 of the present article.
- 34 The Utrecht Archives (NL-UTHUA), inv. no. 28377. Christiaan Schuckman (ed.), *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450-1700*, vol. 36: *Vermeulen-Van Vianen*, Roosendaal 1990, pp. 168-69, cat. no. 2. The imprint in which she is mentioned as the publisher is included in the description of the copy in The Utrecht

- Archives; it is not an identification of her as a publisher and has not led to identification as such elsewhere.
- 35 Rotterdam, Bibliotheek Rotterdam, Atlas van Stolk, inv. no. 10666.
- 36 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-78.628.
- 37 For both men and women, the age of majority was twenty-five, before reaching that age they remained under parental authority. A marriage concluded before that age or a certificate of majority obtained also made one an adult, but this was not the case for Rombout. See Donald Haks, *Huwelijk en gezin in Holland in de 17de en 18de eeuw: Processtukken en moralisten over aspecten van het laat 17de en 18de-eeuwse gezinsleven*, Utrecht (dissertation Utrecht University) 1985, p. 157.
- 38 Geertruij (fifteen years old) was buried on 7 November 1636, Sara (sixteen) on 11 November 1636, François (eighteen) on 3 December 1636, and Gerrit (thirteen) on 21 April 1637. NL-ASDSAA, DTB, inv. no. 5, 26 April 1618, fol. 246; 29 December 1619, fol. 304; 18 March 1621, fol. 347; inv. no. 40, 7 January 1624, fol. 236; inv. no. 1130, 7 November 1636, fol. 67; 13 November 1636, fol. 67; 3 December 1636, fol. 67; 21 April 1637, fol. 69.
- 39 NL-ASDSAA, DTB, inv. no. 39, 8 July 1614, fol. 355; inv. no. 1043, 25 July 1614, fol. 153.
- 40 Puyenbroek 2024 (note 3), pp. 43, 48-55, 59, 62-64.
- 41 Ibid.; Schmidt 2014 (note 7), p. 331.
- 42 NL-ASDSAA, DTB, inv. no. 40, 24 November 1620, fol. 54r; inv. no. 465, 20 July 1647, fol. 22r; inv. no. 1069, 16 February 1697, fol. 366; NA, inv. no. 1162, notary Joost van de Ven, will 4 February 1643, fol. 134v-138v.
- 43 NL-ASDSAA, NA, inv. no. 1162, notary Joost van de Ven, will 4 February 1643, fol. 134v-138v.
- 44 For more on transferable skills of daughters, see Wyffels 2021 (note 5), pp. 90-97, 147, 283.
- 45 See Haks 1985 (note 37), pp. 199-200.
- 46 The inventory contains at least 1,017 copper plates (non-assessed uncompleted plates and 'vuyl coper' not included). When it is not clear whether an item concerns one or several plates, it is counted as one. 6,180 guilders was a significant sum. In comparison: Rombout's half of De Drie Roosen Hoeyen, which must have been a substantial property, was sold in 1668 for 6,500 guilders (see note 55). NL-ASDSAA, NA, inv. no. 1970A, notary David Doornick, estate inventory 24 November and 12 December 1662, fol. 368a-380. Published in part in Jan van der Waals, *Prenten in de Gouden Eeuw: Van kunst tot kastpapier*, exh. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen) 2006, pp. 198-201.
- 47 NL-ASDSAA, NA, inv. no. 2463, notary Reinier Duce, writ 18 March 1664, fol. 75.
- 48 'soo veel drucksels sal hebben als haer vergunt sijn.' Ibid. NL-ASDSAA, NA, estate inventory 24 November and 12 December 1662, fol. 368, 375. The 'plæt van Venetie sijnde vier folien' must be 'Venetien vier platen', assessed at fl. 60; 'de plaeten vande werelt Caert met cieraet' is 'Een werelt Caert bestaende in twintich platen', fl. 400, or 'Een werelt Caert was naer negen platen grootde ende waelff kleijne', fl. 225; and 'Romen Compleer' is 'Een groot Roma in vier Roijale platen met zjijn toebehoren', fl. 160.
