



## Short notice

# The Wind in his Sails: Geertruida den Dubbelde's Role in the Admiralty

• ANNE-LINDE RUITER •

Preserved in the Rijksmuseum depot are two exceptionally dynamic portrait paintings by Bartholomeus van der Helst, produced as pendants in 1668, which depict Lieutenant Admiral Aert van Nes (1626-1693) and his wife Geertruida den Dubbelde (c. 1647-1684) (figs. 1, 2). Because of its intriguing iconography, the Van Nes portrait has always received the most attention. The painting's sitter poses proudly with his chest forward and his gaze aimed at the viewer. He is attired in full admiral's raiment and firmly clasps his commander's baton in his right hand. In a remarkable gesture, the meaning of which is still unknown, Van Nes points his left index finger in the direction of his temple. Behind the standing celestial globe on his right a messenger approaches holding a letter. A dramatic sea battle fills the background: plumes of smoke rise from the burning, broken ships and merge into a dark cloud formation. Many art historians link the painting's iconography, and specifically the painting's background, to Van Nes's illustrious naval career. The depicted sea battle likely refers to the sitter's triumphs in the period just preceding the portrait's creation: in the timespan of only four years, Van Nes had risen from the rank of *schout-bij-nacht* (night scout) to lieutenant admiral, and in 1666 he assumed the supreme command from

< Detail of fig. 2

Michiel de Ruyter on two separate occasions (first when De Ruyter's ship sustained damage, and later when De Ruyter had taken ill).<sup>1</sup> The pointing gesture may possibly symbolize Van Nes's steadfastness, and the letter perhaps refers to his promotion.<sup>2</sup> What these art historians overlook, however, is the painting's relationship to its pendant, the portrait of Geertruida den Dubbelde. Consequently, there has been no research into the connection between the two paintings to date, nor has the iconography of Den Dubbelde's portrait been examined. This is surprising, given that Den Dubbelde, in her respective portrait, also makes a special gesture and appears before a background with a seafaring theme.

In the pendant portrait, Geertruida den Dubbelde is depicted as a wealthy and confident young woman, dressed in a black satin gown with a lace-trimmed top skirt and brocaded underskirts. She also wears various jewellery pieces, including a gold ring on each of her little fingers and strands of pearls encircling her wrists and neck.<sup>3</sup> She looks directly at the viewer, with eyebrows slightly raised and the suggestion of a smile on her face. Like her husband, Den Dubbelde presents herself broadly, as conveyed by her pose and gesture, with her left hand placed on her hip. With her outstretched right hand, she proudly gestures towards

Fig. 1

BARTHOLOMEUS  
VAN DER HELST,  
*Portrait of Aert  
van Nes (1626-1693),  
Lieutenant Admiral,*  
1668.  
Oil on canvas,  
139 x 125 cm.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum,  
inv. no. SK-A-140.



the painting's background with a scene of Rotterdam harbour and two ships about to embark, their sails hoisted half-mast. The last crew members are rowed to the ships in a sloop. Watching from the shore, several men bid farewell, waving the hats in their hands.

As with the sea battle in the Van Nes portrait, the background of Den Dubbelde's portrait begs closer examination. Why are the ships and crew shown as they are about to depart the harbour? Is there perhaps a relationship between the harbour scene in the background of this painting and the life of Geertruida den Dubbelde?

### **The Life of Geertruida den Dubbelde**

Geertruida den Dubbelde was born circa 1647 in the Dutch coastal town Noordwijk.<sup>4</sup> Her enterprising family was from nearby Leiden: Geertruida's father, Jacob Cornelisz den Dubbelde, was a grocer; her mother, Elizabeth Coddæus, was the daughter of Willem Coddæus, a Leiden professor.<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth's date of death is unknown. Certain is that she died sometime before 1664, the year in which Jacob married his second wife, Willemina Nobels, widow of a wealthy Rotterdam brewer.<sup>6</sup> Around this time, the Den Dubbelde family moved to



Fig. 2  
BARTHOLOMEUS  
VAN DER HELST,  
*Portrait of Geertruida  
den Dubbelde*  
(1647-1684), *Victualler*,  
1668.  
Oil on canvas,  
139 x 125 cm.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum,  
inv. no. SK-A-141.

