




the archaeology of

# VLOOIENBURG

Materiality and Daily Life in Multicultural Amsterdam, 1600-1800



Marijn Stolk



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The Archaeology of Vlooienburg  
Materiality and Daily Life in Multicultural Amsterdam, 1600-1800

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Chapter 1.  
**INTRODUCTION**



# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Diaspora and Identity Project

This dissertation was written as a part of the research project: '*Diaspora and Identity: an integrated archaeological and historical investigation into material life, ethnicity, and diet in the district of Vlooienburg, Amsterdam (AD 1600-1800)*', which was led by Prof. dr. James Symonds. The aim of this overarching project was to develop an integrated archaeological methodology to enable material culture and ecological remains that have been recovered from cesspit deposits to be linked to historically-documented households from the 17<sup>th</sup> century Vlooienburg neighbourhood in city centre Amsterdam. As such the project situated in the Amsterdam Centre for Ancient Studies and Archaeology (ACASA) and embedded within the Amsterdam School for Heritage, Memory and Material Culture (AHM). A collaborative partnership was created with the office of Monuments and Archaeology of the City of Amsterdam and the Jewish Historical Museum, in order to exchange knowledge and expertise.

The cesspit finds that formed the core of the research project were recovered from excavations by the Amsterdam city archaeologists, which took place in the current Waterlooplein area between 1981 and 1982. These waste pits – which had been used as latrines as well as for the dump of household waste - offered an extraordinarily rich assemblage of artefacts of a great diversity of floral and faunal remains, all of an exceptional quality and quantity.<sup>1</sup> The combination of these archaeological data and the available historical sources at the Amsterdam City Archives, provided the research project with the possibility to conduct significant interdisciplinary research – on 'a stage that is regrettably seldom reached in Dutch historical archaeology'.<sup>2</sup> This so-called stage of research hypothetically consists of four levels of investigation. In the first place it demands inventorying and dating the ceramic assemblages. Secondly artefacts of other material categories

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<sup>1</sup> Baart 2001, 195 / Baart 1983, 84.

<sup>2</sup> Bartels, 2005, 16.

should be included. As a third level, the analyses of floral and faunal remains is required and as a fourth level the association between the archaeological finds and historical documents - such as for example probate inventories - is realized.

On a national level the project is of importance in relation to the National Research Agenda for Archaeology (NOaA), due to its contribution to three of the prime research themes; 'Social and Economical Differentiation', 'Emigration, Immigration and Acculturation' and 'Human-Material Culture relations. More specifically the research is of added value with regard to themes like 'demographic composition', 'expression of identity and social position', and 'the role of cities in the maritime trading network'.<sup>3</sup>

## **1.2 Aims, Research Questions and Structure**

### ***Aims and Research questions***

The aim of this dissertation - as a part of the Diaspora and Identity research project - is to provide a material overview of daily life in the Vlooienburg residential quarter of early modern Amsterdam through an in depth analysis of the archaeological finds that were retrieved during the excavations of the neighbourhood. On a more general scale, this research will contribute to the synthesis and dissemination of a significant amount of previously unpublished archaeological data. That said, this thesis will more specifically enhance knowledge about the social lives and identities of different households and cultural groups in one of the earliest multi-ethnic districts of Amsterdam. The remains that have been examined principally consist of household waste and personal belongings that were discarded by Vlooienburg's inhabitants. As such, the finds derive from many aspects of everyday life and can be seen as material evidence of ethnicity, religious beliefs, social status, gender and individual preferences and practices.

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<sup>3</sup> NOaA 2.0: respectively chapter 5, 6 and 22; <https://archeologieinederland.nl/bronnen-en-kaarten/nationaleonderzoeksagenda-archeologie-20>



The primary aim of this research is to gain insight in the hybrid composition of identities within the Vlooienburg neighbourhood and to gain an understanding of how different social and cultural groups related to one another and lived together in the same district. Such historical and archaeological research has the capacity to throw light on the multicultural roots of Amsterdam, and to contribute to public understandings of a city whose character has been shaped by its diversity. A number of questions have been set out in order to achieve the aims mentioned above. The main question is: *Is it possible to distinguish different socio-cultural groups and their corresponding customs and practices at a household level through the analysis of archaeological finds from cesspits contexts?*

To be able to distinguish any deviant households or socio-cultural groups, the first sub-question that arose was: *Is it possible to give an average standard of what the material assembly of an early modern Amsterdam household looks like?* Given the cultural diversity already referred to, above, and the differences in income and economic status that are known, this may seem like a difficult or perhaps even impossible question to answer. It is of course obvious that there is no such thing as a 'typical' material assemblage that can be determined for early modern Amsterdam households. However this matter could be metaphorically seen as a mathematical standard deviation, where a sample is taken from a population to create an expectation value, on the basis of which than a degree of deviation can be ascertained. Therefore by examining a large sample of household waste and identifying a broadly similar range of commonly occurring material characteristics and customary practices, it may be possible to identify divergent households, by identifying different and highly specific patterns within their material assemblages.

This brings us to the second sub-question, namely: *Is it possible to recognize migrant households among material assemblages with diverging characteristics and are there any patterns to be found among them?* And if so, how does this apply to different migrants groups that were part of the Vlooienburg neighbourhood? A third sub-question that arose was: *Are there any tangible material residues that enable us to identify certain religious beliefs and practices that were part of daily life at Vlooienburg?* And, if this is possible, can this reveal information about the

level of devotion in particular households or provide insight into the organization of religious practice on a more structural level? A final sub-question is: Are there any exceptional artefacts that might reveal highly distinctive and localized aspects of daily life that might relate to other practices, beliefs or expressions of personal or social identities?

It was a challenge to find an effective theoretical structure and working method to cover all of these different aspects of early modern society from an archaeological and material perspective, although it was crucial to integrate all of those various elements in an effort to capture at least part of the diversity of daily life in the neighbourhood as it is known from written evidence. While answering the research questions listed above, it was of grave importance to not get caught up in pigeonholing, and to ensure that intermediate forms, hybrid processes and transition periods were included into the research frame. In order to do so, the research has maintained a holistic but closely contextualised approach, through which potential indicators for certain social or cultural groups have been archaeologically and historically situated. As a result, the research has sometimes deliberately been shifted focus from the challenge of distinguishing socio-cultural groups to explore complexities of identity formation, and how the material evidence of cultural hybridity can sometimes come down to individual decision making. This has led to the alternating use of a top-down and bottom-up approaches and demand-driven versus material-driven analysis in order to continuously shift perspectives throughout the research process.

### ***Thesis Structure***

The remainder of this chapter will discuss the theoretical and methodological frameworks that formed the basis of this dissertation. Section 1.3 will discuss archaeological approaches to material culture including recent work on assemblage theory and the conceptual framework of entanglement. Section 1.4 will explain which methodological approaches were utilised for this study, together with the decisions concerning data selection and limitations on research. Chapter 2 will present the archaeological and historical background to the research at Vlooienburg in order to be able to answer the first sub-question by way of introduction, so as to embed it in the following

chapters.<sup>4</sup> Chapter 3 will investigate the identification of immigrant identities through the study of household assemblages and as such answer the second sub-question of this research. This chapter mainly focusses on a case study that discloses the rich assemblage of Portuguese ceramics in Amsterdam and goes on to investigate the correlation between Portuguese (cooking) ceramics and Portuguese migrants, who had come to Amsterdam from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards.<sup>5</sup> Chapter 4 examines the third sub-question and considers the materiality of religious practice at Vlooienburg based upon the refuse waste from known Jewish household in the neighbourhood. Chapter 5 explores aspects of daily life at Vlooienburg through the archaeological study of children's toys.<sup>6</sup> As such, this chapter contributes to the fourth sub-question, considering the study of childhood as way to enrich our understanding of cultures and societies as a whole. Chapter 6 adds to a consideration of the fourth sub-question by studying Mesoamerican and Indian imports and their possible contribution to the material and social life of some of the more wealthy households in the Vlooienburg district. The dissertation ends with a discussion and conclusion in Chapter 7. The discussion and conclusions drawn in this chapter review the various case studies as elements of daily life in early modern Vlooienburg and examine the results within my chosen theoretical and methodological frameworks, with suggestions for future research.

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<sup>4</sup> As a part of this PhD research the work on the archaeological finds that are described in this chapter has been previously published as a chapter in an edited volume. See: Stolk, M., 2021: Between Trade and Tradition: Household Ceramic Assemblages from Amsterdam in de Age of Early Modern Globalization. In: Lukezic & McCarthy (eds.), *The Archaeology of New Netherland. A World Build on Trade*, University Press of Florida, 16-29.

<sup>5</sup> As a part of this PhD research, a segment of this chapter has been previously published as an article. See: Stolk, M., 2018: Exploring Immigrant Identities: The Link between Portuguese Ceramics and Sephardic Immigrants in 17<sup>th</sup> century Amsterdam, *Ex Novo – Journal of Archaeology*, 3, 101-120.

<sup>6</sup> As a part of this PhD research, this chapter has been previously published as an article. See: Stolk, M., 2020: Rattles, Toys and Miniature Artefacts: Archaeological Insights into Childhood and Childrens's Identities at Vlooienburg, *KLEOS: Amsterdam Bulletin of Ancient Studies and Archaeology*, Issue 3, 64-81.

## 1.3 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

### *Matters of Material Culture*

Several different theoretical paradigms have influenced discussions on material culture and human-thing-interactions in archaeology over the last 100 years. Following the work of Kossina and Childe, scholars in the first half of the twentieth century worked to define spatially distinct 'culture groups' through the determination of clearly formulated classification systems founded on the premise that ethnic groups, or 'peoples', could be defined by fixed and regularly occurring sets of artefacts.<sup>7</sup> With the arrival of the *new archaeology* and or so-called *processual archaeology* in the 1960s, the focus shifted, from seeking to identify cultures as homogenous and standardized structures, towards thinking of cultures and culture groups as functioning and interacting systems that are subject to change. This led, in particular, to the attempts to analyze the residues of past processes in a way that could shed light on human interactions with the environment and the emergence of early civilizations.<sup>8</sup> In the light of these developments new theoretical frameworks arose and material culture came to be seen as a valuable tool to study past events and societies.<sup>9</sup> In the U.S.A., the work of the influential folklorist Henry Glassie, and historical archaeologist James Deetz – who were both heavily influenced by French structuralism – led to a belief that material culture in some way embodies and represents individual and societal beliefs and thereby reflect cultural values.<sup>10</sup> In the words of the Yale art historian and material culture specialist Jules Prown 'objects made or modified by man – being consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly – reflect the beliefs of individuals who made, commissioned, purchased, or used them at a certain time and in this way exhibit the principles of the larger society to which they belonged'.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> See e.g. Kossina 1928 and Childe 1929.

<sup>8</sup> See e.g. Clarke 1968; Renfrew 1973; Hodder & Orton 1976,

<sup>9</sup> See e.g. Koshinna 1928; Childe 1929; Hodder & Orton 1976; Prown 1982 & Johnson 1999.

<sup>10</sup> Glassie 1975; Deetz 1977.

<sup>11</sup> Prown, 1982, 1-4.

The next major theoretical turn, which came to be known as *post-processual archaeology* emerged in Cambridge in the UK in the early 1980s. Post processual, or interpretive archaeology, also incorporated theory from post structuralism, and structural Marxism, but at the same time took an important step by embedding the subjectivity of archaeologists into the interpretative process by drawing attention to the fact that by studying material culture archaeologists were always, 'translating the meaning of past texts into their own contemporary language.'<sup>12</sup> The work of Ian Hodder and his former doctoral students was significant in the way that it argued that human actions are 'meaningfully constituted within a social and cultural framework' and that 'material culture is not simply an adaptive tool, but is structured according to sets of underlying principles which give meaning to, and derive meaning from the social world'.<sup>13</sup>

But while both *processual* and *post-processual* archaeologies assumed that material culture played an important role in social and cultural worlds and were representations of the past, they still did not consider material culture to be active elements of past worlds.<sup>14</sup> It is only in the last two decades, that understandings of material culture and correspondingly the meaning and representation of materials has theoretically moved to concepts that focus on the direct engagement of things, materiality, materialism and human-non-human-relations.<sup>15</sup> This development is to some extent connected to earlier theoretical approaches, as for instance Bourdieu's *practice theory* and his concept of *habitus*, which suggests a mutual influence between people and the object world, altering and impacting one another.<sup>16</sup> These concepts were, however, principally based upon the previously mentioned structured sets of rules and values that were of a dualistic character and did not consider the variability and hybridity of cultural elements.<sup>17</sup> The more

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<sup>12</sup> Hodder 1982; Miller 1985; Hodder & Hutson 2003.

<sup>13</sup> Hodder 1982.

<sup>14</sup> Jones 2015; Barrett 1994.

<sup>15</sup> Antczak & Beaudry 2019 87; see e.g.: Gosden 2005; Fowler & Harris 2015; Hodder 2012; Jones 2015;

<sup>16</sup> Bourdieu 1977.

<sup>17</sup> Harris & Cipolla 2017.

recent theoretical approaches, contemplating the mutual relational concept of materiality, make it possible to reach beyond the earlier material-based explanations on cultural and social context, and to study material remains as active and evolving mechanisms within past worlds. Terms like *assemblage* and *entanglement* are two of the most prominent formulations that have now entered archaeological theory to describe such relational interactions.<sup>18</sup>

### ***Assemblage, Entanglement and Assemblages of Practice***

The many valuable theoretical concepts that have emerged in the recent years have, however, left us without a readily applicable framework for material culture analysis. This has led to the construction of the concept of *assemblages of practice* by Antczak and Beaudry, which includes the relational concepts of *assemblage* and *entanglement*, in an attempt to make such concepts of more use to archaeologists.<sup>19</sup> The concept of '*assemblage thought*' or '*assemblage theory*' in archaeology, as is described by Jervis in his recent work, can be summarized as a system of ideas and tools that are considered emerging and evolving elements and are used to understand certain themes and structures about past societies. From this point of view assemblages of materials, as well as assemblages of ideas, should be not seen as fixed or static systems, but rather as processes which are subject to change, enabling us to derive renewed insights in the fluid complexities of past societies.<sup>20</sup> This is explained in depth in the philosopher and urban historian Manuel DeLanda's '*Assemblages and Human History*', which describes the concept of *assemblage* through the system of a *social whole* – this could be compared with interpersonal networks such as organizations, institutions or neighbourhoods. Such structures being neither defined by the people who shaped them, nor structures in which a person's distinctiveness is completely lost.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> For work on *assemblage theory* see e.g.: Jervis 2019; Jervis 2018; Hamilakis & Jones 2017 and Fowler 2013. For work on *entanglement* see e.g.: Hodder 2016 and Hodder 2012.

<sup>19</sup> Antczak & Beaudry 2019, 87; Robb 2015, 167.

<sup>20</sup> Jervis 2019, 1-4.

<sup>21</sup> DeLanda 2016, 9-11.



The concept of *entanglement*, having its roots in anthropology, aims to clarify the associations between humans and things. These human-thing-relations can work both ways, however not per se on an equal level. As such they can be beneficial as well as destructive, depending on the complexity of their context.<sup>22</sup> In an attempt to conceptualize different levels of *entanglement* Ingold has proposed the idea of *meshwork* - in a response to the *actor-network theory*, which addresses the engagement of smaller networks - describing 'scales of entanglement' as *knots*, and webs of knots as *meshes* or eventually *meshworks*.<sup>23</sup> The knots and meshworks mentioned are in this approach seen as connections in a linear perspective, throughout the process of life; occurring and unravelling, grouping and regrouping, intertwining with other lines, or leaving loose ends.<sup>24</sup>

The *assemblage of practice* as described by Antczak and Beaudry should be seen as 'a dynamic gathering of things entangled through situated daily and eventful human practice', which – once carefully reassembled by archaeologists – offers an effective tool for the study of developing human-thing entanglements and their spatiotemporal scale.<sup>25</sup> In this dissertation the *assemblages of practice* concept will be used to create a bridge between the theories on things, materiality and human-thing-relations on one side and the archaeological data.<sup>26</sup> As a part of the reassembling stage in the analysis, written evidence and art historical sources will be included because of their added value in the reconstruction of human-thing entanglements.

### ***Identity and Materiality on a Household Level***

As is pointed out by Fisher and DiPaolo Loren understanding identity through material culture, provides us with a two-fold problem.<sup>27</sup> The first point of discussion is that of defining the meaning of the word

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<sup>22</sup> See. E.g. Antczak 2017; Antczak & Beaudry 2019; Hodder 2011; Hodder 2012, Hodder 2014, Hodder 2016,

<sup>23</sup> See. e.g. Latour 2005; Ingold 2011.

<sup>24</sup> Ingold 2013; Antczak & Beaudry 2019.

<sup>25</sup> Antczak & Beaudry 2019, 87.

<sup>26</sup> Antczak & Beaudry 2019, 91.

<sup>27</sup> Fisher & DiPaolo Loren 2003, 225-230.

'*identity*', since it includes many aspects like ethnicity, religion, gender, age and status – while in traditional archaeological research identity has often been approached as a single variable.<sup>28</sup> So in fact when we use the term identity in archaeological research we should specify this term or maybe speak of a set of multiple identities. Díaz-Andreu and Lucy understand the concept of *identity* in their work as something closely connected to a *sense of belonging*. They describe *identity* as the way we perceive ourselves and each other in the continual process of belonging to groups.<sup>29</sup> As such we could say that *identity* is simultaneously constructed on both an individual and on a group level, and since people can belong to different groups, multiple identities coexist within one person. The way we perceive ourselves and the way others see us might also vary, depending on the judgment of belonging to a certain societal group.