- 49 Isabella Henriëtte van Eeghen, 'Het Amsterdamse Sint Lucasgilde in de 17de eeuw', *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum* 61 (1969), pp. 65-102, esp. p. 94. Unfortunately no membership lists of the Amsterdam Guild of St Luke have survived.
- 50 Van der Waals 2006 (note 46), p. 198; Frans Laurentius, *Clement de Jonghe (ca. 1624-1677): Kunstverkoper in de Gouden Eeuw*, Utrecht (dissertation Utrecht University) 2010, pp. 18, 42-43, 62; Kolfin 2011 (note 1), p. 53, n. 52.
- 51 NL-ASDSAA, NA, inv. no. 2968, notary Jurian de Vos, power of attorney and guardianship 15 December 1667, fol. 943-945. This deed states that Rombout is about to depart to the East Indies.
- 52 NL-ASDSAA, NA, inv. no. 4737, notary Jurian de Vos, will 4 June 1670, fol. 349-352. With regard to the sale of the plates, the only thing we know is that, as the writ proves, in 1664 Rombout wanted to sell plates and that according to Clement de Jonghe's inventory from 1679 at some point he had got hold of 76 plates that appear in Sara and Rombout's inventory. Sara and Rombout's maximum debt, minus the debts to be collected (excluding bad debts, for which payment was no longer expected) amounted to 4,576 guilders. The estimated value of the plates was more than 6,183 guilders. If the sale had gone through as expected, it would therefore not have been necessary to sell all of the plates. NL-ASDSAA, NA, estate inventory 24 November and 12 December 1662, fol. 368g, 368f-380. Laurentius 2010 (note 50), pp. 62, 127-50.
- 53 For example Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1889-A-14980. Many of the plates in the inventory are suitable for Royal Bible prints. About the Royal Bible, see Van der Waals 2006 (note 46), pp. 160-67.
- 54 Even though it is evident from certain documents, such as in the power of attorney and guardianship of 1667 (note 51), that the separation from bed and board had not been

- dissolved, in contemporary sources Sara continues to be referred to as 'housewife' and later – as in the three aforementioned wills – as 'widow' of Rombout.
- 55 NL-ASdsAA, NA, inv. no. 4737, notary David Stafmaeker Varlet, will 8 March 1677, fol. 74; inv. no. 4943, notary Wilhelmus Sijlvius, will 24 December 1693, fol. 5-7. NL-ASdsAA, DTB, inv. no. 43, 23 January 1648, fol. 65; inv. no. 9, 26 March 1655, fol. 57v; inv. no. 65, 23 May 1657, fol. 156; inv. no. 1069, 9 November 1679, fol. 3; inv. no. 1069, 28 May 1699, fol. 408; inv. no. 1071, 30 May 1739, fol. 117v. Rombout's share of De Drie Roosen Hoeyen was sold in 1668, Catrina's in 1671. It is unclear where Sara and the children had lived in the interim; they probably rented an accommodation, but in 1679 Sara bought another property in the same street, which she also named De Drie Roosen Hoeyen. NL-ASdsAA, Archieven van de Schout en Schepenen, van de Schepenen en van de Subalterne Rechtbanken (Archives of the Sheriff and Aldermen, of the Aldermen and of the Subaltern Courts, henceforth AS, accession no. 5061), inv. no. 2175, 23 July 1709, fol. 170v-171r; inv. no. 2173, 29 November 1690, fol. 184; Archief van de Schepenen: kwijtscheldingsregisters (Archives of the Aldermen: discharge registers, accession no. 5062), inv. no. 56, 2 September 1671, fol. 182/119.
- 56 Such as Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. nos. RP-P-OB-76.643, RP-P-1910-2231 and RP-P-OB-70.158.