Rotterdam, where Geertruida would meet her future spouse, most likely through her father or stepmother.<sup>7</sup> In his profession as grocer, Jacob den Dubbelde would presumably have traded in colonial goods. Willemina Nobels, in her turn, was the niece and heir of Hendrick Nobel, mayor of Rotterdam and one of the directors of the East India and West India Companies. She was also the niece of Jacob Roch, a director of the Dutch East India Company in Amsterdam, while her first husband, the beer brewer Nicolaas Cupus, was once the *voogd* (custodial guardian) of François van Santvoort, director of the Dutch trading post in Dhaka (Bangladesh).<sup>8</sup>

Geertruida den Dubbelde and Aert van Nes were wed on 29 January 1668. Assuming Den Dubbelde was approximately twenty-one at the time, the then forty-two-year-old Van Nes would have been about twice his bride's age. Children followed sometime later.<sup>9</sup> The couple's first child, daughter Willemina Jacoba, was born in 1680, followed two years later by son Jacob. On 30 January 1684, Geertruida den Dubbelde died giving birth to her third child, son Wilhelmus, at the young age of approximately thirty-seven years.<sup>10</sup>

#### 'Two *kinneteyes* herring'

To ascertain the meaning of the scene in the background of Geertruida den

Dubbelde's portrait, one must consider the role of other seafarers' wives in the seventeenth century, such as Anna van Gelder (c. 1613-1687) and Maria van Bleyswijck (1647-1733).<sup>11</sup> In this period, married women were excluded from any legal capacity.<sup>12</sup> Because of their husbands' frequent, prolonged absence at sea, however, wives of sea captains and admirals had somewhat of a unique status, with many formally authorized – often by their husbands – to oversee (family) affairs.<sup>13</sup> These women were also commonly charged with procuring supplies for their husband's ships, as victuallers.<sup>14</sup> This was no menial task, as it required an ample knowledge of finances. The

seafarer's wife received the allocated amount of money in advance – if conducted wisely, her spending could result in a financial surplus. Overzealousness in her thrift, however, could result in the dissatisfaction of her husband's crew on board.<sup>15</sup> She was responsible not only for negotiating the quality, price and quantity of provisions, but also for arranging the physical transport of goods to the fleet. This entailed seeking available cargo space on board a ship or hiring a captain to transport the necessary supplies.<sup>16</sup> A wife's duties sometimes continued even after her husband's return from sea, when overseeing the processing and reselling of any unused supplies.<sup>17</sup>

Fig. 3  
LUDOLF DE JONGH,  
*Portrait of Aletta  
van Ravensberg*  
(1635-1677), 1668.  
Oil on canvas,  
111.5 x 88.5 cm.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum,  
inv. no. SK-A-197.



Women's involvement in admiralty affairs suggests that it was by no means solely the domain of men; on the contrary, the admiralty was much more a collective of family enterprises in which wives, and sometimes other female family members, likewise participated. Prior to Aert van Nes's marriage to Geertruida den Dubbelde, his mother, Anna Cornelis de Bagijn (c. 1604-1672), more commonly known as Annetje Cornelis, had been charged with the task of procuring supplies for her son's ship. As Captain Cornelis de Bagijn's daughter, she had undoubtedly been familiar with the seafaring trade starting in her youth. Upon the death of her husband, Captain Jan Jacobse van Nes de Jongere (1602/03-1652), it was Annetje who – possibly as heir to her husband's warship – consented to the promotion of her then twenty-six-year-old son, Aert van Nes, who assumed his father's position as captain on that ship in 1653.<sup>18</sup> In any event, from the time of her husband's death up until 1665, she remained involved in matters concerning the admiralty, also representing her son's interests when at sea.<sup>19</sup> Annetje's daughter-in-law, Aletta van Ravensberg (1635-1677, fig. 3), wife of Aert's brother, *schout-bij-nacht* Jan van Nes, was also authorized to oversee her husband's affairs in his absence and procure supplies for his ship.<sup>20</sup>

Annetje Cornelis and Aletta van Ravensberg's involvement in the admiralty is known in detail. Written letters captured by the English as war booty in the run-up to the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-67), today preserved in the National Archives at Kew, provide ample information regarding, for example, the scope of each woman's work and the nature of the goods they procured, but also matters of personal concern. In a message dated 18 September 1664, Annetje Cornelis informed her son Aert van Nes that she was sending him new supplies, to be shared with his brother, Jan van Nes. The message reads:

I have sent ye here with capt[ain] Boshuysen 2 *kinnetyes*<sup>21</sup> herring, as well as half a vat of new salted fish. Please give some of this to brother Jan, as here in town there is nothing more prepared ... Am also sending a small vat of peeled barley as well as 2 *achtendeeltes*<sup>22</sup> butter ... In the vat of peeled barley are some letters from the wives, and also one especially for our Cornelis. Please be sure to hand it to him personally. An *achtendeeltye* with a small vat of butter is for brother Jan, as well as 2 *kinnetges* herring. And 2 *achtendeeltges* butter with 2 *kinnetges* herring as stated above for ye. But of the half vat of fish, please give half to brother Jan.<sup>23</sup>

On 16 November 1664, Annetje Cornelis wrote a second letter to her son, from which it becomes apparent that Captain Boshuysen was unable to transport the aforementioned goods. She had therefore arranged that the shipment be made by one Captain De Klerck:

To this purpose, we have unloaded the goods from capt[ain] Boshuysen[']s ship] and have shipped them with capt[ain] De Klerck, and to this we have added 2 more vats of French wine, each holding 30 *stoop* and 2 *ankers* of brandywine.<sup>24</sup>

The letters also show that Aletta van Ravensberg, Annetje Cornelis's daughter-in-law, was charged with resupplying both her husband's and her brother-in-law's ships. Evidently, sea captains' wives even collaborated on occasion. In a letter dated 16 November 1664 (concurrent with Annetje Cornelis's second letter), Katelnyen Bernaerts Haexwant wrote to her husband, *schout-bij-nacht* Leendert Ariensen Haexwant, informing him that the goods had been unloaded from Captain Boshuysen's ship and subsequently moved to Captain De Klerck's ship. Her words confirm that said arrangements had been made in cooperation with both Cornelis and Ravensberg:

And we the three of us, the mother of the night scout [Aert van Nes] and the wife of Johan van Es [Jan van Nes], have hired a ship and unloaded the goods from Boshuysen[’s ship] that were in there. That was 2 *kynnetkens* herring, 2 *achtendeelghens* butter in double vessels and salted, with 4 Dutch cheeses for ye, my dear husband, marked thus: H W in red paint.<sup>25</sup>

These letters convey the decisiveness with which these women – working sometimes with others and sometimes on their own – saw to the needs of their husbands and the crews of their ships at sea.

### More than just the ‘wife of’

Annetje Cornelis, Aletta van Ravensberg and Katelynen Bernaerts were directly involved in procuring supplies for several ships: they purchased the drink and victuals, arranged the shipments and collected letters from crew members’ wives. Jan van Nes and Leendert Haexwant were both able to entrust the procurement of their ships to their wives; initially without a spouse, Aert van Nes was obliged to rely on his mother and sister-in-law for the victualling of his ship. Geertruida den Dubbelde – like the other admirals’ wives – would almost certainly have assumed this task upon her marriage to Van Nes in 1668. This knowledge places her gesture and the maritime scene in her portrait’s background in a different light. Besides representing her wealth and married status, the painting explicitly refers to her new position as an admiral’s wife and to her newly assigned role in her husband’s affairs. The gesture with which she presents the departing crew and ships links her directly to the activities taking place in the background. The maritime scene therefore purposely refers to Den Dubbelde’s on-shore task as victualler.

Few documents exist in connection with Geertruida den Dubbelde to substantiate this interpretation.



One explanation might be that her personal letters were not among those taken as booty. Perhaps they lie buried somewhere in the National Archives at Kew or have not been preserved for some other reason. Regardless, the absence of letters written by her hand in no way undermines the reading of Geertruida den Dubbelde’s portrait as a personal document recounting the story of what kind of person she was: a young, self-confident woman from an enterprising and prosperous family, who assumed the responsibility of procuring supplies for her husband’s ship.

The case of Den Dubbelde-Van Nes underscores the importance of giving equal consideration to pendant portraits and subjecting both to a thorough examination within their shared context. When viewed in unity, the portraits’ meaning changes. The motivation for commissioning a double portrait was not only Aert van Nes’s maritime success but also his marriage to Geertruida den Dubbelde. The mirrored backdrops – in his case, a

Fig. 4  
FERDINAND BOL  
(attributed to),  
*Portrait of an Old  
Woman, Possibly  
Elisabeth Bas*,  
c. 1640-45.  
Oil on canvas,  
118 x 91.5 cm.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum,  
inv. no. SK-A-714..  
Jonkheer J.S.H.  
van de Poll Bequest,  
Amsterdam.