The second point that is made by Fisher and DiPaolo Loren examines the appropriateness of categories of material culture that are used for interpretations of certain identities. This means understanding which aspects of identities are the most fitting subjects for research and studying the forms and contexts in which these facets of identity might have been presented and materially expressed.<sup>30</sup> In the case of the Vlooienburg project multiple identities that may be expected, will have been contextually and historically embedded in the performance of everyday life. The question, then, is how might one formulate a set of indicators and parameters to study the complex material representations? During my analysis and interpretation of the finds it was important to bear in mind that different households will have simultaneously and/or sequentially used the same cesspits, which therefore provides a dataset that represents a material representation of mixed sets of identities. In addition it has already been noted that one single family could shape a complex set of cultural identities and socio-cultural identities which are constantly evolving and of a hybrid nature. To give an hypothetical example based on the historical background of

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<sup>28</sup> Fisher & DiPaolo Loren 2003, 226.

<sup>29</sup> Díaz-Andreu et.al. 2005, 1-2.

<sup>30</sup> Fisher&DiPaolo Loren 2003, 225.

the 17<sup>th</sup> century Vlooienburg neighbourhood; it would be possible to have a wealthy Portuguese migrant family - who are familiar with Christian customs due to their forced conversion, who, once in Amsterdam work to renew their Jewish faith. On top of that it would not be unusual for such a household to have a local Dutch maid living in their house, and to rent out a room in the upper floor of their house to a migrant Scandinavian wood worker. The finds in the cesspit of this hypothetical - but by no means unlikely household - would make for an interesting and challenging case study when it comes to sorting out the *assemblage of practice* and the level of entanglements through which the composition of different identities can be reconstructed.

Despite the complicatedness introduced by the potentially diverse composition of individual historical households in Vlooienburg, and the fact that several individuals may have simultaneously added waste to cesspits the find complexes of Vlooienburg do, however provide a promising basis for a material study of identities. This is because the cesspits principally contain household waste and the household context appears to be ideally suited for the analysis of the performance of many human actions, including identity. There has been a variety in themes and approaches in *household archaeology* in the past, but mainly the households have been investigated as units of production or consumption. From the 1970s onwards it was seen as a study of the most detailed aspect of settlement pattern and activity analysis, which then functioned as a tool to hypothesize societies' larger trends, structures and complexity.<sup>31</sup> In the following decade it developed into a more advanced field of study at which households were considered the societal level at which social groups connect with their surroundings.<sup>32</sup> More recent the approach of *household archaeology* is perceived as a beneficial method for studying the numerous aspects of human behaviour. Overall one could say that the focus has shifted from the research of the household as a unit to the exploration of households' internal dynamics and interrelationships. From this point of view new research questions

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<sup>31</sup> See for instance Flannery 1976.

<sup>32</sup> Wilk & Rathje 1982; Ashmore & Wilk 1988; Tringham 2012.

could be formulated and other archaeological research approaches could be incorporated. For example themes considering the '*material habitus*' and contextual analysis, or a more bibliographical approach could be very significant. In this way household archaeology contributes to raising questions about the visibility of ethnicity and identity within the archaeological record.<sup>33</sup>

In her sociological study '*Material Cultures, Migrations, and Identities*', Anna Pechurina argues that domestic places are full of tangible evidence regarding materiality that is used to make a house feel like a home, and therefore household contexts are crucial in the search for cultural identities. Her study underlines the material and symbolic function of things, especially when it comes to migrant households, so-called *diasporic homes*. Case studies focusing on ethnic diversity illustrate the significance of among others traditional food and cooking practices in the sense of homecoming - and as such as an element of *homecoming practice*.<sup>34</sup> The household remains from Vlooienburg could therefore offer a crucial inside in the culturally determined elements of food consumption, food preparation, daily customary practice and the values and meanings attached to household possessions (see fig. 1.1).

When it comes to the ethnic aspect of identity and the archaeological study of ethnic or migrants groups by archaeologists however, Siân Jones puts forward some important issues that need to be taken into account for the current research. She discusses the misunderstanding that historical sources can be taken at face value as straightforward and valid statements concerning ethnicity, and the frequent assumption that there is a fixed relationship between specific material expressions and particular identities.<sup>35</sup> As noted by Pechurina; national foodways - and thus the accessory materiality - can be bearers of traditions, nostalgia and identity when it comes to migrants home countries, as well as elements of connection and introduction towards new local customs.<sup>36</sup> In the case of migrant households therefore the study of specific foodways should not only be approached as a potential

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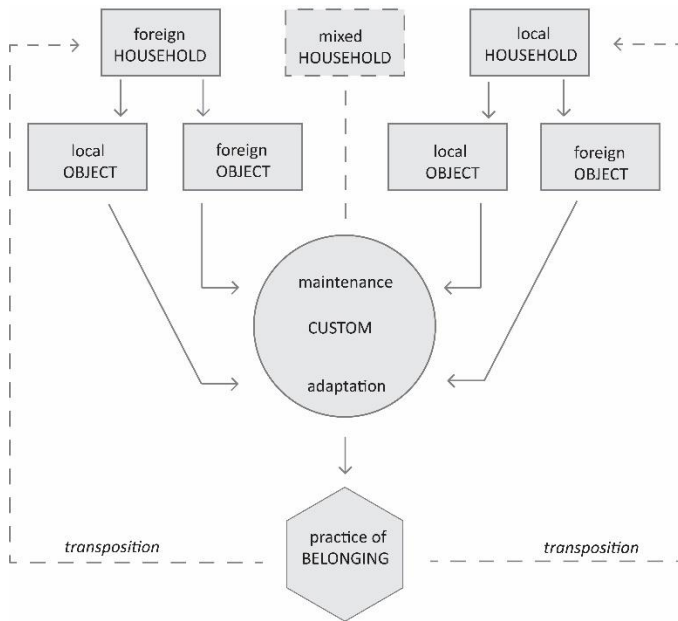
<sup>33</sup> Beaudry, 2015, 1-16.

<sup>34</sup> Pechurina 2015, 89-103.

<sup>35</sup> Jones 1999, 219-230.

<sup>36</sup> Pechurina 2015, 130.

'ethnic marker'<sup>37</sup> – as is also pointed out by Jones – but as a field of study where the transition and hybridity of migrant identities can be explored.<sup>38</sup> At the same time it is crucial to seek to define past identities through research, rather than to use a fixed concept of a certain type of identity which may typically be derived from written sources in an attempt to pinpoint certain social or cultural groups within the archaeological record.<sup>39</sup> This of course applies to the ethnic aspects of identity, but also to the religious, socio-cultural and other elements of individual identity. Each chapter in this thesis will therefore present specific case studies which will include an analytical framework to help embed these elements in their historical and contextual environment.



**Fig. 1.1** Simplified model illustrating the role of local and foreign objects when it comes to the development of a sense of belonging. Model by M. Stolk.

<sup>37</sup> Ethnic marker: Any of the signs by which ethnic boundaries are defined or maintained, including language, religious and cultural symbols, or territory.

<sup>38</sup> Jones 1999, 219-230.

<sup>39</sup> Rajak 1994, 239. To give an example from the work of Rajak: “to determine in advance what is Jewish and what is not (or even ‘probably’ not) is to operate with a pre-conception of Jewish identity when our task is, precisely, to seek to define that identity.”

## 1.4 Methods

### *Cesspits as Sources of Study*

It is widely believed among archaeologists that data from cesspits are a precious source of information, and may be used to reconstruct the daily life from past centuries. The household waste contained in cesspits often presents a combination of material culture, food remains and sometimes waste from craft activities, revealing a glimpse of past daily life with all of its customs, habits and skills. In recent decades there has been an increase in attention to the research potential of cesspits. Material studies on finds from cesspits, which are common in urban settings in the Netherlands, have been used in research on social stratigraphy, and ecological remnants have been studied to investigate past dietary habits.<sup>40</sup>

The use of pits, old water wells and latrines for waste management is something that is seen in many different regions and time periods, although the concept of the cesspit – or *beerput* in Dutch - with a clear combined function of privy and trash dump - becomes a more common phenomenon in towns and cities in the Netherlands from the 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards.<sup>41</sup> As with other elements of the urban landscape several contextual, technological, cultural-historical and socio-economic aspects influenced the construction and use of cesspits over time. The building materials consisted of - often secondary used - bricks, wood and in some cases roof tiles.<sup>42</sup> The cesspits, which were most commonly round or square in shape, varied in size and depth, depending on the number of people and households that used them. And as already noted, while some pits were used by members of one single family, there were houses where the owners rented out rooms and where these lodgers and or servants also used the same cesspit, perhaps resulting in the construction of a larger pit.<sup>43</sup> To complicate things still further, sometimes households from different properties shared the use of a

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<sup>40</sup> See for example: Bitter, P., S. Ostkamp, R. Roedema, 2002 and Bartels, 2005.

<sup>41</sup> See: Van Oosten 2014; Van Oosten 2015; Van Oosten 2016.

<sup>42</sup> Van Oosten 2015, 91

<sup>43</sup> Van Oosten 2015, 92-93.

cesspit, in order to split the costs of construction and maintenance.<sup>44</sup> Historical research has shown that cesspits were emptied on a regular basis, with a maximum intermission of circa 6 years in the cities of Haarlem, Leiden and Breda.<sup>45</sup>

The materials used to construct a cesspit, and the nature of the fill, are also of significance here, as these will have the preservation of the archaeological data and the post depositional formation processes in different ways. Where a cesspit had a consistently wet content, it is more likely that archaeological finds are not in a stratigraphical chronology sequence, as heavier objects will sink to the bottom, while other things may have floated to the surface. This would not be the case with a more porous cesspit, however, when a cesspit was not particularly porous, the reduction of the content would have taken longer, which might have resulted in the contents of the pit being emptied out more often.<sup>46</sup> Of course, the periodic maintenance and emptying of cesspits will in itself also have impacted upon the structure and sequence of deposits, so this also needs to be taken into account. In some instances a thorough cleaning might remove an almost complete phase of use of a cesspit, spanning several years. It might also mix up different stratigraphic layers, leaving a somewhat jumbled mix of artefacts and slurry in the base of the pit.

In the case of Vlooienburg, it seems that the majority of cesspits had rather wet and fluid contexts. This served our archaeological needs well, as the contents, including organic remains were therefore very well preserved. At the same time, the stratigraphy of the cesspits often had just one or two distinguishable layers, limiting the possibility to clearly investigate various phases of its use as a waste dump, with exception of a few clear concentrations of finds (see fig.1.1). It also seems that some of the cesspits must have been emptied out during their lifetime, because in some cases the expected earlier phases of material culture are completely absent, or else only incorporated as residual traces, mixed into material of a later date.

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<sup>44</sup> Van Oosten 2015, 78-80.

<sup>45</sup> Van Oosten 2015, 137.

<sup>46</sup> Van Oosten 2015, 137-138.



**Fig. 1.2**  
Vlooienburg, Amsterdam:  
Cross section of one of the  
many cesspits that were  
uncovered during the  
excavation in 1981-1982.  
Photo: W. Krook, Bureau  
of Monuments and  
Archaeology, City of  
Amsterdam.

### ***Data Selection and Dataset***

Due to the enormous number of finds, coming from over a 100 cesspits, it was crucial to make a selection that would give a representative sample of the neighbourhood. With the desire to incorporate this material culture study in a cross-examination within the larger *Diaspora and Identity Project*, it was decided to only include cesspits with a significant amount of material culture, a good amount of well-preserved zoological remains, botanical remnants and potential overlapping historical data. In order to do so, the preliminary research on the materials which had been published in 1987 was consulted, and an overview of the available data was provided by the Bureau of Monuments and Archaeology of the City of Amsterdam. All of this information was plotted on the map of the two excavated residential blocks of the Vlooienburg neighbourhood in order to select cesspits which also had a wide spatial distribution, covering different streets and alleys. Furthermore, it was decided that it was preferable to make a selection that would cover the period between 1600 and 1800, in order to be able to examine the diachronic metamorphosis of several contemporary households in the Vlooienburg district. In the



light of the overarching research project it was settled that in the first stage of the project a ceramic assemblage overview from fourteen find contexts, coming from eleven different cesspits - spatially and chronologically mirroring the district - would be created (see fig 1.3 and table 1.1).<sup>47</sup> The overview of all of these assemblages provided a good general impression of the Vlooienburg site and determined the path for the following stages in terms of scope and the overarching research questions.

In the next stage of research a diversified approach of demand-driven and material-driven research was carried out. In the case of the study of migrant identities a number of foreign ceramic wares were extensively investigated and inventoried from all of the different Vlooienburg cesspits and compared with finds from other archaeological sites in Amsterdam, the Netherlands and beyond. The next step was to go beyond just ceramic research and explore the potential of other types of material culture from all of the Vlooienburg cesspits in an attempt to develop a more holistic approach to goods and possessions. When it comes to the exploration of religious identities and child related artefacts, a scan of groups of metal finds, glass finds, wooden artefacts, bone objects and textiles was carried out and they were recorded in the database to capture their characteristics and to enable the option to generate distribution maps of the finds. Despite the big effort that was made, it still was rather difficult to get a grip on the complete potential of all of the material culture of the site, since a part of all of the finds from the Vlooienburg site were and still remain not inventoried. This - for example - led to the fact that the tremendous textile finds that have been uncovered at Vlooienburg only came to light in the final stage of research and just a fragment of these exclusive finds could be included in this current study.

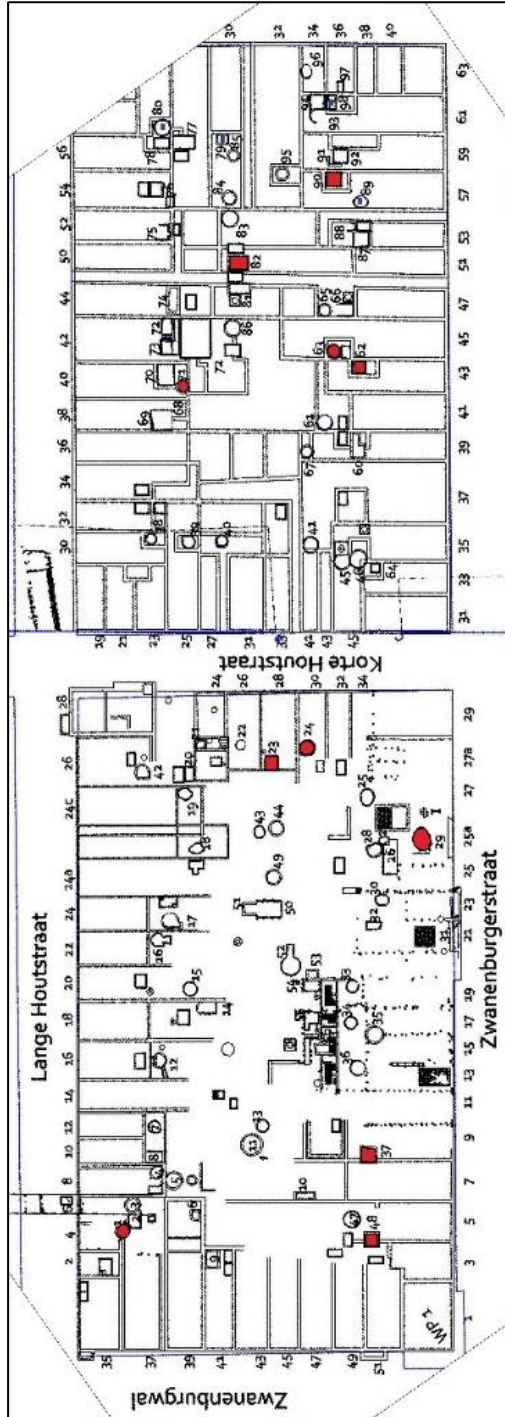
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<sup>47</sup> I am much obliged to the work of the volunteers at the Bureau of Monuments and Archaeology, the volunteers at the ArchoHotspot and the students Louis Bruijn, Lotte van Hasselt, Stella Landskroon, Sofia Lovegrove, Morgan Schelvis and Kristijna Wilkens from the University of Amsterdam for all of their help with sorting and reassembling all of the ceramic finds, determination and processing the find data.

The current database of the Vlooienburg site presents well over 14,000 artefact records, which includes the completed ceramics analysis of fourteen cesspits layers from eleven different cesspits and an inventory of all of the metal finds, bone objects, wooden artefacts and outstanding finds that were recovered and recognized in the 1980s. As such this makes for a representative dataset when it comes to an in dept study of daily life in the neighbourhood. The complete find assemblage of Vlooienburg will, however, consist of a multitude of sherds and other objects, which will of course offer excellent opportunities for future research.

Cesspit numbers	Find numbers
1	WLO-8
23	WLO-95
24	WLO-98
29	WLO-114
37	WLO-138/ WLO-139/ WLO-140
48	WLO-185
62	WLO-235
63	WLO-237
71	WLO-250 / WLO-251
82	WLO-283
90	WLO-301

**Table. 1.1** Overview of the cesspits and corresponding find numbers from which the complete ceramic assemblages have been analysed in this dissertation as a part of the Diaspora and Identity Project.



**Fig. 1.3** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: Map of the excavations, depicting the selected cesspits for the full ceramic analyses and the overarching analyses of the Diaspora and Identity Project. Source map: Bureau of Monuments and Archaeology, city of Amsterdam.