- 57 E.F. Kossman, *De boekhandel te 's-Gravenhage tot het eind van de 18de eeuw: Biografisch woordenboek van boekverkopers, uitgevers, boekdrukkers, boekbinders, enz.*, The Hague 1937, pp. 17-21; Kolfin 2011 (note 1), p. 53, n. 52. In 2011 Hanneke van Dijk wrote a Master's degree thesis at the University of Amsterdam about Anna Beeck; this is the basis for the publication about her that Iris Blokker is currently writing for the Allard Pierson.
- 58 Griffiths 2018 (note 1), pp. 45-47.
- 59 See also Schmidt 2014 (note 7), pp. 303-05. This had probably been the case for the previously unknown couple Fijte Martensz and Dorothea Martens, who married in 1641. He was most likely a plate printer (as stated in the register of banns from 1641 and an attestation from 1649) employed elsewhere, while she earned money by taking in laundry and renting out places to sleep. In 1649, they were living in a cellar of a building, that was also home to another married couple and a single woman and, until shortly before, the then-deceased female owner – making it unlikely that they had a workshop at their disposal. The attestation also shows that Dorothea took in laundry.
- In 1654, while they were still married, she was imprisoned for illegally selling beer to her lodgers. Both of Dorothea's activities would have remained unknown if they had not been recorded because something was amiss; other unregistered work cannot be ruled out. NL-ASdsAA, DTB (accession no. 5001), inv. no. 456, 10 August 1641, fol. 89v. NL-ASdsAA, NA, inv. no. 2099, notary François Meerhout, declaration 26 January 1649, fol. 53v-54r; NL-ASdsAA, SA, inv. no. 310, 26 November 1654, fol. 102.
- 60 NL-ASdsAA, NA, inv. no. 1423, notary Cornelis Tou, contract of employment 16 July 1646, fol. 121v-122r; inv. no. 1882, notary Frans Uijttendogaert, warrant 11 October 1647, fol. 176-177; inv. no. 1090, notary Joost van de Ven, declaration 28 October 1649, fol. 261.
- 61 'bij des voors. Jan de Wits hujsvrouw uijt te dienen in allen schijn als off d voors. Jan de Witt in levende lijve gebleven off niet uijtter Stat vertrocken was.' NL-ASdsAA, NA, contract of employment 16 July 1646, fol. 121v-122r.
- 62 Frederik Daniel Otto Obreen, *Archief voor Nederlandsche Kunstgeschiedenis, 1e deel*, Rotterdam 1877-78, p. 32. To date I have been unable to find any further information about Elysbet and her activities. She may be Elisabeth Salomons Dacquet (?-1661), but I have not yet found any indications to support this. See for instance Delft City Archives, DTB, inv. no. 14.40, 2 May 1661, fol. 163.
- 63 Jeroen Luyckx, *The New Hollstein. Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: The Liefrinck Dynasty*, part 1: *Prints by Willem, Cornelis I, Margriet and Hans I Liefrinck*, Ouderkerk aan den IJssel 2021, pp. xxxiii-xli.
- 64 Jan Van der Stock, *Printing Images in Antwerp: The Introduction of Printmaking in a City, Fifteenth Century to 1585*, Rotterdam 1998, p. 67.
- 65 Dirk Imhof, 'The Enterprising Mynken Liefrinck: Coloring, Printing and Selling Maps and Prints in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 42 (2020), nos. 3-4, pp. 220-41.
- 66 *Ibid.*, pp. 220-21, 229, 240.
- 67 A testimony from 1596 shows that he was busy every day 'int etsen ende byten in coopere platen' (etching and biting copper plates) and 'affeckeninge mette penne' (drawing with a pen). *Ibid.*, p. 221, n. 7.
- 68 *Ibid.*, p. 229.
- 69 Luyckx 2021 (note 63), pp. xl-xli.
- 70 Imhof 2020 (note 65), pp. 220-22.
- 71 'laet de Cock coken om tvolchx Wille' (Let the Cook [Cock] cook as the people [Volcxen] wishes). See Van Grieken et al. 2013 (note 19), cat. no. 3, pp. 76-77.