*Fig. 5*  
 JAN MIJTENS,  
*Portrait of*  
*Margaretha van*  
*Raephorst (1625-1690),*  
*with a Black Boy,*  
 1668.  
 Oil on canvas,  
 143.5 x 102.5 cm.  
 Amsterdam,  
 Rijksmuseum,  
 inv. no. SK-A-285.



*Fig. 6*  
 JAN LIEVENS,  
*Portrait of Cornelia*  
*Teding van Berkhout*  
*(1614-1680), c. 1640-53.*  
 Oil on canvas,  
 132.5 x 101.5 cm.  
 Amsterdam,  
 Rijksmuseum,  
 inv. no. SK-A-839.

turbulent sea battle; in her case, a peaceful harbour scene – represent and celebrate their union. Together, the newly wedded pair would achieve their shared success in collaboration, each in their own capacity: Aert van Nes as lieutenant admiral at sea, Geertruida den Dubbelde in Rotterdam, as victualler of her husband's ship.

Den Dubbelde, Cornelis and Van Ravensberg also represent countless other women involved in maritime shipping. The Rijksmuseum collection alone, besides the Den Dubbelde portrait and a portrait of Van Ravensberg (fig. 3), contains three other portraits of women who are certain or likely to have played a role in the victualling of Dutch ships in the seventeenth century: Elisabeth Bas, Margaretha van Raephorst and Cornelia Teding van Berkhout (figs. 4-6).<sup>26</sup> These historical figures merit in-depth biographical research, including an art historical approach to their portraits and corresponding pendants, with the aim of shedding

light on their possible role in the admiralty. This would lead to a critical evaluation of the flawed practice of viewing seafarer's portraits – and men's portraits in general – as autonomous works in those instances where they form part of an orchestrated pair.

Over the centuries, many of the stories and deeds of women have been forgotten. As legally incapacitated individuals, women are more difficult to trace in the archives, with their identities often concealed behind the names of their husbands and fathers. Efforts to decipher these women's lives therefore require that one read between the lines. When we do so, it becomes apparent that women, through their invisible labour – be it as a member of the working class or the seventeenth-century elite – unquestionably facilitated the careers, lives, and legacies of men. Women were appraisers, brewers, kitchen maids, mothers, peat-carriers, regents and rope-pickers.<sup>27</sup> They were victuallers – they were the wind in men's sails.