### ***Ceramic Analyses and Database***

As previously mentioned, the ceramics from a total of eleven cesspits - with a dating range between 1600 and 1775 - were analysed in the first stage of this research. This was done in order to assess the overall share of different ceramic wares and pottery shapes and to be able to analyse similar and divergent complexes that could lead to potential case studies regarding historically known identities within the neighbourhood. In practice this meant that a close look was taken on the provenance and function of specific groups within the ceramic assemblages, in an attempt to uncover potential elements of typical customs or the earlier suggested 'homecoming practice'.

As is common in Dutch medieval and post medieval archaeology the ceramic assemblages have been recorded and categorized according to the Dutch standardized system, the so-called Deventer System. This system utilises a threefold code, representing abbreviations for the pottery fabric, the vessel shape, and the shape type.<sup>48</sup> In eight of the eleven cesspit studies the assemblages have been quantified through sherd count (n), by reconstructing the *minimum number of individuals* - individual vessels - (MNI) and the *estimated vessel equivalent* (EVE). After a comparison of the MNI results and the EVE results of these cesspits, it was clear that a quantification through the EVE results created a distorted image when it came to the smaller ware groups among the assemblages, since these groups were sometimes not represented in the EVE results due to the absence of rim fragments.<sup>49</sup> As these smaller groups can potentially play a crucial role when it comes to the study of daily customs and related identity formation, it was thus decided to focus on the MNI results for the other remaining cesspits. Besides the quantification, the ware, shape, decoration, dimensions, dating, provenance, signs of usage and eventual other specific characteristics were entered in a database. In some of the cases a function analysis of the ceramic assemblages has been carried out according to the standards of the department of Monuments and Archaeology (MenA) of the City of

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<sup>48</sup> See: <https://www.deventersysteem.nl/>

<sup>49</sup> This can be seen in the examples of cesspit 1, 24, 29, 37, 62, 63, 71, 90. See Appendix 1. Ceramic overviews per cesspit.

Amsterdam. A distinction has been made here based on the vessels' shape and primary function, using the following categories: table wares and food preparation wares; cooking wares; drinking wares; storage and pouring wares; wares for lighting and heating, and wares for sanitation and care. In this way it is possible to assess to which functional category ceramics should be assigned and if objects might have mainly had a practical or primarily decorative and/or expressive purpose.

In the case of five exceptional sherds, X-Ray Fluorescence analyses were conducted in order to compare different these specific finds with sherds of Portuguese origin in order to make a first step in the identification of their potential place of production. Due to a lack of comparable samples, however, this analysis proved to be inconclusive and more research will be needed in the future to accurately determine their most likely Mesoamerican provenance.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> See paragraph 6.2.



Chapter 2.  
**VLOOIENBURG**  
The History and Archaeology



## 2. VLOOIENBURG

### History and Archaeology

#### 2.1 The Vlooienburg Neighbourhood

##### *A new district in the river Amstel*

The second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century was a turbulent period in the history of the Dutch Republic; with the conflicts between the Dutch Provinces and of course the Dutch Revolt against the Spanish King Philip II, which took place from 1568 to 1648. Significant events include the Alteration in 1578 resulting in a religious reform at the administrative level, and the fall of Antwerp into Spanish hands in 1585.<sup>51</sup> As a result of the so-called Dutch War of Independence – also referred to as the Eighty Year’s War - an estimated 40,000 people came to Amsterdam from the southern Dutch and Flemish regions. With the arrival of relatively wealthy and educated merchants among the migrants and the economic and political developments, Amsterdam became the new central port in an international maritime trading network.<sup>52</sup>

As a result, Amsterdam had to expand the city, due to the increasing population and the emerging economy towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The number of inhabitants was enlarged by more than 75,000 people between 1575 and 1625, due to the influx of migrants from the south as well as from other European regions.<sup>53</sup> Originally, Amsterdam trade routes had mainly been concentrated on trade with Northern Germany and the Baltic States, the French salt trade and the herring fishery. In the 1590s, these trade routes widened to the east and south, including the Russian White Sea and the Mediterranean. From 1595 onwards, new shipping lanes were explored to find a route to Asia, to acquire new commodities and attempt to undermine Spanish mercantile control of this region. This led to what was probably the

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<sup>51</sup> Prak, 2002, 7-32.

<sup>52</sup> Van Houtte & Van der Putte 1979, 163-178; Prak 2004, 125-136; Gawronski 2012, 56-60.

<sup>53</sup> For an extended study on migrants in 17<sup>th</sup> century Amsterdam see: Kuijpers, 2005.



most crucial economic advancement at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the establishment of the Dutch East India Company (VOC; United East India Company) in 1602, by the municipality of Amsterdam in collaboration with five other cities, namely Hoorn, Enkhuizen, Delft, Rotterdam and Middelburg. Almost twenty years later, in 1621, the West India Company (WIC) was formed and Amsterdam's position in intercontinental trade was further increased. New connections were established with industries throughout the Caribbean and the African west coast, specialising on trade in sugar, and tobacco.<sup>54</sup>

The rapid succession of developments in Amsterdam led to a total of no fewer than four city expansions between circa 1575 and 1663. As a part of the second expansion of the city, for which official plans were submitted in 1592, a total of three artificial islands were created. An outer polder was to be transformed into three rectangular islands; *Uilenburg*, *Marken* en *Rapenburg*, to house new shipyards. After their completion in 1595 the decision was made to create a fourth island, to accommodate a new residential quarter. As a part of this scheme plots of land were created in a bend of the river Amstel. The first layer that was applied consisted of sand with urban waste which was covered with a wicker mat. This was followed by a layer of sods of peat and a layer of clay.<sup>55</sup> In the first years, this newly created land was referred to as '*de erven*' or '*de houtmarkt gelegen buiten de Sint-Anthonies-poort*' ('the yards' or 'the timber markets outside of the St. Anthony gate'). In the course of the first quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the island was given the name *Vloonburg* or *Vlooienburg* (Flee borough), which probably referred to the previously regularly overflowing riverbanks of the Amstel at that location (see fig. 2.1).<sup>56</sup> The district was originally divided into four different housing blocks, separated by the *Korte Houtstraat* and the *Lange Houtstraat* (the Short and the Long Wood Street), which were named after the wood storage and sales yards which were located on the quays of the new island. The residential area was surrounded by the *Verversgracht* (the Dyers'

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<sup>54</sup> Van Houtte & Van der Putte 1979, 163-178; Prak 2004, 125-136; Gawronski 2012, 56-60; Hell 2019, 54-79.

<sup>55</sup> Jayasena 2020, 135-150.

<sup>56</sup> Jayasena 2020, 144-145; Werkman 1979, 9; Baart 1987a, 18.

Canal), - which was later called the *Zwanenburgwal* - the *Leprozengracht* and the *Houtgracht*. The district was extended with extra plots in the bend of the Amstel river in 1626 to create extra space for housing and industry long the river (see fig. 2.2).<sup>57</sup>



**Fig. 2.1** The present day city of Amsterdam, overlain with a map of the city from c. 1774, by Gerrit de Broen. The red circle indicates the location of the former Vlooienburg neighbourhood. The inserted detail shows the Vlooienburg neighbourhood from a city map of c. 1625, by Balthasar Florisz. van Berckenrode (created by the author, base map courtesy of [maps.amsterdam.com/ archeologie](http://maps.amsterdam.com/archeologie), and Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, online collection, public domain: <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.335825>).

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<sup>57</sup> Hell, in prep. *Work, Wealth and Worship in a 'Hodgepodge' Neighbourhood*.



### ***Vlooienburg's Inhabitants***

As already noted a significant factor influencing the construction of the Vlooienburg district was the arrival of a great number of migrants in Amsterdam in short period of time. In the following section I will investigate where these migrants came from, what brought them to Amsterdam, and how they came to live side-by-side in the new neighbourhood.

Nowadays, the area of the former Vlooienburg district is known as a part of the Jewish Quarter of the city of Amsterdam. However, even though there had been people of Jewish descent among the inhabitants of the neighbourhood as early as the first quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the area was never a fully Jewish quarter.<sup>58</sup> On the contrary, the first generations of residents at Vlooienburg consisted of people from a wide variety ethnic and religious backgrounds.

In the first place, the neighbourhood became a safe haven for Protestants from the Southern Netherlands and Sephardic Jews - either coming directly from the Iberian Peninsula or via other European cities, such as Antwerp. The Sephardim, mainly originating from Portugal, fled persecution by the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisition and formed a considerable number of Vlooienburg's first inhabitants.<sup>59</sup> Amsterdam was considered a good place to settle, as the city showed tolerance towards people from different religions.<sup>60</sup> Historical sources mention English migrants residing in and around Vlooienburg, as also evidenced by the Brownists Church that was established on the Lange Houtstraat

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<sup>58</sup> Bonke 1987, 33; Guidarelli 2016; Hell, in prep.

<sup>59</sup> Due to multiple previous waves of migration, the often named 'Portuguese' immigrants did not necessarily come directly from Portugal. Many of the immigrants were of Portuguese origin, however it is known that some of them had previously settled in other European or in North Africa. In this text the Portuguese migrants are referred to as *Sephardic Jews*. It should be noted that especially among the first generation there were many converted Jews, so-called *conversos* - who had been pressured to convert to a Christian life - and crypto Jews - who still practiced Judaism in secret. See also chapter 4 and Swetschinski 2000, 8-25.

<sup>60</sup> Swetschinski 2000, 8-25. It has to be noted here however that the Jewish residents of Amsterdam did not enjoy the same rights as the other citizens. For example, they were not allowed to join many of the guilds.

in 1607.<sup>61</sup> Over the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century migrants from many other regions joined the mixture of cultures and religions at Vlooienburg.

In the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, predominantly from the 1630s onwards, Ashkenazi Jews came to settle in Amsterdam and the Vlooienburg district, following, and benefiting from, the already established 'Portuguese Jewish community'.<sup>62</sup> The Ashkenazim had fled from central and eastern Europe, partly as a consequence of the Thirty Years' War, the civil war in Poland, the Swedish invasion of Germany and the Russian invasion of Lithuania. Their fundamental reasons for fleeing were rooted in the poor economic conditions and the anti-Jewish measures adopted by the Habsburgs and other regimes.<sup>63</sup> The various Jewish groups on Vlooienburg grew into considerably large communities over the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century and by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century it seems that approximately 90% of the residents were practicing Judaism.<sup>64</sup>

A significant share of the other immigrants at Vlooienburg - who had come to Amsterdam as labour migrants - originated from Germany and Scandinavia.<sup>65</sup> Many of the Scandinavian men, coming from the coastal areas of Norway and Sweden, worked in maritime occupations or had professions related to seafaring. Others worked as tailors, cobblers and bakers. Women often worked as domestic servants.<sup>66</sup> Many of the Belgian and French migrants worked in the textile industry, several of which are known to have worked in the silk dyeing factories at Vlooienburg.<sup>67</sup>

A long overlooked group of migrants is the small black community of 17<sup>th</sup> century Amsterdam. Among these there were those who were servants to Sephardic families coming from the Iberian

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<sup>61</sup> Sprunger 1997, 38-39; Pers. comm. Maarten Hell.

<sup>62</sup> Stoutenbeek & Vigeveno 2008, 76; Kuijpers 2005, 16.

<sup>63</sup> Wallet 2007, 106-108; Kaplan 1989, 22-24.

<sup>64</sup> This percentage has been based on the analysis of marriage banns registers (Hell, in prep.)

<sup>65</sup> Sogner & Van Lottum 2007, 153-168; Kuijpers 2005, 17-20.

<sup>66</sup> Kuijpers 2005, 213; Sogner & Van Lottum 2007, 156.

<sup>67</sup> Pers. comm. Maarten Hell. It must be noted here that links between professional specialization and regions of origin should be interpreted with a certain caution (Lesger 2006, 3-23).

Peninsula and Brazil, those who were Jews of black or of mixed ancestry and were members of the Sephardic community, and there were those who had come to Amsterdam due to maritime activities and were employed by the East and West India Company. Most of the African residents in Amsterdam came from Angola, Brazil and Cape Verde, although other places of origin mentioned in archival sources include the island of Sao Tomé and the Congo.<sup>68</sup> It is known that between 1650 and 1670 at least four African people resided in Vlooienburg, and more black people were living in the direct surroundings of Vlooienburg and the *Jodenbreestraat*.<sup>69</sup>

## **2.2 The Excavation of Vlooienburg<sup>70</sup>**

Almost all of the Jewish inhabitants of Vlooienburg were taken away during the Second World War, never to return, and so the district fell into disrepair.<sup>71</sup> Due to a lack of fire wood during and after the war, doors, beams and baffles and other wooden elements were taken from the houses. In the 1970s the government decided to regenerate the area and in 1980 the whole district, which had a ruinous appearance, was demolished. With the construction of a new town hall and music theatre the area was opened up. Fortunately before the start of construction time and money was made available by the city for archaeological research.<sup>72</sup>

The Archaeological department of the city of Amsterdam Department and the Amsterdam Historical Museum excavated on the construction site in two phases. The first phase took place between April 5th 1981 and November 1st 1981. The second phase was carried out in February, March and April 1982. During the excavations two of the four residential blocks were almost completely uncovered and a total of 150 houses and 106 cesspits were investigated and fully

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<sup>68</sup> Ponte 2019.

<sup>69</sup> Ponte 2019, 50.

<sup>70</sup> This section is largely based on: Stolk, M., 2021. Between Trade and Tradition: Household Ceramic Assemblages from Amsterdam in de Age of Early Modern Globalization. In: Lukezic & McCarthy (eds.), *The Archaeology of New Netherland. A World Build on Trade*, Gainesville: University Press of Florida: 16-29.

<sup>71</sup> Kistemaker & Levie 1987, 5-6.

<sup>72</sup> Kistemaker & Levie 1987 5-6; Baart 1987a, 18-24.

documented. At that time, in the early 1980s, comprehensive research on 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century archaeological deposits, which were regarded by many archaeologists as being relatively recent, was very innovative, as mostly archaeological research projects in Europe still focused on early periods, often with arbitrary cut off in the medieval period. The inspiration for archaeological investigation of these ‘modern times’ came from America and England, where respectively, The Society for Historical Archaeology and The Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology had initiated exploration of these centuries. As a result, in the following years more residential areas in Amsterdam from the early modern period were excavated, as for example; houses at the by the East India Company owned island *Oostenburg*, houses at the *Taanstraat* in the Western part of Amsterdam and the city quarter at the *Haarlemmerplein*.<sup>73</sup>

The excavations of Vlooienburg uncovered not only the original plans for the residential blocks, but also showed various extensions, expansions and repairs of the houses which had taken place during their occupation and use.<sup>74</sup> The inner plans of the blocks contained wells, cesspits and some small alleys, as can be seen in on the field photos and drawing of the residential areas (fig. 2.3 and 2.4). The smaller streets contained smaller and more simply build houses in comparison to the somewhat larger buildings, which were located along the canals. The poor to middling households had cesspits that were constructed from wood. The wealthy in contrast, had stone built. In some cases a so-called ‘summer kitchen’ was also discovered in the courtyard of a house.<sup>75</sup>

The cesspits were filled with lots of finds which proved to be a magnificent source of information. The thousands of archaeological artefacts provide an interesting and an extensive sample of material culture from the late 16<sup>th</sup> until the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Jan Baart, the former city archaeologist of Amsterdam, described the added value of the household waste assemblages at the time in relation to its relatively

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<sup>73</sup> Baart, 2001, 195; Baart 1983, 84.

<sup>74</sup> Baart 2001, 195.

<sup>75</sup> Baart 1997; Baart 2001.



non-selective character in contrast to museum collections. Also the assemblages support the possibility of investigating and interpreting the finds within their original environmental and socio-cultural context of use.<sup>76</sup> Because the cesspits were wet context – due to the high groundwater level in Amsterdam - the preservation circumstances were exceptional and materials such as wood, leather, textiles and botanical remains had been very well preserved.<sup>77</sup> In the following sections the general results of the ceramics research that was part of this dissertation will be presented. Furthermore other material studies that have been carried out by researchers in the previous decades will be summarized to generate a better overall picture of the site.



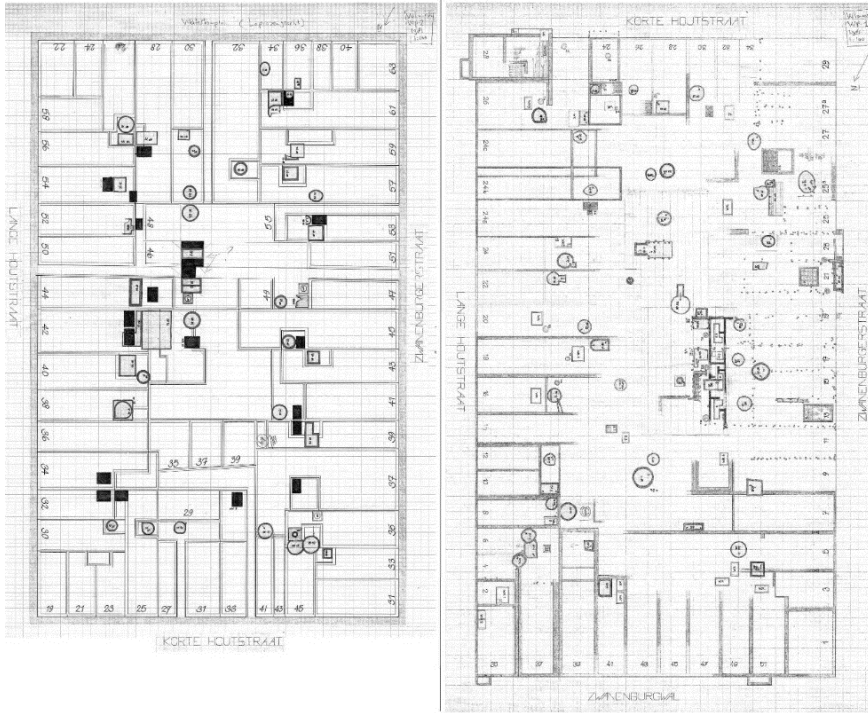
**Fig. 2.3** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: The foundations and remains of the houses at the Vlooienburg district, that were uncovered during the excavations in 1981. Photo: W. Krook, Bureau of Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam.