- \* I wish to extend many thanks to Jenny Reynaerts for her extensive feedback during the writing of this article, and to Laurien van der Werff for her advice and assistance with the transcription of several documents. I am also very grateful to the members of the workgroup *Women of the Rijksmuseum* for their advice and enthusiasm.
- 1 Judith van Gent, *Bartholomeus van der Helst: Een studie naar zijn leven en werk*, Zwolle 2011, p. 333; Ronald B. Prud'homme van Reine, 'Paerlen op de kroon der Gallerij: De schilderijen van de zeventiende-eeuwse zeeofficierenfamilie Van Nes in het Rijksmuseum', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 43 (1995), no. 2, pp. 96-112, esp. p. 97.
  - 2 Van Gent 2011 (note 1), pp. 333-34.
  - 3 Van Gent 2011 (note 1), p. 335; Patricia Wardle, 'Seventeenth-Century Black Silk Lace in the Rijksmuseum', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 33 (1985), no. 4, pp. 207-55, esp. p. 222. The wearing of a ring on the little fingers of both hands is exceptional. In the seventeenth century, (wedding) rings were typically worn on the index or ring finger. The simple gold band encircling the right little finger most resembles a wedding ring. Nonetheless, it could also be that neither ring depicts the wedding ring. For an extensive analysis of the use and fashion of (wedding) rings in the seventeenth century, see Suzanne van Leeuwen, "'Met Diamanten Omzet": Hoop Rings in the Northern Netherlands (1600-1700)', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 71 (2023), no. 1, pp. 41-60.
  - 4 Rotterdam City Archives (henceforth NL-RtSA), Oud Archief van de Stad Rotterdam (henceforth OSA, accession no. 1.01), inv. no. 1057, register with notifications of marriage intention and confirmation, 12 and 29 January 1668, fol. 118v. The marriage act states that Geertruida den Dubbelde was a 'jongedochter' (young daughter) from Noordwijk. In fact, no tangible proof exists that she was born in 1647, as is nevertheless stated in various publications.
  - 5 Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken (henceforth NL-LdNRAL), Doop-, trouw-, begraaf- en geboorteboeken Leiden (DTB, accession no. 1004), inv. no. 199, register with notifications of marriage intention and confirmation, 2 January 1637, fol. 62v; NL-LdNRAL, Notarissen ter standplaats Leiden (Oud Notarieel Archief, OSA, accession no. 0506), inv. no. 172, notary Foyt Gijsbertsz. van Sijp, prenuptial agreement, 11 December 1636, fol. 422r-424r; NL-RtSA, Archieven van de Notarissen te Rotterdam en daarin opgegaane gemeenten (henceforth OSA, accession no. 18), inv. no. 976, notary Govert van Gesel, guardianship, 4 November 1688, fol. 109r-109v.
  - 6 R. Bijlsma, *Rotterdams welvaren 1550-1650*, The Hague 1918, pp. 103-04. Willemina Nobels was the widow of Nicolaas Cupus, owner of the brewery De Leeuw met den Staf.
  - 7 NL-RtSA, OSA, inv. no. 1057, register with notifications of marriage intention and confirmation, 12 and 29 January 1668, fol. 118v.
  - 8 Oscar Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden en de opkomst van de Amsterdamse stapelmarkt (1578-1630)*, Hilversum 2000, pp. 64, 156; Karwan Fatah-Black, Lauren Lauret and Joris van den Tol, *Geketend voor Hollands glorie: Slavernij in de geschiedenis van de provincie Zuid-Holland*, Leiden 2024, p. 39; NL-RtSA, OSA, inv. no. 154, notary Adriaen Kieboom, estate inventory, 12 August 1649, fol. 301r-311v; inv. no. 365, notary Jacobus Delphius, prenuptial agreement, 23 July 1645, fol. 114r-115r; inv. no. 247, notary Jacob Duyfhuysen jr., authorization, 12 October 1663, fol. 104r-104v. The precise meaning of the term *voogd* in this context is somewhat unclear. Given the professional nature of the relationship, it may very well concern a financial oversight role, presumably a financial trustee/official.
  - 9 Van Gent 2011 (note 1), pp. 54, 334.
  - 10 NL-RtSA, Doopregisters, Trouwregisters, Begraafregisters Rotterdam (henceforth DTB, accession no. 102), inv. no. 141, baptismal record, 13 August 1680, fol. 152r; inv. no. 143, baptismal record, 25 October 1682 and 24 January 1684, fol. 5v, 11v; inv. no. 93, baptismal record, 30 January 1684, fol. 222r.
  - 11 Jaap R. Bruijn and Els S. Van Eyck van Heslinga, 'Aan "Wijfje Lief": Brieven van zeekapitein Eland du Bois aan zijn vrouw (1669-1674)', in *Nederlandse Historische Bronnen* (1985), pp. 111-42. Anna van Gelder was the wife of Admiral Michiel de Ruyter. She was responsible for the victualling of her husband's ship, which meant she oversaw the purchase of food, drink and necessary tools for the crew. Upon De Ruyter's return, she subsequently processed and sold the surplus supplies (see also Wouter van Kranendonk, 'Gelder, Anna van', in *Digitale Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland* (consulted 11 June 2024), <https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Gelder>). Maria van Bleywijck was the wife of sea captain Eland du Bois. Like Anna