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<sup>76</sup> Baart 2001, 196.

<sup>77</sup> Even 40 years after the excavation the soil samples were still of sufficient quality. Recent research conducted by Henk van Haaster of BIAx showed that, seeds and pollen from the soil samples were still preserved and identifiable in. (See: Haaster 2020)





**Fig. 2.4** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: Copies of the original overview field drawings, showing the layout of the two excavated residential blocks at the Vlooienburg district. Drawing by the Bureau of Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam.

## 2.3 The Archaeological Finds

### *An Overview of the Household Ceramics*

Ceramics are one of the largest categories of finds from Vlooienburg, the majority of which are household ceramics used for the storage, preparation and consumption of food and beverages. 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century ceramic assemblages recovered from household refuse deposits on sites in Amsterdam, generally contain a couple of ‘usual suspects’ among the ceramic wares. The most common ceramics are locally made redwares. Next, there is often a clear presence of Dutch

majolica and/or faience and Asian porcelain. Less well represented, but still frequently found are slipwares and whitewares of Dutch or German origin. The slipwares are characterized by a red surface decorated with motives in clay-slip. The so-called whitewares are recognizable by a pale cream-coloured ceramic fabric and are often glazed in a flat yellow or green colour. In addition to the wares mentioned above, there were also stonewares from Germany, which are characterized by their brownish or grayish colour and denser, waterproof, stone-like, ceramic quality. Seen in smaller numbers are wares imported from other countries, such as finely tin-glazed and beautifully decorated table wares from France, Italy, or Portugal. Furthermore, there are sometimes some redwares from the Mediterranean area, which were often used as storage jars to transport specific goods such as olive oil.<sup>78</sup> On average, the Vlooienburg ceramics finds fit in well into this general picture of Amsterdam household ceramic assemblages of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century, although there are some observable exceptions as can be seen in the following diagram, which displays the composition of ceramic wares from eleven different cesspits (see fig. 2.5). The following sections will briefly discuss, the common ware types and forms found in Vlooienburg household assemblages and sketch the image of a commonplace assemblage, along with changes in consumption patterns and shifts in ceramic preferences.

The overviews of the pottery assemblies in the table below provide a good insight into shifts in global trade as seen in the acquisition, and use of household ceramics, but they also serve to make exceptional assemblages more visible. The amount of Iberian ceramics wares in the case of cesspit 29 for instance clearly stand out (see fig. 2.5, see *ib* in pink). Study of this assemblage offered a significant lead in terms of what to expect in the waste from a Portuguese migrants household. This chapter will, however, discuss the more common found ceramics and the more unusual or exceptional finds assemblages will be highlighted in later chapters.

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<sup>78</sup> See for an overview of Amsterdam Ceramics, Gawronski 2012.

### *Dutch Redwares*

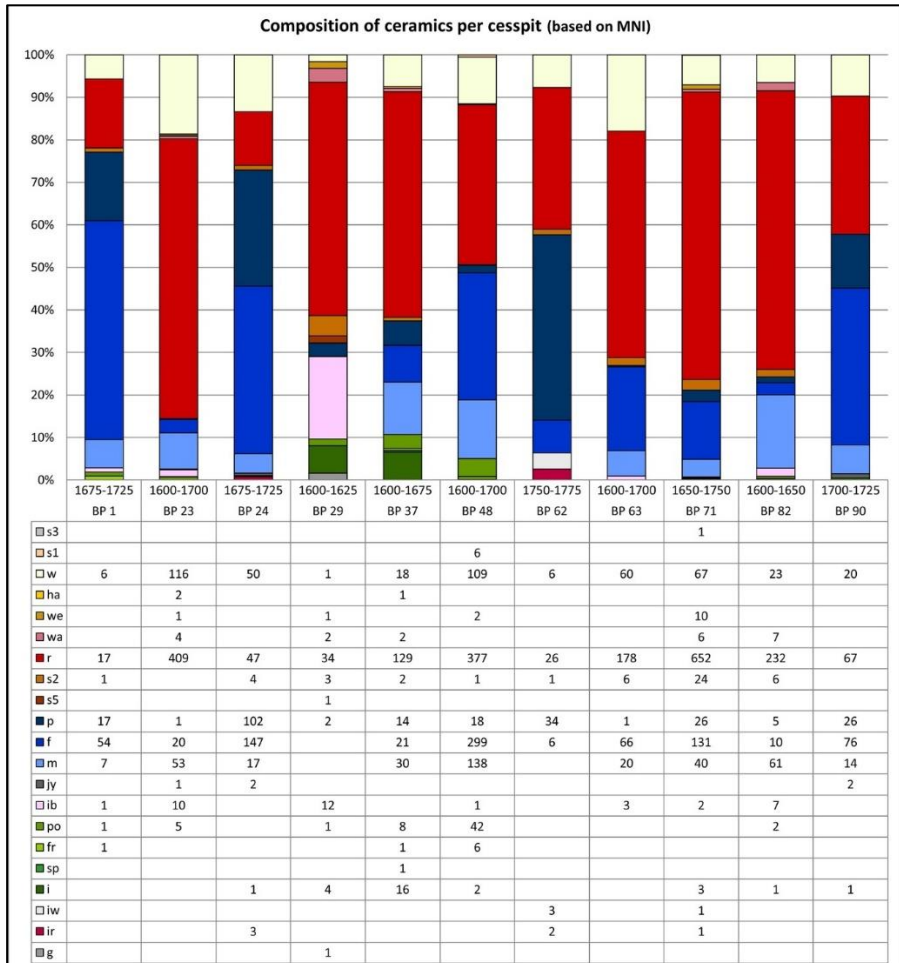
The most prominent ceramic type found in almost all of the Vlooienburg cesspits redwares, the larger part of which are of Dutch origin. These were readily available, cheap to purchase, and were used for daily activities in all Dutch kitchens. Redwares consist of relatively low-fired earthenware bodies covered with lead-based glaze on the interior and a partly or completely glazed exterior. Redwares were mostly used for cooking, food preparation, food consumption, storage, sanitary purposes and lighting and heating. Of course, variation in these forms was influenced by local or regional differences, but they share a more or less similar shape and function throughout the whole Netherlands. An example of the diversity of shapes and functions in redwares can be seen in figures 2.6 and 2.7. The redwares generally comprise 30% to 60% of ceramic assemblages from Vlooienburg, as in the rest of Amsterdam.<sup>79</sup>

A more specific and slightly more expensive type of Dutch redwares, is the so-called slipwares, which are also found in the Vlooienburg assemblages on a regular basis, and in household assemblages inside and outside of Amsterdam. This type of ceramic was produced in the North Holland area and the Lower Rhine area of the Netherlands and has a typical decoration of yellowish slip motifs, sometimes combined with green glaze, on a red surface (see fig. 2.8). These slipwares mainly comprise dishes and bowls, although sometimes one can find cooking pots, small jugs, or some other shapes with slip decoration. Next to the typical Dutch slipwares, German slipwares, mainly coming from the Werra<sup>80</sup> and Weser regions, are also found in small amounts among the assemblages (see fig. 2.9).

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<sup>79</sup> See. e.g. Gawronski, Jayasena & Veerkamp 2002, 47-48; Ostkamp 2017, 37.

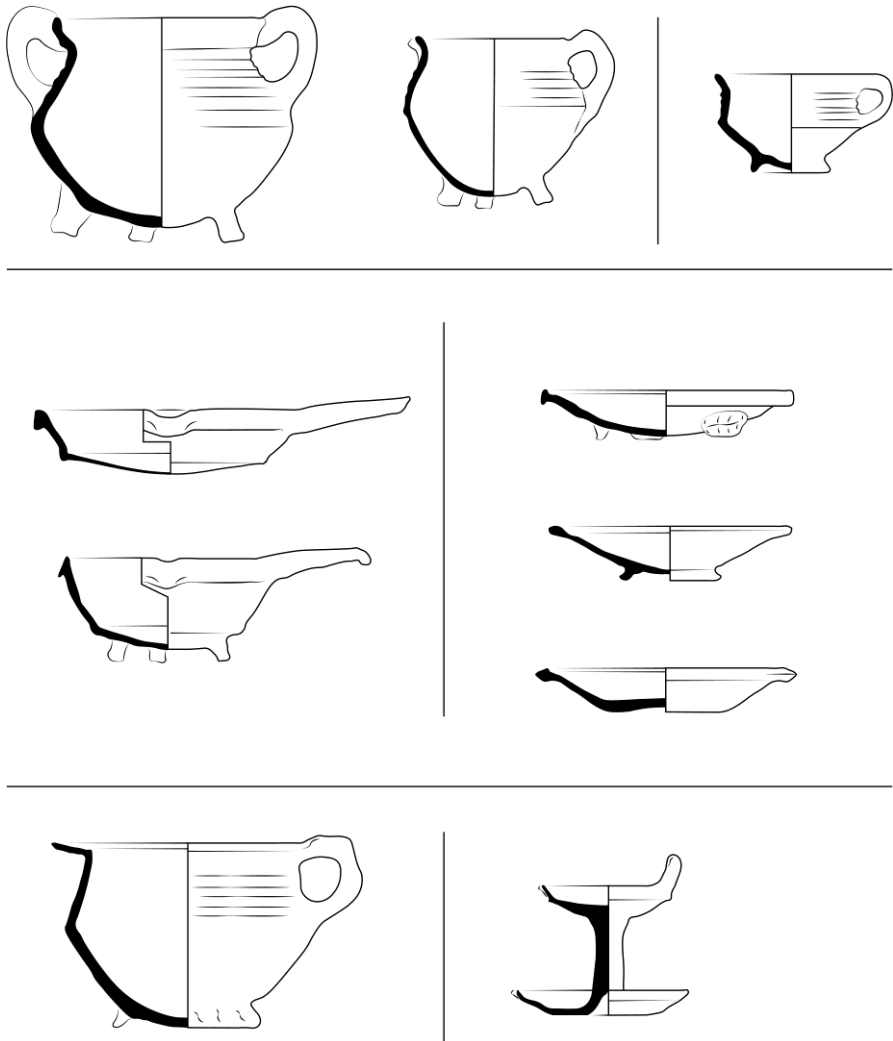
<sup>80</sup> There is clear archaeological evidence for the production of so-called 'Werra earthenware's in the Dutch city of Enkhuizen as well, however it is very difficult to distinguish the difference between German and Dutch-made 'Werra' wares as the factory in Enkhuizen produced very similar forms and designs. See: Clevis & Van Gangelen 2009, 77-80.



**Fig. 2.5** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: The composition of wares from eleven cesspits (dating and cesspit number are displayed below each column). Legend information according to the Deventer System: s3 = industrial stoneware, s1 = unglazed stoneware, w = whiteware, ha = Hafner ware, we = Weser ware, wa = Werra ware, r = Dutch redware, s2 = stoneware with glaze or engobe, s5 = proto-stoneware, p = porcelain, f = Dutch faience, m = Dutch majolica, jy = Jydepotter ware, ib = Iberian wares, po = Portuguese tin-glazed, fr = French tin-glazed, sp = Spanish tin-glazed, i = Italian tin-glazed, iw = industrial whiteware, ir = industrial redware, g = Dutch greyware.



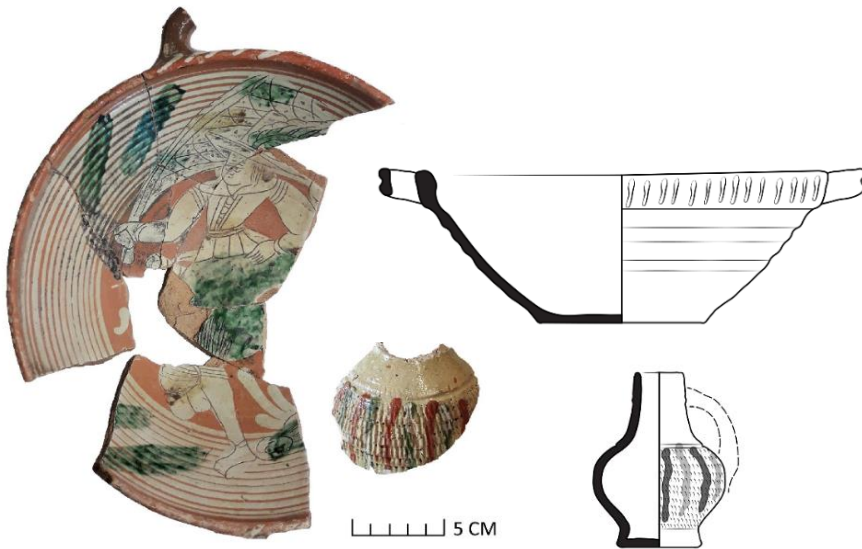
**Fig. 2.6** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: Overview of some Dutch redwares which were derived from cesspit contexts. 1. Cooking pot / *Grape* (WLO-114-29), 2. Tripod pipkin (WLO-139-61), 3. Cup (WLO-283-59), 4. Frying pan (WLO-283-68), 5. Skillet (WLO-139-66), 6. Different dishes (WLO-235-#41/#36/#38), 7. Chamber pot (WLO-250-51), 8. Oil lamp (WLO-139-44). Photos: M. Stolk.



**Fig. 2.7** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: An overview of drawings of shapes that are comparable with those shown in Figure 2.6. Drawings: M. Stolk, after Deventer System, version May 2016.



**Fig. 2.8** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: a porringer (WLO-138-53) in Dutch slip ware from the North Holland area with the slip-decoration of a peacock in the centre, dating ca. 1600-1650. Photos: M. Stolk / Drawing: after Deventer System, version May 2016.



**Fig. 2.9** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: On the left a slip-decorated bowl in Werra ware (WLO-283-35), dating circa 1590-1625. On the right a fragment of a small slip-decorated jug from the German Weser region (WLO-114-#010), dating ca 1590-1625. Photos: M. Stolk / Drawings: after Deventer System, version May 2016.

### *Dutch Majolica and Faience*

Inspired by the decorative tin-glazed wares that were imported from Italy and Portugal and the small amount of porcelain goods that had already made their way to the Low Countries by the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Dutch potters started imitating these colourfully decorated wares, resulting in the Dutch production of majolica and Delftware, also known as faience.<sup>81</sup> Dutch faience is distinguished from Dutch majolica, as the former exhibits a solid white subsurface, a thinner sherd thickness, and the use of kiln furniture that prevented minor damage to the glaze on the topside of the product.<sup>82</sup> Both majolica and faience are largely represented among the Vlooienburg households and were primarily used as tableware, in forms such as plates, bowls, and porringers (fig 2.10). Majolica was mostly produced in the first half of the seventeenth century, after which time production dropped off, as is visible in the Vlooienburg chart (see fig. 2.5). Initially, faience was made alongside or within the same potteries as majolica. As it became more fashionable, it was produced in larger quantities from the mid-seventeenth century onwards.<sup>83</sup> As the United East India Company and West India Company introduced coffee, tea, and chocolate, consumers embraced the new fashionable forms of faience associated with these products. Faience was shaped into various cup forms (fig. 2.11). The developments in faience production were not limited to new shapes, and new decorations came into fashion, inspired by Asian symbols, landscapes, figures and designs (fig. 2.12).

### *Asian Porcelain*

One of the famous new products, which was introduced into Amsterdam households in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century was Chinese porcelain. While in the 16<sup>th</sup> century porcelain was still considered an exceptional product, that mainly reached the Dutch Republic through gift-exchange or via indirect trade or plunder from Spanish and Portuguese merchants, the structural import of porcelain by the United East India

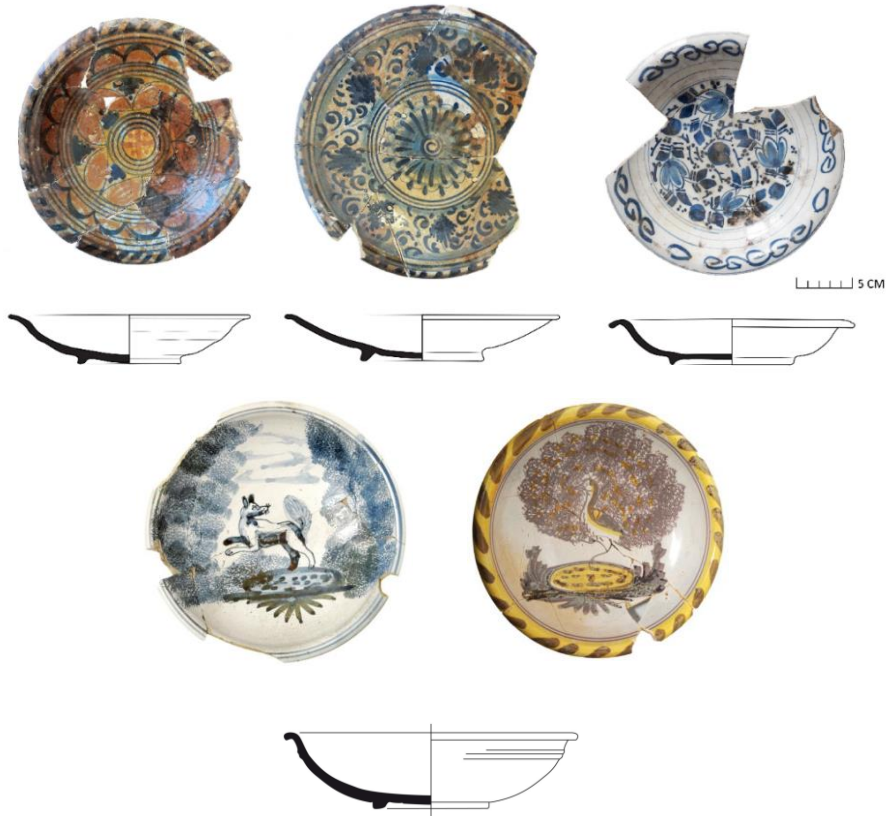
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<sup>81</sup> Ostkamp 2014.

<sup>82</sup> Ostkamp 2014, 14.

<sup>83</sup> Ostkamp 2014.





**Fig. 2.10** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: The two top left dishes (WLO-283-54 / WLO-283-55) are Dutch majolica, dating circa 1600-1650. The top right dish (WLO-301-43) is Dutch faience, most likely produced in Delft, dating circa 1675-1700. The two bottom dishes (WLO-8-394 /WLO-8-395) too are Dutch majolica, dating circa 1675-1725. Photos: M. Stolk & Bureau of Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam / Drawings: M.Stolk, after Deventer System, version May 2016.



**Fig. 2.11** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: Different types of Dutch faience cups (WLO-301-46 / WLO-301-49 / WLO-301-51 / WLO-301-50 and WLO-138-46), dating between ca 1650-1725. The decoration on the bottom right (chocolate) cup, shows a depiction of a black person. Photos: M. Stolk / Drawings: M. Stolk, after Deventer System, version May 2016.



**Fig. 2.12** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: Dutch faience dish (WLO-138-9), with Asian and European influenced decoration, dating between circa 1640-1660. Photo: M. Stolk / Drawing: M. Stolk, after Deventer System, version May 2016.

Company made this product available for the 17<sup>th</sup> century middle class. The first large cargos of Chinese porcelain reached the Low Countries through two Portuguese ships that were captured by the Dutch in 1602 and 1603. Thousands of pieces of porcelain from the ships were auctioned in Amsterdam and Middelburg for a hefty price and arouse the interest of Chinese porcelain among the Dutch. Based on records

from the Dutch East India Company, it seems that more than three million pieces of porcelain were shipped to Holland between 1604 and 1657.<sup>84</sup> As a result, ceramic assemblages from cesspits in Amsterdam and the bigger cities of the Western coastal area of Holland start to show larger porcelain complexes, that were sometimes containing dozens of porcelain pieces. This development is clearly visible among the Vlooienburg assemblages shown in the chart (see fig. 2.5) The porcelain goods consisted predominantly of drinking and table wares, such as cups, saucers (see fig. 2.13.), bowls and plates, which were not only used during food consumption, but were also used items of display in the houses. The overall picture of the 17<sup>th</sup> century porcelain in the Dutch Republic shows that Asian subjects such as foreign landscapes, animals, figures settings or patterns were often depicted.<sup>85</sup>

While the Chinese porcelain made its way to the Dutch Republic, a couple of the European shapes did find their way to China too. Around the first quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century for example some of the Chinese pottery workshops were producing rare porcelain shapes, such as beer mugs, salt cellars, candlesticks, wine jugs and adjusted bowls or dishes by order of Dutch merchants. And although the Dutch did not request porcelain decorated with family coats of arms or emblems, like the Portuguese and the Spanish, VOC servants sometimes tried to influence aspects of the decoration as well.<sup>86</sup> The specific shapes and decorations that were ordered by the Dutch are relatively scarce in comparison with the overall production of porcelain; however, it shows that there was to a certain extent a mutual exchange of ideas with regard to the shapes, decorations, and the function of porcelain. One has to keep in mind though that the vessel shapes that found their way from Holland to China were purpose made for export by Chinese potters and did not circulate in Asian markets.

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<sup>84</sup> Scholten 1993, 16-18.

<sup>85</sup> Ostkamp 2014 b, 53-79.

<sup>86</sup> Llorens Planella 2015, 282- 307



**Fig. 2.13** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: An example of a porcelain saucer (WLO-98-103) from a cesspit layer from Vlooienburg, dating between circa 1675 and 1750. The image shows an Asian setting of two people, who seemingly share a pot of tea and eating a dinner with the use of chop sticks. Photo: M. Stolk / Drawing: M. Stolk, after Deventer System, version may 2016.

### *Other Wares*

As noted above the household assemblages of 17<sup>th</sup> century Vlooienburg and Amsterdam were dominated by Dutch redwares (including some slip wares), Dutch faience or majolica wares and Chinese porcelain. There are, nevertheless, a few other wares that need to be mentioned here. Whitewares, from the Netherlands and/or Germany, stone wares from Germany and imported tin-glazed wares from for example France, Italy and/or Portugal were often present too, although in much smaller amounts. The whitewares were essentially used for cooking, food preparation and table wares, whereas the stonewares were mostly different kinds of jugs. The imported tin-glazed wares are, to the greatest extend, table wares, as is the case with the Dutch majolica and faience. More exceptional wares that were identified in this research

include Danish Jydepotter, and different Portuguese coarse and fine wares (as will be discussed in Chapter 3). Towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century industrial wares, like the so-called British cream-wares, pearl-wares and mocha-wares, make their entrance among the Vlooienburg assemblages, and the ceramic typologies and decorations get much more extensive (see fig. 2.14).



**Fig. 2.14** Left: Vlooienburg, Amsterdam, Fragment of a English engine-turned cup in Mochaware, late 18<sup>th</sup> century context ( WLO-235-#022 ). Photo: M. Stolk. Right: Page from the Leeds Potteries 'Original Drawing Book No.1' showing the design for this cup.<sup>1</sup> Photo: Andrew Naylor.



### *Between Trade and Tradition*

Returning to one of the questions that I posed at the beginning of this chapter, is it possible to identify a commonly occurring repertoire of ceramic vessels that were in regular use, and therefore stereotypical of in Dutch households in 17<sup>th</sup> century Amsterdam? This chapter shows how difficult it is to the answer this question is, as in the period of early modern globalization, as the Dutch ships of the East India Company forged significant cultural connections an interconnectedness, resulting in a mutual exchange of ideas and products across seas and between continents. Clearly, the range of household goods and possession that might be found in any given household will have been influenced by the wealth and standard of living of the household, also by their access to goods, through family members or contacts, as well as taste, and fashion. There were of course traditional Dutch ceramics, like the redwares, that did not undergo a lot of change in shape, decoration and function, but the faience and porcelain show the impact of the intercontinental. And although the typical Dutch cooking wares might not have changed much over time, the diet did, as can be concluded from the botanical remains, showing the exotic products that found their way into the households in Amsterdam and other places in the Netherlands.<sup>87</sup> This, by the way, underlines the importance of a combined research approach, as adopted by the Diaspora and Identity Project, including different archaeological subfields.

Rather than drawing a hard line between trade or tradition related artefacts, we should approach the 17<sup>th</sup> century material culture as gradually evolving assemblages, where imported goods incorporating different cultural styles, came together, sometimes leading to cultural appropriation and sometimes creating new hybrid practices and traditions in Dutch daily life. Based on the appearance of the ceramic assemblages and the function of specific ceramic wares, one could say that the trade-related items seem to be better represented in the more social part of the households and related to ceramics that were used for eating, drinking and display. On the other hand the more traditional ceramics were to be found in the private parts of the

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<sup>87</sup> See e.g. Haaster 2020.

household, related to cooking, food preparation and sanitary use.<sup>88</sup> This could mean that people, at least to some extent, felt the urge to show they could afford international products or maybe that they were interested in other cultural elements. A more or less similar trend can be seen in the so-called *Curiosity Cabinets* or *Cabinets of Wonders* that appeared in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and which were used by the elite to show off their collections of exotic and/or finely crafted goods. In some way that thus might be what defines the typical Dutch material culture of the 17<sup>th</sup> century; the diversity of international materials, shapes, decorations and habits and the directly related elements of inter-cultural exchange.

### ***Other Find Categories***

The cesspits of Vlooienburg yielded many more finds, in addition to the ceramics. Thanks to the excellent preservation conditions, both organic and inorganic material has been preserved, resulting in many objects, made of glass and metal respectively, as well as wood, bone, ivory, leather and textiles. Although many finds yet have to be studied, some finds categories have been investigated and published in the past and also as a part of the Diaspora and Identity Project. A brief summary of these studies will be presented in the following sections in order to give a more complete reflection of the total complex.

### *Clay Pipes*

Based on the clay pipe research that was carried out by Oostveen, it was concluded that the majority of the clay pipe finds date to the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Clay pipe finds from the first half from the 17<sup>th</sup> century or later than the 18<sup>th</sup> century, are less frequently found. In accordance with the general impression gained from historical data and the results of the systematic ceramic analysis, there are some indicators regarding the social stratigraphy of the different streets of the Vlooienburg neighbourhood. Based on the clay pipe research the *Zwanenburger-*

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<sup>88</sup> See e.g. Goffman 1956 on the presentation of self in everyday life, discussing the matters of private and social life as matters of 'front stage', 'back stage' and 'off stage' performances.



*straat* and the *Zwanenburgwal/ Leprozengracht* seem to have housed relatively middling to wealthy households in comparison to the other streets, while the middling to poor households were to be found along the *Lange Houtstraat*. The evidence for the *Korte Houtstraat* was found to be of a more conflictive character, since the historical data implied the presence of poorer households, whereas the results of the clay pipe research by Oostveen seemed to indicate richer contexts. In general the cesspits corresponding to households that were assumed to be more wealthy, contained clay pipes of higher quality, which in the case of the Vlooienburg contexts were mainly produced by the Gouda clay pipe maker Gerrit Verschut. Besides the pipes from Gouda, there are some long stemmed pipes originating from Gorinchem and Aarlanderveen found among the wealthier contexts. Such pipes were not as expensive as the product from Gouda and were of less quality, but with their long stems, they had an expensive appearance. Finds from the poor households largely contained short stemmed pipes manufacture in Gorinchem, Schoonhoven and Utrecht.<sup>89</sup> An outstanding find - recovered from the cesspit behind the plot of *Leprozengracht 26* - is that of a clay pipe dating between circa 1680 and 1740, which is assigned to an English pipe maker.<sup>90</sup>

### *Botanical Remains*

Even after approximately 40 years in storage the soil samples that had been taken during the Vlooienburg excavations were still in a relatively good shape and provided the possibility to conduct botanical analysis. A study of the samples from several different cesspits carried out by Van Haaster as a part of the *Diaspora and Identity Project*, resulted in the recognition of both common and more seldom botanical remains. The grains found consist of the fairly common buckwheat, millet, rye, wheat and rice - the latter of which was more often consumed on special occasions. In most of the cesspits the following fruits and nuts were present: strawberry, blackberry, raspberry, elderberry, gooseberry,

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<sup>89</sup> Oostveen 2006.

<sup>90</sup> Oostveen 2006, 73 / catalogue number 451. The pipe was found in cesspit 80, WLO-276.

black mulberry, blueberry, currant, blackcurrant, apple, pear, medlar, plum, melon, walnut, hazelnut fig, grape and sweet cherry. The more luxurious types, such as citrus fruits and olives were encountered considerably less often. When it comes to vegetables, the remains of beet, peas, broad beans, fennel, spinach and purslane have been found. However, Van Haaster notes that it is significant to take into account that most vegetables are consumed before they produce seeds, resulting in only a partial reflection of what was actually eaten. Chervil, thyme, chilli pepper (lit. Spanish pepper), anise, cloves, coriander, black mustard, black cumin, saffron and grain of paradise were used to season the food, the three latter of which are among the more extraordinary once – as for saffron this is the first time that it has ever been uncovered from a Dutch cesspit.<sup>91</sup>

### *Animal Remains*

It was already in the 1980s that the well-preserved animal bones drew the attention and as a first investigation the cesspits with over one kilo of bones were selected for an extensive study. In this research the focus was on the differences between Jewish and non-Jewish households, because, which was expected because of the historical background and the find of some kosher seals, indicating an actual Jewish diet, following the so-called *kosher* eating habits. The result of this study was that in some cesspits there was significantly less pig bone and that in the case of bovine bones the rear parts of the skeleton were sometimes less well presented, both of which can be related to Jewish food habits. Research into the remains of chickens, geese, ducks and pigeons, which may be eaten according to Jewish dietary laws, and analysis of oysters and mussels that may not be eaten according to Jewish customs, do not provide a direct conclusive result. IJzereef suggests that the explanation for this lies in the probable mixture of waste from Jewish and non-Jewish users of the cesspits, either contemporary or sequentially and in the emptying of cesspits in later phases. The same applies to the study of potential differences in wealth between the different households. Nonetheless it seemed evident that the wealthier households must have

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<sup>91</sup> Van Haaster 2020, 53.

consumed more exclusive sorts such as lobster, specific sea and freshwater fishes, and larger amounts of pig, chicken and sheep. The waste of poorer households on the other hand presented just the heads of fished such as cod or haddock, and the lower legs of bovines that are low in meat whereby the bones had been smashed for the use of the marrow.<sup>92</sup>

A more recent study of the animal bones by Bakker over 30.000 remains from 21 different cesspits were analyzed, lead to a more nuanced picture of the earlier study by IJzereef. In this research the cesspits too were divided kosher and non-kosher households, while taking into account the aspect of mixed waste. Specific for the purely Jewish contexts here, are the presence of > 1% of pig, rabbit, eel and/or shellfish remains. Furthermore, it was found that in addition to the rear parts of the cattle, the rears of sheep and goats also seem to be almost completely absent. When it comes to poultry it seems that Jewish households preferred chicken over other sorts. This probably had to do with the method of breeding and slaughter.<sup>93</sup>

### *Textile Finds*

A preliminary estimation of the textile finds which was compiled in the 1980s by Vons-Comis, who listed at least 550 textile fragments among the finds from Vlooienburg. A first examination implied that about 80% of the fragments was made of silk and that the remaining 20% existed of circa 19% wool and 1% vegetable fibres. The production techniques for the recovered textiles included felting, knitting, a large variety of weaves, however, an in dept study of the different technical aspects of production was never produced to a lack of finance. A quick classification of the available material was made as a part of this research in an attempt explore a potential correlation between the social stratigraphy and the textile finds, using the textile sorts, textile quality and applied skills and techniques during manufactory as criteria that might indicate poorer or wealthier households. It was concluded that in some cases the more luxurious textiles overlapped with the

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<sup>92</sup> IJzereef 1987, 25-31; see also: IJzereef 1988 & IJzereef 1989

<sup>93</sup> Bakker 2020, 44-50.

assumption of wealthier households based on ceramic and other finds. On the other hand, however, a clear correlation was not always very evident and any obvious link between textile finds and the dress of people who lived in the neighbourhood was not that straight forward either. There are a few potential explanations may be given to explain this. In the first place, part of the textile finds are a result of textile working activities in the neighbourhood. Secondly or simultaneously this might in effect be evidence for a in effect, the presence or a 'rag-trade' and the buying and selling or bartering of second hand clothing, which is known to have been a significant aspect in the consumption and distribution of clothing in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>94</sup>

## **2.4 Conclusion**

If we take all the historical data and the exploratory archaeological investigations from this chapter together, it already becomes clear how complex and diverse daily life in Vlooienburg must have been in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The rapid development of the neighbourhood within the flourishing city of Amsterdam, the many migrants from different corners of Europe and beyond, the new products and changing consumption patterns. It is almost impossible to stick to a single research strategy or to choose just one approach in the study daily life and the residents of the neighbourhood. In an attempt to capture some of the elements of this cultural melting pot, the following chapters will make a more in-depth exploration of certain aspects of the archaeological assemblages and will attempt to embed into the context of the 'new' 17<sup>th</sup> century multicultural neighbourhood of Vlooienburg.

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<sup>94</sup> Vons-Comis, 1988, 211-220.

CHAPTER 3.

CUSTOMS AND CULTURAL PRACTICE

Identifying Immigrant Identities at Vlooienburg



### 3. CUSTOMS AND CULTURAL PRACTICE

#### Identifying Immigrant Identities at Vlooienburg<sup>95</sup>

##### 3.1 Introduction

As is mentioned in the previous chapter, one of the intriguing elements in the history of Vlooienburg is the multi-ethnic provenance of its inhabitants. Therefore, this chapter will discuss the archaeology of some of Vlooienburg's migrant groups and their material visibility. The city became a home to people who had to flee due to their religious beliefs, including protestants from the Southern Netherlands, Sephardic Jews from the Iberian Peninsula, and French Huguenots.<sup>96</sup> The Sephardim, who mainly originated from Portugal<sup>97</sup>, fled persecution by the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisition and formed a considerable number of Vlooienburg's first inhabitants. Amsterdam was considered a safe haven, being a relatively tolerant place regarding different religions,<sup>98</sup> although tolerance was also tempered with self-interest as after the fall of Antwerp, the city's maritime trading network especially benefited from the incorporation of wealthy Portuguese merchants. Their knowledge and contacts led to advances of the trade in sugar, tobacco which were relatively new to the Dutch market.<sup>99</sup> Since much has been written on the history of the Portuguese migrants in Amsterdam and in Vlooienburg in particular, this group offers a good case study for the archaeological exploration of immigrant identities.