- van Gelder, she was charged with the victualling of his ship, a matter on which she corresponded with her husband. Other examples of seafarers' wives charged with the task of victualling include: Elisabeth Bas (1571-1649), married to the ship's captain Jochem Heijndricksz Swartenhondt (see Els Kloek, 'Bas, Elisabeth', in *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland* (consulted 11 June 2024), <https://resources.huylgens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/bas2>); and Constantia Bloemaert (1626-1694), married to Captain Isaac Sweers (see Eva Bleeker, 'Constantia Bloemaert: Het leven van een marinevrouw', *Zeemagazijn* June 2020, pp. 38-39).
- 12 Ariadne Schmidt, 'Overleven na de dood: Weduwen in Leiden in de Gouden Eeuw', Amsterdam (dissertation University of Amsterdam) 2001, p. 11; Corio Henricus Jansen, 'De Lex-van-Oven: 50 jaar opheffing handelingsonbekwaamheid van de gehuwde vrouw', *Nederlands Juristenblad* 81 (2006), pp. 1256-60.
  - 13 Ariadne Schmidt, 'Vrouwenarbeid in de Vroegmoderne Tijd in Nederland', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 2 (2005), no. 3, pp. 2-21, esp. p. 8; Manon van der Heijden and Danielle van den Heuvel, 'Sailors' Families and the Urban Institutional Framework in Early Modern Holland', *The History of the Family* 12 (2007), no. 4, pp. 296-309.
  - 14 Bruijn and Eyck van Heslinga 1985 (note 11), pp. 111-42.
  - 15 Van Kranendonk (note 11).
  - 16 Adri P. Van Vliet, *'Een vriendelijke groetenisse': Brieven van het thuisfront aan de vloot van De Ruyter (1664-1665)*, Franeker 2007, pp. 279-81.
  - 17 Van Kranendonk (note 11).
  - 18 NL-RtSA, ONA, inv. no. 390, notary Jacobus Delphius, attestation, 18 September 1636, fol. 119r-119v.
  - 19 NL-RtSA, ONA, inv. no. 384, notary Jacobus Delphius, authorisation, 17 April 1653, fol. 49r; inv. no. 405, agreement, 17 April 1653, fol. 59r-59v.
  - 20 NL-RtSA, ONA, inv. no. 388, notary Jacobus Delphius, authorisation, 21 March 1664, fol. 42r-42v.
  - 21 A *kinnetye*, *kinnetge*, or *kinnetke* was a Dutch standard unit for referring to foods stored in vats: one-fourth portion of a vat, i.e. approximately 700 to 1000 herrings.
  - 22 An *achtendeeltye* or *achtendeeltge* was a Dutch standard unit for measuring substances like butter: a one-eighth portion of a vat of butter.
  - 23 'Ick sende u l[ieden] hier met capt[eyn] Boshuysen 2 kinnetyes nieuwen haring, alsmede een half vat nieuwe soute vis. Geliefte Janbroer daarvan over te doen, want hier in de stad geen meer is die geprepareert is ... Sende oock noch een kleijn tonnetge met gepelde gerst als mede 2 achtendeeltyes boter ... In het tonnetge gepelde gerst leggen eenyng brieven van de wijven, als oock voornamelyck een voor onse Cornelis. Geliefte hem de selve doch te behandygen. Een achtendeeltye met een kleyn tonnetge boter is voor Janbroer, als oock 2 kinnetges haring. En 2 achtendeeltges boter met 2 kinnetges haring als boven geseijt voor u l[ieden]. Maar het half vat vis geliefte Janbroer daer de helft van over te doen.' Van Vliet 2007 (note 16), pp. 271-73.
  - 24 'Tot desen eijnde hebben wij het goet uyt capt[eyn] Boshuysen weder doen uythalen en hebben het gescheept in capt[eyn] De Klerck en daer hebben wij gedaen noch 2 vaetyes Franse wijn, elck van 30 stoop en 2 ankers brandewijn.' Van Vliet 2007 (note 16), pp. 279-81. A *stoop* and an *anker* were Dutch standard units for measuring the capacity of liquid substances, especially for beer, wine and spirits. One *stoop* was approximately equivalent to 2.4 liters. Accordingly, 30 *stoop* was about 72 liters of wine. One *anker* was equivalent to about 35 liters. Accordingly, two *ankers* brandy-wine was equivalent to around 70 liters of brandywine.
  - 25 'En wij met ons drien de schout-bij-nacht sijn moeder en Johan van Es [Jan van Nes] sijn vrou hebben een schyp gehuyert en hebben het goet uyt Boshuysen gehaelt dat daer in was. Dat was 2 kynnetkens harynck, 2 achtendeelghens butter in dobbel vaetwerck en in sout geset met 4 Hollantsche kassen voor u l[iieve] mijn lieve man gernerckt aldus: H w met roede verf.' Van Vliet 2007 (note 16), p. 329. The letters H w stand for Haex Want, or rather Haexwant, the name of her husband.
  - 26 Married to Jan van Nes (inv. no. SK-A-196), Jochen Heijndricksz Swartenhondt (inv. no. SK-A-705), Cornelis Tromp (inv. no. SK-A-1413), and Maerten Harpertz Tromp (inv. no. SK-A-838) respectively.
  - 27 'Schatsters' were women who made appraisals of estate inventories. For more about these women appraisers, see Marleen Puyenbroek, 'Vrouwen op de kunstmarkt: gezworen schatsters', in Frans Grijzenhout (ed.), *Kunst, kennis en kapitaal: Oude meesters op de Hollandse veilingmarkt 1670-1820*, Zutphen 2022, pp. 59-85.