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<sup>95</sup> A part of this chapter has been previously published by the author, as a part of this PhD research, see: Stolk, M. (2018): Exploring Immigrant Identities: The Link between Portuguese Ceramics and Sephardic Immigrants in 17<sup>th</sup> century Amsterdam, *Ex Novo – Journal of Archaeology*, 3, 101-120.

<sup>96</sup> Kuijpers 2005, 15.

<sup>97</sup> Due to the multiple waves of migration, the often named 'Portuguese' immigrants who came to Amsterdam, did not necessarily come directly from Portugal. Although many of the immigrants were of Portuguese origin, it is known that some of them had previously settled in Antwerp, Italy or North Africa before coming to the Netherlands.

<sup>98</sup> Swetschinski 2000, 8-25.

<sup>99</sup> Bodian 1997, 4.

### ***Identifying Migrant Identities***

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the interconnectedness between the material culture that has been recovered from the Vlooienburg cesspits and the migrant inhabitants listed above, and to reconstruct the ways through which the finds may have been used to maintain or to create social identities. In order to do so, the question is raised if, and if so, how are immigrant identities visible in the archaeological record? I begin by analysing the ceramic assemblages, as this find category is represented in all of the cesspit contexts and ceramics are among the most common daily used items throughout the different domestic social and cultural contexts.

One of the practical challenges in this case study is the presence of a wide range of ethnic, cultural and religious identities, within the context of a city that provided access to a global maritime trading system and as such had numerous imported products coming from around the world. Among the household waste of the Vlooienburg contexts one can assume that there will be finds assemblages from local inhabitants, combining local earthenware mixed with a variety of ceramics that became available through the maritime trading system, such as imported tin-glazed wares from Italy and Portugal, high quality porcelains from the East and containers that might have held exotic products for those who could afford this. On the other hand, it is to be expected that there will also be the possessions of migrant households, including materials that might have specifically taken part in the maintenance of former lifestyles, or in the adjustment to a local way of living, and as such actively contributed to hybrid and changing customs, and new ways of living. The ability to recognize and reconstruct these cultural processes within a context of multiple migrations therefore demands a very specified approach to the ceramic assemblages. This needs to not only take into account the provenance of ceramics, but also their daily use and factors that might indicate potential culturally specific values or activities.

Studies into identity and ethnicity through the study of material culture are well-represented in the archaeological discipline, and have been prominent from the first half of the twentieth century onwards. As is

more extensively discussed in the chapter 2, this study over time developed from approaching cultural groups through unified sets of material culture, to interpretative frameworks based on processes and interconnected systems.<sup>100</sup> In the last twenty years, socio-political investigations have been revived and have centred not only on ethnicity, but also on multiculturalism, setting conditions to explore archaeology as a contemporary practice, associated with the construction of cultural identity.<sup>101</sup> More recently, studies of identity in archaeological research have increased exponentially, leading to debates and criticism, on the one hand, due to what some archaeologists may still regard as a straightforward relationship between material culture and identity, and on the other hand due to the lack of practical applicability of the concept identity in archaeology.<sup>102</sup>

Advances have been made in understanding identity as a *relational concept*, in which identity is explored through the relations between people, objects and places, offering insights into the way in which people perceived and interacted with and related to the material world.<sup>103</sup> In some ways, this is related to earlier theoretical approaches, such as Bourdieu's *practice theory* and his concept of *habitus*, considering the dynamic reaction between people and the object world and vice versa, shaping and affecting each other.<sup>104</sup> However, such earlier models and concepts were mainly based upon structured sets of rules and principles, which formed the basis of human action. These frameworks were characterized as dualistic structures, ones that did not take into account variability or cultural changes.<sup>105</sup> In more recent studies, the contexts in which social consumption, cultural lifestyles and the creation of identities should be understood are described as social and cultural processes that include cultural mixing, rather than static

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<sup>100</sup> See also Chapter 2; Childe 1929; Kossina 1928; Hodder & Orton, 1976; Johnson 1999: 98–99; Prown 1982.

<sup>101</sup> Jones 1997: 1-10

<sup>102</sup> See among others Jones 1997: 13–14; Parker 2013: 66–82.

<sup>103</sup> Herva 2009; Harris & Cipolla 2017.

<sup>104</sup> Bourdieu 1977.

<sup>105</sup> Harris & Cipolla 2017.



sets of structured social and cultural values.<sup>106</sup> And it is this approach that is crucial when considering the different ethnic and religious identities that lived together in the district of Vlooienburg, and when investigating to what degree the different ethnic groups assimilated or maintained and carried out their own customs. Through this perspective we may also investigate how strict social and cultural boundaries and elements of identity were within the neighbourhood, and whether through time self-identifying groups may have mixed certain habits and practices. When exploring these cultural and social processes, it is important to take into account the variation in meaning and value of objects. Both the meaning and value of an object may differ according to context, whether it is a private or social setting, and its acting order, which might be functional or expressive.<sup>107</sup> As described by sociologist Irwin Goffman<sup>108</sup>, people tend to have a way of expressing themselves in social settings, intentionally or unintentionally; by sending out signals to impress others, to inform others about their cultural ideas, or to sometimes maybe even to mislead others concerning the interpretation of their identity. Material culture plays a significant role in this system of social interaction and most certainly will have had an impact within an environment with different social, cultural and religious identities, such as Vlooienburg.

In his study of the probate inventories of French Huguenot immigrants in early modern London, archaeologist Greig Parker, for example, argues that the expression of immigrant identities can be best described in terms of complexity and diversity.<sup>109</sup> In the majority of the case-studies analysed by Parker, there are no straightforward differences in domestic assemblages between immigrants and local inhabitants, although some specific artefacts could indeed be linked to non-local cultural identities. He also emphasizes the variation within material culture that may be detected when examining immigrants' households. For instance, one may find new styles and technologies co-existing besides objects that show a strong bond with traditional craft

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<sup>106</sup> Burmeister 2000; Woodward 2007; Parker 2013; Jervis 2014: 92–97.

<sup>107</sup> Harré 2002: 32.

<sup>108</sup> Goffman 1956, 1-9.

<sup>109</sup> Parker 2013.

practices. This means that next to broader explanatory models, social structures and cultural processes, an individual preferences should also be taken into account. Of course, Parker's research differs from this current case study, since probate inventories tend to mention the household items of higher economic value, whereas the archaeological finds from the cesspits contain more mundane and low value objects. Nevertheless, Parker contributes interesting insights into the connection between immigrant identities and specific (aspects of) artefacts.

Another significant combined archaeological and historical study is that of Jette Linaa, approaching the diasporic communities in the late medieval and early modern cities of Elsinore, Aalborg (Denmark) and Nya Lödöse (Sweden) through a more holistic and cross-disciplinary perspective, focusing on household consumption patterns.<sup>110</sup> The set of studies conducted within this research project illustrate how foodways, social practices and associated artefacts can be used to reveal stories of migrant communities and their continuously developing identities.<sup>111</sup> When it comes to the materiality of longing and belonging Linaa includes the factors of ownership and access to cultural goods as well as the intentions of acquirement and the engagement with social practices. She concludes that for instance that for the immigrants in Elsinore some of the cultural goods operated as links to their homeland, and were therefore not particularly valued in economic terms. Furthermore she underlines the significance of the role of the female immigrants in relation to the social practices – such as cooking, dining and raising the children - within the household and in regard to the formation of diasporic communities.<sup>112</sup>

The recent work of sociologist Anna Pechurina takes an extra turn by focusing specifically on the objects that were brought along by Russian migrants, referring to them as *diasporic objects*. These are considered items that were detached from their original context - for example in the persons home country - and in the new context function

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<sup>110</sup> Linaa ed. 2020.

<sup>111</sup> Linaa ed. 2020, 495-509.

<sup>112</sup> Linaa ed. 2020, 191-237.

as a connection to the former context within the new place of living.<sup>113</sup> These objects are perceived as significant elements in what Pechurina mentions as *homecoming practice* - being the way through which specific senses and memories are recreated and relived reflecting the complexity of home and belonging among migrants.<sup>114</sup>

The studies mentioned above have been of inspiration for the study of the Vlooienburg remains. The approaches of Linaa and Pechurina have much to offer, since by detecting potential 'diasporic objects' - linking immigrants to their country of origin - one might be able to set certain 'landmarks' for the identification of migrant households at Vlooienburg.

### **3.2 Portuguese Pots, Plates and People**

Since the Vlooienburg neighbourhood is nowadays largely known for its Jewish background, this group of migrants formed an intriguing starting point in the search for potential indicators concerning migration in relation to the archaeological assemblages. Baart had already established the relevance of some of the Portuguese faience among the Vlooienburg find assemblages in relation to Portuguese families, after the excavations in the 1980s, while noting that Portuguese faience was not exclusively used by Portuguese migrants, but also by locals with access to the Portuguese trading market.<sup>115</sup> A first exploration of five cesspit assemblages during the current research, uncovered the significance of Portuguese redwares that had not previously been seen as strong potential indicators for the identification of migrant households.<sup>116</sup> This led me to conduct a more a more detailed analysis of the complete assemblage of Portuguese ceramics at Vlooienburg; investigating how these household ceramics might have functioned in the cultural processes of maintaining to or adapting certain lifestyles at the time and as a result finding out which of those could be used to locate Portuguese migrant households. Through this analysis, I have addressed the following questions: How were Portuguese migrant

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<sup>113</sup> Pechurina 2020, 3.

<sup>114</sup> Pechurina 2020.

<sup>115</sup> Baart 1987a.

<sup>116</sup> Stolk 2018.

households spread across the neighbourhood? Are there specific concentrations and/ or is there a continuous use of Portuguese pottery through time? How were Portuguese ceramics used in the maintenance or transformation of migrants lifestyles and by whom? And what does this say about the neighbourhood as a whole? The following section will therefore discuss the different Portuguese ceramics that have now been recognized among the Vlooienburg assemblages and place them within a broader perspective to come to an interpretation regarding material culture as a starting point for a more in dept study of ethnic identity and to debate Portuguese ceramics as examples of diasporic objects. In order to do so, the Vlooienburg ceramics will be compared with finds from elsewhere in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, Europe, and overseas.

### ***Portuguese Faience***

As mentioned above, the first finds processing of the Vlooienburg material in the 1980s had already identified a Portuguese component among the ceramics, as published by Baart.<sup>117</sup> Back then, the main focus was on the Portuguese faience - which in some cases displayed family names or coats of arms (see fig. 3.1; upper left and below). The Portuguese faience from Vlooienburg's cesspits comprises a minimum number of 194 objects, showing a large variety of shapes, including common forms such as plates, bowls and cups, but also less common items such as lobbed dishes, jugs, chamber pots<sup>118</sup> and a fragment of a barber's bowl. The material resembles typical Portuguese wares, consisting of light buff fabrics with a white tin glaze, decorated with blue (cobalt) and sometimes also purple (manganese) decorations.<sup>119</sup> Interestingly, quite a number of the pieces of plates and dishes, bear Portuguese family names including: Pas, Dos Santos, Boina (Bueno), Magalhães, (Dona Maria) Ilhão and Car[doso], some of which refer to people who were known to have lived at Vlooienburg.<sup>120</sup> Other than family names, the faience depicts coats of arms, Chinese inspired motifs and images and in some cases designs in Moorish style (see fig. 3.1;

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<sup>117</sup> Baart 1983; Baart 1987a; Baart 1992.

<sup>118</sup> Baart 1987a, 19.

<sup>119</sup> Baart 1987b; Jaspers & Ostkamp 2014.

<sup>120</sup> Baart 1987b, 23.

upper right). The faience from Vlooienburg principally comes from contexts dating between c. 1595 and 1650 and have designs that are very similar to the decorations that are found on ceramics from 17<sup>th</sup> century sites in Portugal, such as at Faro, Leiria, Porto and of course Lisbon.<sup>121</sup>

Besides the concentration of Portuguese faience in the archaeological record of Vlooienburg, a significant amount of faience has been found around the harbour area in the eastern part of Amsterdam.<sup>122</sup> Other solitary finds have been found scattered around the city.<sup>123</sup> The finds mainly consist of plates, bowls and cups, although a pot with a corresponding lid has also been found.<sup>124</sup> The total amount of Portuguese faience that has been identified in Amsterdam so far represents a minimum number of 488 objects. Over half of the faience comes from the excavations at Vlooienburg, where at least 275 pieces were recovered. In this neighbourhood a significant share came from the some landfills and other features (circa 35% of the MNI), although most of the material (circa 65% of the MNI) came from cesspit contexts dating between circa 1595 and 1650, with a small run out up to 1675/1700. The faience is relatively evenly distributed across the neighbourhood, except for a clear concentration of Portuguese faience recorded at cesspit 48, which is located at the corner of the Zwanenburgwal and the Zwanenburgerstraat (see fig. 3.2). Households with and without Portuguese faience alternate, there do not seem to be zones among the neighbourhood where the material is more specifically present. The Zwanenburgwal might seem less well represented on the distribution map, but this is most likely caused by the comparatively small number of excavated cesspits. This interpretation is backed by data from historical sources, which mention

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<sup>121</sup> Botelho & Ferreira 2016; Trindade 2016; Oliveira 2016; Caessa et. al. 2016; Gomes, Casimiro & Gomes 2016.

<sup>122</sup> Gawronski, Jayasena & Terhorst 2017, 60-61, 143.

<sup>123</sup> See Appendix 2.

<sup>124</sup> Gawronski, Jayasena & Terhorst 2017, 60-61, 143.

the presence of Portuguese inhabitants in this part of the Zwanenburgwal in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>125</sup>

As was already suggested by Baart in 1992, there is a clear correlation between the presence of Portuguese faience and a direct connection with the Iberian trading network. Over the last three decades more and more Portuguese faience has been recovered on archaeological sites, the majority in cities that took a share in the Dutch Eastern India Company (VOC); such as Hoorn, Enkhuizen, Rotterdam and Middelburg. The other sites, are located along the same coastal areas or deeper inland and represent places that were also involved in the VOC trading network, such as Texel, Medemblik, Harlingen and Vlissingen, and Zwaag, Blokker, Zaandam, Edam, Purmerend, Grootebroek, Graft and De Rijp.<sup>126</sup> The presence of the Portuguese blue and white wares in the Dutch households can be explained as a side effect of the trade in among other things salt, spices, southern fruits and other exotica.<sup>127</sup> The distribution maps in the figure below (see fig. 3.3), give an overview of the find locations in the Netherlands on the left and the provenance of Dutch skippers departing from Portuguese ports between 1568 and 1700 on the right. Portuguese faience is found relatively often in the hometown regions of the Dutch skippers<sup>128</sup>, though it often takes up only 0,5 to 1 percent of the total ceramics assemblages.<sup>129</sup> Other Dutch sites containing some scarce pieces of Portuguese faience seem to represent wealthy households, as is illustrated by the examples that were found at castle De Haar in Utrecht and at the house of an officer at the Dutch East India Company in Lisse.<sup>130</sup>

In general faience was probably primarily acquired for

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<sup>125</sup> Pers. Comm. Maarten Hell (May 2021): Living at Zwanenburgwal 35 between 1634 and 1638; Francisco Vaz de Leon/Leão alias Francisco Henriques alias Abraham Cohen Henriques and living at Zwanenburgwal 43 between 1659-1662; Manuel Mercado (poss. alias of Emanuel Solis de Illeo from Lisboa).

<sup>126</sup> Bartels 2003, 71–78; Jaspers & Ostkamp 2014, 16–17; Bartels 2016, 399-406; Jaspers & Ostkamp 2016, 407-422.

<sup>127</sup> Baart 1992, 23; Bartels 2014.

<sup>128</sup> Pers. Comm. Michiel Bartels.

<sup>129</sup> Bartels 2014, 2.

<sup>130</sup> Jaspers & Ostkamp 2014, 13-14.

functional use in daily activities, since they mainly contain table wares, though it is plausible that sometimes faience of exclusive quality might have been used as decorative household ornaments rather than as table ware, representing a more expressive role.<sup>131</sup> Specific faience pieces that might have been ordered are the so-called 'marriage gifts', often plates depicting a man and woman, and/or a crossed heart.<sup>132</sup> Most of the faience finds in the Netherlands date between 1590 and 1650. After circa 1650-1660 there was a decline in Portuguese faience imports in the Netherlands, due to the development of the Dutch faience production industry (in Delft) and changes in international trade.<sup>133</sup>

Portuguese faience is present in other European cities that played a role in the trading system as of the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. This is substantiated by finds from Belgium (Antwerp - which also housed many Portuguese in the 16<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>134</sup>, Germany (Hamburg)<sup>135</sup>, Scandinavia, England (Plymouth, London),<sup>136</sup> and Ireland (Carrickfergus).<sup>137</sup> The finds from the British Isles have mostly been recovered from sites in coastal areas, more specifically at places related to trade with the New World colonies and Southern Europe.<sup>138</sup> Further afield faience has been routinely excavated in Portuguese colonies, such as Brazil, Cape Verde, Goa, Madeira and the Azores, as well as in Spanish and English colonies.<sup>139</sup> Internationally it seems that small amounts of Portuguese pottery have been traded alongside other goods and that Portuguese and other European settlers favoured the use of (Portuguese) faience at colonies as a part of their daily customs.<sup>140</sup> Also it seems that the Portuguese faience is often present among the more well-to-do contexts, in wealthy households.

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<sup>131</sup> Casimiro 2014b.

<sup>132</sup> Jaspers & Ostkamp 2014, 22-23.

<sup>133</sup> Baart 1992, 23; Jaspers & Ostkamp 2014, 27.

<sup>134</sup> Poulain, Van Vaerenbergh & De Clercq 2017.

<sup>135</sup> Claes, Jaspers & Ostkamp 2010; Bauche 1996.

<sup>136</sup> Casimiro 2016, 423.

<sup>137</sup> Baart 1992; Casimiro 2016; Claes, Jaspers & Ostkamp 2010; Bauche 1996.

<sup>138</sup> Casimiro 2016, 423.

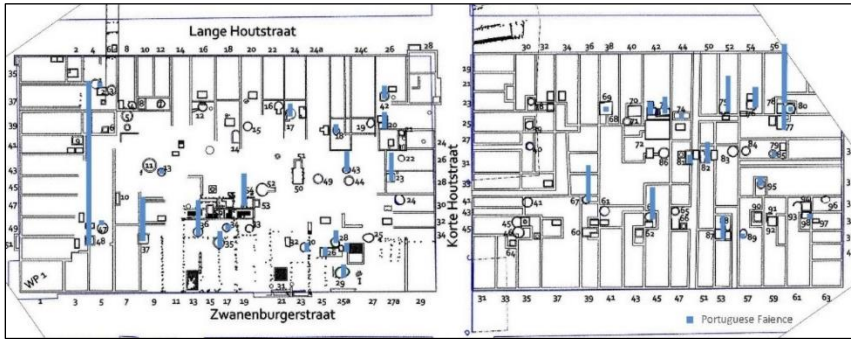
<sup>139</sup> Casimiro 2011; Casimiro 2014b.

<sup>140</sup> Casimiro, Gomes, Gomes 2015.



**Fig. 3.1.** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: Examples of four Portuguese faience plates found on Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: WLO-213-1 (top left), WLO-241-4 (top right), WLO-185-2 (lower left) and WLO-185-4 (lower right). Photos by R. Tousain, Office for Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam.



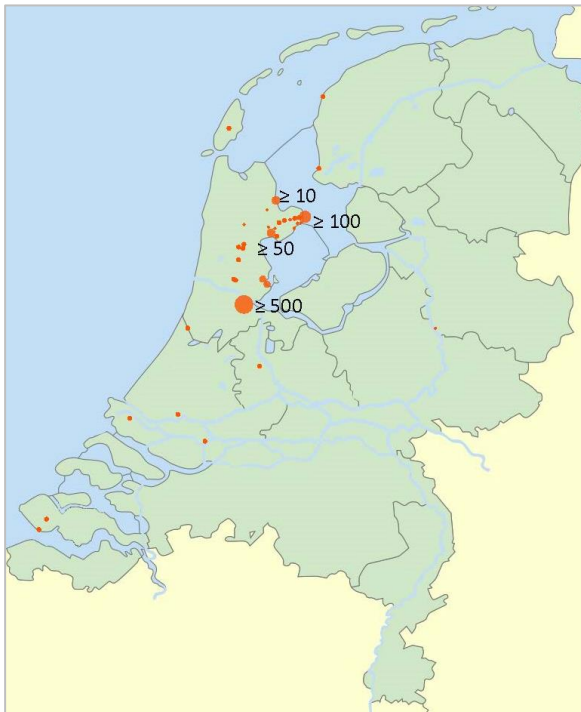


**Fig. 3.2** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: Distribution of the minimum number of Portuguese faience per cesspit at Vlooienburg, between circa 1600 and 1700. Sources: Map of the neighbourhood by the Office for Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam. Graphs by M. Stolk.

It can be stated that the presence of Portuguese faience on European sites is often best explained through the exchange system of the international trade network at the time, with Portuguese faience being a good alternative for the more expensive Asian porcelain in the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> century. In European countries, Portuguese faience is traditionally explained as a result of a larger trading system, through which many other products, such as olive oil, wine, sugar and salt, became accessible. The faience might have been brought home by European skippers, acquired as a luxury product, used on display in wealthy households or presented as a gift in specific social contexts. For the Portuguese settlers abroad, however, the presence of Portuguese faience might have functioned as a part of their homecoming practice, maintaining daily habits, as an aspect of memorizing their homeland or just as a part of the current fashion in Europe where porcelain and faience was much appreciated. The presence of Portuguese faience in English colonies on the other hand may be explained as an intentional choice to pursue a European lifestyle in the New World through the import of high-quality products from European countries.

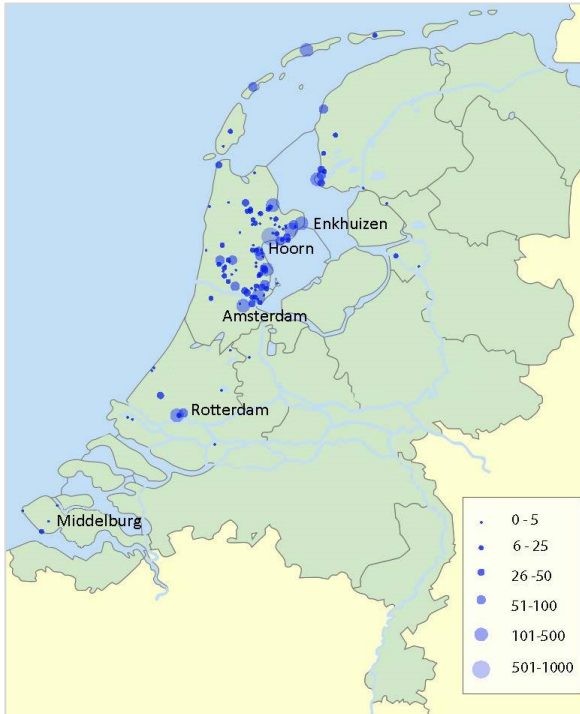
Due to these different possible interpretations for the presence of Portuguese faience it would be unwise to use this ware group as a conclusive indicator for the presence of Portuguese migrants in Amsterdam. Although, in the cases of the Portuguese faience objects

from Waterlooplein bearing family names and coats of arms, it seems safe to assume that these were brought by or subsequently acquired by incoming Portuguese families. In comparison to other sites in Amsterdam and the Netherlands the amount of Portuguese faience at Vlooienburg is significantly higher, which could represent the faience brought in person by Portuguese migrants or suggest that the faience was more easily accessible for the inhabitants of Vlooienburg, due to the Portuguese connections. It can be concluded nonetheless, that the presence of large amounts of Portuguese faience in the cesspits at Vlooienburg does seem to be emblematic of the strong Portuguese connection in at least the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In other contexts in Amsterdam and beyond, the Portuguese faience mainly seems to have been reserved for wealthier households, or to those with direct connections to the Portuguese trade market.



**Fig. 3.3a**  
Overview of Portuguese trade-related sites in the Netherlands between 1560 and 1700.

Map of the Netherlands depicting archaeological sites where Portuguese faience has been found and identified. For a detailed list with the finds of Portuguese faience and references, see Appendix 4.



**Fig. 3.3b**  
Dutch skippers, leaving Portuguese harbours between 1568 and 1700.

Map of the Netherlands showing the frequency of Dutch place names that were registered as the hometown of the skippers departing from Portugal in the Sound Toll Register between 1568 and 1700. For a complete list of place names and referenced skippers see Appendix 3.

### ***Portuguese Fine and Coarse Wares***

#### *Terminology Issues and Function Recognition*

The Portuguese faience from Vlooienburg has been previously analysed and published quite extensively, whereas the Portuguese coarse and fine redwares have been given less thorough attention. In order to shed light on this part of the Portuguese material, a complete inventory has been made of all the Portuguese ceramics from Vlooienburg and the rest of Amsterdam.<sup>141</sup> This process brought to light a more wide spread problem in the analysis, namely the lack of knowledge and therefore misinterpretations regarding non-faience Portuguese wares in the

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<sup>141</sup> A complete scan has been made of the Iberian wares from Vlooienburg and of the selected Iberian wares that are held at the Bazel depot of the Bureau of Monuments and Archaeology.

Netherlands. The most serious consequence of this misinterpretation is the way that a wide range of different types of Portuguese (and Spanish) wares have been assigned to one large category termed *Iberian wares*, abbreviated as 'ib' according to the Dutch *Deventer System* for pottery classification. In this way all of the unknown wares that are assumed Iberian had been gathered as one group, through which a further subdivision of the various wares could easily be avoided, even though a differentiation in wares had already been briefly mentioned earlier by Baart.<sup>142</sup> The plus side of the conjunction of Iberian wares in the *Deventer System* is the easy recognition of their impact among a complete assemblage – as is shown in the previous chapter (fig. 2.5) – where the share of different Portuguese wares in one cesspits is reflected in pink.<sup>143</sup>

The results of a thorough re-evaluation of the 'Iberian' ceramics undertaken as part of this thesis revealed the presence of the following different Portuguese ware groups in Amsterdam, most of which have been uncovered at Vlooienburg or in the direct surroundings of the neighbourhood: fine (red) wares (*cerâmicas finas e modeladas*), unglazed coarse wares (*cerâmica comum simples*) and glazed coarse wares (*cerâmica comum vidrada*).<sup>144</sup> The fine wares are usually orange, pale orange or reddish orange of colour and thin walled. The unglazed coarse wares are similar in colour but have a coarser fabric, often including mica particles. The glazed wares are often glazed with a lead based glaze, sometimes combined with what seems to be copper oxide, covering the surface with a shiny green layer. A variety of subgroups could be made among the fine wares, due to different decoration techniques, such as: burnished surface treatment, dented patterns, incisions, white slip, and in some rare cases even molded clay appliques and/or stone inlay.<sup>145</sup> Apart from the redwares there are some fragments of fine grey fabric and black fabric found, with incisions and applied clay and mica glimmers

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<sup>142</sup> Baart 1992, 273.

<sup>143</sup> See also: Stolk 2018.

<sup>144</sup> For an overview of common shapes in *cerâmicas finas e modeladas*, *cerâmica comum simples* and *cerâmica comum vidrada*, see for example: Marques, Leitão & Botelho 2012.

<sup>145</sup> Recently the term *delicate wares* was suggested to describe the finely decorated Portuguese wares, since the previous used term *modelada* (molded ware), is too simple to cover the variety of (sometimes combined) decoration techniques. (see: Sallum, Silva Noelli & Casimiro 2021).

particles, which are believed to be Portuguese<sup>146</sup> too and know parallel finds in Portugal.<sup>147</sup> Furthermore there is one example of a really coarse ware that has been identified as pottery from Montemor-O-Novo, bringing the total of different Portuguese fabrics to a total of six.

Having dealt with the ware groups, another issue was that of the recognition of the Portuguese shapes and their corresponding primary functions, since there are some remarkable differences in comparison to the typical Dutch shapes. The most easily recognizable Portuguese/Iberian shapes are the handle less amphorae and smaller olive jugs, which are frequently found in Amsterdam<sup>148</sup> and in the Dutch Portuguese-trade-related zones<sup>149</sup> as indicated in the previous paragraph (see fig. 3.3). However, it turned out that the identification of other shapes led to some problems. For example one of the pots that had previously been published as an Iberian (storage) jar<sup>150</sup>, was actually a Portuguese chamber pot and another item that, during earlier inventory work, had been described as a butter dish, turned out to be a Portuguese lid for a cooking pot.<sup>151</sup> Other than that, a variety of specific Portuguese cooking pots and food related shapes were recognized among the Iberian jars and sherds during this current research, including stewing and boiling pots (*tachos*), frying pans (*frigideiras*), small bowls (*tigelas*) and green glazed pots (*potes vidrados*) - of which the latter are suggested to

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<sup>146</sup> These wares could be of Portuguese origin, although some similar rare objects are known from the collection of the Spanish Society Museum & Library in New York and those are indicated as produced in Tonalá, Jalisco, Mexico: <http://hispanicsociety.emuseum.com/objects/4011/handled-bowl-with-bird-and-applied-decoration-bucarodeind;jsessionid=EFF434F94E9E659A652FE064D572F05A>. Further research is needed to find out whether the grey and black wares are from Mexican origin or if they might be Portuguese imitations of Mexican copies. Chapter 6 will handle the potential Mexican influences in Amsterdam in detail.

<sup>147</sup> Pers. Comm. dr. Tania Casimiro, Instituto de Arqueologia, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa.

<sup>148</sup> Terhorst 2012.

<sup>149</sup> Olive oil jugs are for example found at the: Hofstraat, Alkmaar (R. Roedema, Gemeente Alkmaar); Raamstraat, Enkhuizen (Duijn 2016); Gravenstraat, Hoorn (Archeologie West Friesland); Kerkbuurt, Oostzaan (Jaspers 2009); De Bangert, Westerblokker (Schrickx 2015); Weiver, Wormer (thanks to P. Kleij, Gemeente Zaanstad). For the distribution of the amphoras see Terhorst 2012, 79.

<sup>150</sup> Gawronski 2012, 186.

<sup>151</sup> Findnummer: WLO-274-7.

be used for sweets, such as marmelades.<sup>152</sup> Some of the shapes had been previously published, but a clear functional analysis had been lacking and the typological designation had been rather general.<sup>153</sup> Other than that some fragments of jugs (*jarros*) and costrels (*cantis*) had been found. Last but not least, the group of delicate drinking cups (*pucaros*<sup>154</sup>) that was investigated, resulted in a large variety of shapes. Some of these fine cups from Vlooienburg had been previously published, though the description as *terra sigillata* from Estremoz<sup>155</sup> is nowadays considered obsolete, since even though some of the high quality cups were indeed made in Estremoz, many cups were produced in Lisbon and other regions as well, and the technique of surface treatment on the Portuguese cups is different from what is considered actual *terra sigillata* in Roman archaeology.<sup>156</sup> In addition, through the recognition of these *pucaros* within the archaeological record, this name for delicate Portuguese ceramic cups and objects was also discovered in one of the probate inventories at Vlooienburg, where five tall white *poucaros* and one large tall pot of *poucaro* were mentioned (see fig. 3.5).

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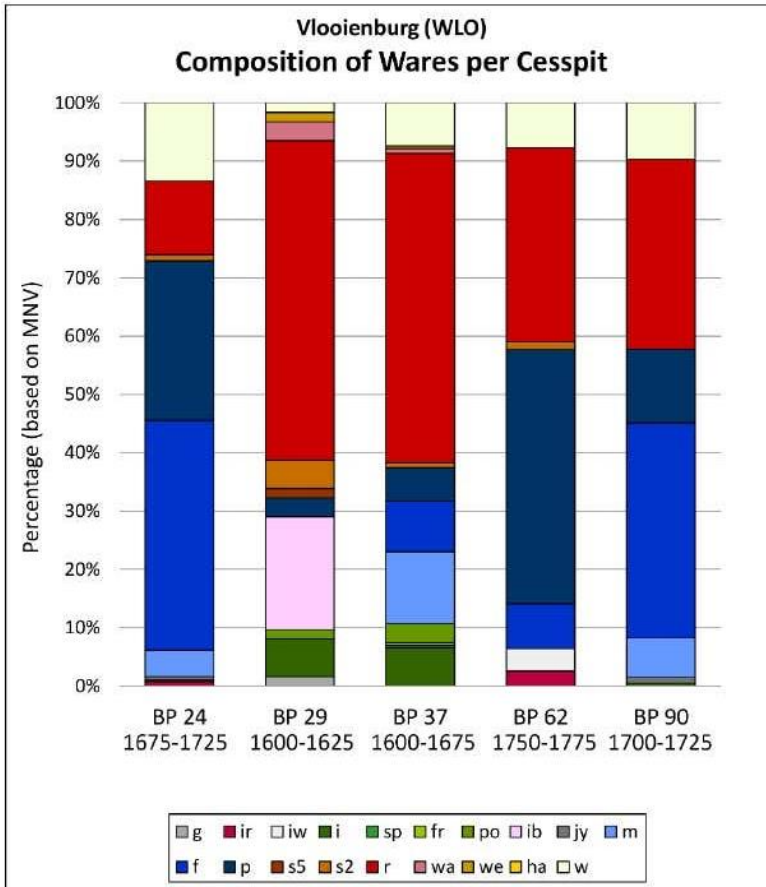
<sup>152</sup> Pers. Comm. dr. Tania Casimiro, Instituto de Arqueologia, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa.

<sup>153</sup> Gawronski 2012, 184-188.

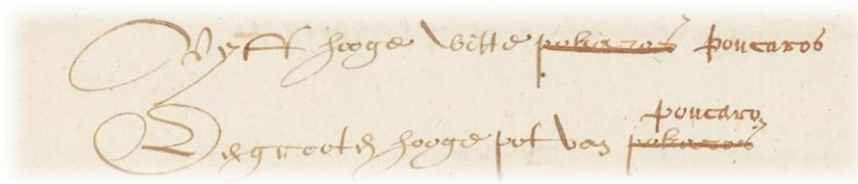
<sup>154</sup> Besides the Iberian *púcaros*, exclusive cups produced in the Spanish colonial empire, so-called *búcaros de Indias* existed. These will be discussed in Ch.5.

<sup>155</sup> Baart 1992.

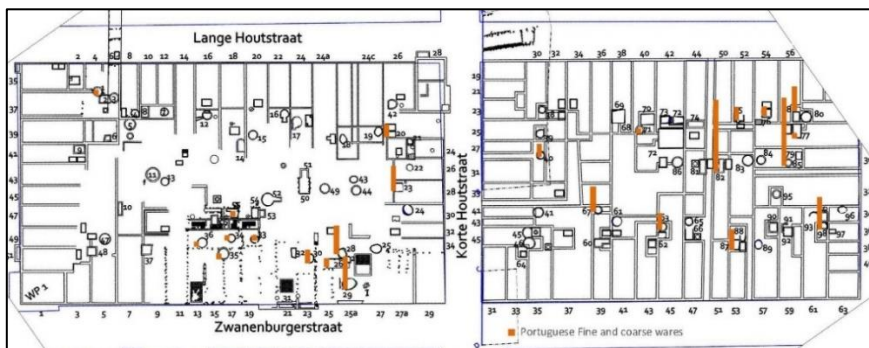
<sup>156</sup> Pers. Comm. dr. Tania Casimiro, Instituto de Arqueologia, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa.



**Fig. 3.4** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: The composition of wares from five different Vlooienburg contexts; cesspit number and dating mentioned below column. Legend information according to the Deventer System: g = Dutch greyware, ir = industrial redware, iw = industrial whiteware, i = Italian faience, sp = Spanish faience, fr = French faience, po = Portuguese faience, ib = Iberian wares, jy = Jydepotte, m = Dutch majolica, f = Dutch faience, p = porcelain, s5 = proto-stoneware, s2 = stoneware with glaze or engobe, r = Dutch redware, wa = Werra ware, we = Weser ware, ha = Hafner ware, w = whiteware).



**Fig. 3.5** Detail from the probate inventory of Aron alias Diego Dias Querido, who lived at the Zwanenburgerstraat 19 at Vlooienburg, between 1630 and 1673. The rich inventory, drawn up in 1633, mentions among others: 'five tall white *pekarsen poucaros*' and 'one large tall pot of *pekarsen poucaro*'.<sup>1</sup> Source: Amsterdam City Archives: NA 407A/110-116, inventory 16-2-1633, notary J. and N. Jacobs.



**Fig. 3.6** Vlooienburg Amsterdam: Distribution map of all of the different Portuguese fine and coarse wares (previously called Iberian wares) across the neighbourhood between circa 1600 and 1700, plotted on the field drawings of the excavations by the City of Amsterdam, Bureau Monuments and Archaeology.



### *Fine Wares and Special Fabrics*<sup>157</sup>

A minimum number of 49 pieces of fine redwares were found along the Vlooienburg cesspits contexts, most of which dated from the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The finds, with a range of 1 up to 14 objects per context, are spread all across the neighbourhood (see fig. 3.6). They mostly represent cups – the so called *púcaros* –, although a couple of small jugs, bottles and other shapes were also found. The level of decoration among the cups varies from plain simple to delicately shaped, dented and pinched pieces (see fig. 3.7). Whereas some are only represented by a few sherds, a couple of the cups are still intact. In relation to the special characteristics of Portuguese cups as mentioned above, it is interesting to note that one of the cups, from Vlooienburg was actually produced in Montemor-O-Novo, Portugal (see fig. 3.8). Also, one of the wider shaped cups from Vlooienburg includes some sort of application of entangled clay strings on the inside, a phenomena that is specific to ceramics that were designed to disperse earthen aromas, which was the reason why the *púcaros* came to be so famous (see fig. 3.9).<sup>158</sup> In the direct surroundings of Vlooienburg a minimum number of ten pieces of fine Portuguese wares have been found, including simple fine cups as well as examples with dented decorations or incisions and white slip décor, the latter of which were most likely produced in Coimbra, Portugal. Most of these finds have been uncovered during excavations at the Jodenbreestraat<sup>159</sup>, a street that is located directly to the north of the Vlooienburg neighbourhood. Among the fine wares there is also a costrel, which is decorated with the typical above mentioned incisions and white slip (see. fig. 3.10).

The earliest examples of Portuguese fine redwares in the Netherlands have been uncovered from contexts associated with wealthy households. The finds recovered at the castle De Haar in Utrecht, at Culemborg, at Dordrecht, and in The Hague may be used to illustrate this point.<sup>160</sup> The finely decorated redwares were considered luxury

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<sup>157</sup> For an overview of the finds in Vlooienburg and Amsterdam see Appendix 5.

<sup>158</sup> Casimiro & Newstead 2019, 146-147.

<sup>159</sup> Findnumbers JO4-37, JO4-38, JO-5, JO5-40, JO6-#3-1, JO-#3-2, JO6-#3-5, JO6-7, JO6-8, JO6-23.

<sup>160</sup> Jaspers & Ostkamp 2014: 15–16.

objects at the time. They are related to gift-exchange-systems among noble and elite societies in the sixteenth century, as it is shown by the example of King Philip II (1527-1598), who ordered Estremoz pottery as a gift for his daughters.<sup>161</sup> A small amount of fragments of decorated fine redwares have also been found in a few cities in the province of North-Holland that were connected with Portugal at the time due to the salt-trade, pieces are known from Purmerend, Haarlem and a fragment with stone inlay from Medemblik.<sup>162</sup> Furthermore a delicate Portuguese cup was uncovered from a shipwreck near Texel.<sup>163</sup>

A couple of finds that are known from Belgium, dating from the late 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century, come from wealthy households and an episcopal palace in the city of Antwerp - which was a very important hub in the trading network of Northern and Central Europe and housed many Portuguese merchants in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Examples have also been recovered from the city of Mechelen.<sup>164</sup> In Flanders fragments of decorated shapes have also been recovered from a high-status rural site, which was owned by a family member of an old Spanish-Portuguese noble family, the Ximenez family.<sup>165</sup>

Among Portuguese households the fine redwares were more or less common and daily used items, as is illustrated by the many drinking cups found in contexts in Lisbon and surroundings.<sup>166</sup> It has to be noted however that the plain undecorated cups were found among waste of the more ordinary households, whereas the highly decorated versions or those of special clays are only to be found in wealthy contexts or sometime in convents.<sup>167</sup> The cups – often of Portuguese origin, though they were also produced in some Spanish towns – were unglazed and were known for their ability to cool and scent water.<sup>168</sup> It is suggested that over the course of usage the objects might have lost these special

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<sup>161</sup> Jaspers & Ostkamp 2014: 11.

<sup>162</sup> Baart 1992: 273–278; Schrickx 2012, 73.

<sup>163</sup> Bartels 2003, 79.

<sup>164</sup> Bartels 2003.

<sup>165</sup> Veeckman 1994; Poulain, Van Vaerenbergh & De Clercq 2017.

<sup>166</sup> See for example: Teixeira & Bettencourt 2012, Vol I and II; Caessa et. al. 2016.

<sup>167</sup> Pers. Comm. T. Casimiro; Trindade 2012, 533-534.

<sup>168</sup> Michaëlis de Vasconcellos 1921; Domenici 2019, 3.

aromas. Therefore, this might be the reason why in Portugal they are found were discarded whole on a regular basis.<sup>169</sup> This is also the case with some of the examples from Vlooienburg. In Lisbon parallels of the wider cups with entangled clay strings as more open shapes have been found.<sup>170</sup> It is suggested that these might have functioned to contain water and thereby spread an earthen scent; “*like sunburnt earth exhaling after rainfall*” as was described by Magalotti in 1695.<sup>171</sup> The extremely coarse cups from Montemor-O-Novo are also regularly found in Portugal. Their fabric, which was tempered with small stones, was specifically known for their perdurable flavouring and scented effect.<sup>172</sup> Another place that was famous for the manufacturing of *púcaros* with a fern scent from at least the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards was Estremoz.<sup>173</sup>

It can be inferred that there seem to be two main reasons for the appearance of the fine and delicate red Portuguese ceramics outside of Portugal. In the first instance it seems that an appreciation of the fine redwares – as was popular amongst noble and elite societies in Portugal - was copied and adopted by the more prosperous citizens in European cities that were part of Portugal’s maritime trading network.<sup>174</sup> In the second place it appears that Portuguese fine redwares were brought along by Portuguese migrants in order to maintain a certain lifestyle they had in Portugal. At least, this seems to have been the case with the migrants - some of which wealthy merchants - at Vlooienburg. This is illustrated by the combination of historical evidence of Portuguese migrants that settled in the neighbourhood and the high concentration and variety of both simple and finely decorated Portuguese fine redwares. Another explanation is to be potentially found in the habit of

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<sup>169</sup> Pers. Comm. T. Casimiro.

<sup>170</sup> Pers. Comm. T. Casimiro.

<sup>171</sup> Casimiro & Newstead 2019, 145-146.

<sup>172</sup> Gomes & Casimiro 2015; Casimiro & Newstead 2019, 148.

<sup>173</sup> Michaëlis de Vasconcellos 1921, 15-16.

<sup>174</sup> Newstead & Casimiro 2020.

collecting exotic and exclusive objects, as was done in the so-called *cabinets-of-curiosities* or in painter's art rooms.<sup>175</sup>



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<sup>175</sup> Fine redware cups, some of which show clear similarities to finds from Vlooienburg, are found among other exclusive objects on the paintings of for example: *Chamber of Art and Curiosities* by Frans Francken, 1636 and *Interior of a Collector's Cabinet* by Cornelis de Baellieur, 1637.



**Fig. 3.7** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: Examples of the Portuguese cups from Vlooienburg illustrating both the plain and smooth fine wares and the fine 'moldada' wares with dented, pinched and scratched decorations which were applied when the clay was still editable. Photos: M. Stolk & Office for Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam.

1.) WLO-274-1 / 2.) WLO-274-2 / 3.) WLO-237-17 / 4.) WLO-274-4 /  
 5.) WLO-274-5 / 6.) WLO-274-3 / 7.) WLO-110-6 / 8.) WLO-267-8 /  
 9.) WLO-265-#001 / 10.) WLO-240-#031-1 / 11.) WLO-274-#001 /  
 12.) WLO-274-#004



**Fig. 3.8**

Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: Cup from Vlooienburg, which has been produced in Montemor-o-Novo, Portugal, clearly showing the specific tempering with small stones. (WLO-237-4)

Photo: Office for Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam.



**Fig. 3.9** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: Example of a double eared cup with applied incisions, white slip and entangled clay strings on the inside, most likely produced in Coimbra, Portugal. (WLO-264-#021) Photo: R. Tousain, Office for Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam.



**Fig. 3.10** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: Portuguese costrel, most likely produced in Coimbra, decorated with incisions, white slip and press-mold appliques. (WLO-126-1) Photo: Office for Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam.

### *Coarse Wares*<sup>176</sup>

Although the coarse wares are not the most elegant pieces of Portuguese pottery that have been found among the assemblages at Vlooienburg, it is precisely this group of ceramics, with cooking pots and chamber pots, that perhaps most clearly depict the personal story of the Portuguese migrants in Amsterdam, who brought along parts of their household effect and everyday utensils. The finds from Vlooienburg enclosed a total of at least 38 Portuguese coarse wares, spread across at least twelve cesspit contexts, roughly dating in the late 16<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The coarse ware pieces mainly comprise domestic wares (see fig. 3.11, fig. 3.12 and 3.13) such as boiling pots (*panelas*), stewing pots (*tachos*), lids (*tampas*), frying pans (*frigideiras*), small bowls (*tigelas*), a jar (*a jarra*) and chamber pots (*bispotes*). Besides the items listed above, some industrial and commercial shapes, such as olive jars, storage vessels or containers are also present at Vlooienburg, although in far fewer numbers. The diversity of Portuguese cooking wares at Vlooienburg's assemblages suggests that a cooking tradition that was intentionally brought along by the migrants and can be seen as a conscious attempt to hold on to treasured habits or memories. It is interesting to note here that some of the cooking wares are fragmented, worn, bear clear soot traces and seem to have been used intensively, whereas others are completely intact and seem relatively unused. Some domestic items were used until the end of their use, while others for unknown reasons seem to have been deliberately deposited among the households waste before the end of their potential lifespan. As for the distribution of Portuguese coarse wares at Vlooienburg, there does not seem to be a clear concentration (see fig. 3.6). On a street level it seems that the coarse wares are more prominent along the Zwanenburgerstraat and only sporadically found at the Lange Houtstraat. Overall they seem to be distributed rather evenly among the neighbourhood. It is, however, not possible to draw any hard conclusion from this, as the cesspit contexts only reflect part of the total household waste once present, due to emptying out on a regular basis and the fact that most of the Portuguese

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<sup>176</sup> For an overview of the finds in Vlooienburg and Amsterdam see Appendix 5.

household wares will have been present in the earliest phase of the neighbourhood.

Portuguese domestic coarse wares, including objects for food preparation and cooking, as well as chamber pots, have only been found in the Vlooienburg neighbourhood and are at currently not known from any other excavation in Amsterdam, or indeed the Netherlands, which makes the assemblages from Vlooienburg unique in this country. In Portugal coarse wares were obviously among the most commonly used wares in households and there are many parallels for the Vlooienburg finds. Both the domestic wares and the commercial or industrial wares, are to be found among archaeological assemblages in for example Lisbon and many other sites in Portugal.<sup>177</sup> As is summarized by Casimiro, Portuguese coarse wares are uncovered in several countries across Europe, such as England, Ireland, Scotland, the Low Countries, Germany and Denmark - and beyond, in Canada, the USA, Brazil and African countries. These finds seem to be mainly trade-related.<sup>178</sup> Portuguese ceramic containers were used for the export of olive oils, olives and sweets and some of the other coarse wares seem to be related to their use in the sugar production.<sup>179</sup> The only convincing find of Portuguese domestic wares overseas however comes from the site of Plymouth, in south west England, where a number of cooking vessels has been found among the remains of what is believed to be a small Portuguese community who lived there during the early modern period.<sup>180</sup>

Thus, in contrast to the Portuguese fine wares, which were famously used by royal elites or chosen to be depicted on still life paintings, the simple coarse wares were in daily use and for that reason appear to be crucial for the archaeological recognition of Portuguese migrant households. From this angle it might be interesting for future research to re-examine ceramic assemblages in cities such as Antwerp and Hamburg, which are known to have had their share of Portuguese

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<sup>177</sup> For parallel finds see for instance: Casimiro 2014a and Gomes 2012.

<sup>178</sup> Casimiro 2014a. See also: Hurst et.al. 1986; Hurst 2000; Baart 1992; Gutierrez 2007; Newstead 2013; Newstead 2014; Poulain et.al. 2017.

<sup>179</sup> Casimiro 2011, 184; Gutierrez 2007.

<sup>180</sup> Newstead 2014.



migrants. It may be that, due to other migration patterns, similar finds are not present in these cities, however it might very well be the case that, just like in Amsterdam, part of these ceramics up to now have been misinterpreted or unrecognized, resulting in an apparent absence in the archaeological records.



**Fig. 3.11** Selection of shapes related to cooking an food preparation from Vlooienburg, Amsterdam. Left to right, top down: WLO-283A-48 (unglazed *frigideira*) / WLO-95-19 (unglazed *tacho*) / WLO-116-21 (clearly sooted unglazed *frigideira*) / WLO-114-6 (clearly sooted unglazed *tacho*) /WLO-274-7 (lid)/ WLO-82-1 (unglazed *panela*) / WLO-280-3 (green glazed *panela* with horizontally twisted handles) / WLO-280-4 (green glazed *panela* with vertical placed handles). Photos: R. Tousain, Office for Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam



**Fig. 3.12** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: examples of a Portuguese jar (*jarro*) and a couple of small bowls (*tigelas*) from some of the cesspits contexts at Vlooienburg: WLO-129-4, WLO-114-2, WLO-114-3 and WLO-114-5. Photos: R. Tousain. Office for Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam.



**3.13** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: example of a Portuguese chamber pot (*bispotes*) from one of the cesspit contexts at Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: WLO-251-6. Photo: R. Tousain, Office for Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam.

## ***Discussion***

To summarize, it can be clearly stated that the amount of Portuguese ceramics among the Vlooienburg assemblages is exceptional for Dutch contexts. The Portuguese faience, though traded along the coastal areas of North-Western Europe and found in many other Dutch maritime-related cities and places, seems to be represented in larger quantities at the site of Vlooienburg and in addition sometimes depicts family names and coats of arms which are related to Portuguese connectedness. So, despite the fact that the Portuguese faience cannot be used regardless as an 'ethnic marker' to identify Portuguese migrants in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, it forms a coherent element in the interpretation of migrant identities at Vlooienburg. Even more concrete, is the evidence that is provided by the Portuguese fine and coarse household wares.<sup>181</sup> The delicate wares, only have a couple of parallels from Dutch archaeological contexts, and the coarse cooking and sanitary wares - so far - do not seem to have any parallels from Dutch sites at all, showing there uniqueness both in Amsterdam and the Netherlands.

Whereas the faience and the fine wares can be interpreted as agents in both the formation or maintenance of a Portuguese or European elite lifestyle in a social constructed context, the cooking wares and chamber pots more directly engage with personal choices and more primarily related to the private elements of households and to eventual homecoming practices. In a certain way this can be compared with the process of Iberian social practice in the Spanish-Americas, where Spanish colonists mainly used European and Hispanic artefacts in socially visible context, showing of their Iberian identity. A significant difference here though seems to be the role of women in the process of homecoming practice. In the case of the Spanish America's the kitchens are largely representing indigenous ceramics and traditions, most likely due to the intermarriage of male colonists and local women.<sup>182</sup> At Vlooienburg on the other hand, where the migrants not only consisted

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<sup>181</sup> It should be noted here that this is specifically connected to households wares, such as cooking utensils, table wares and sanitary wares, and that among the coarse wares olive jars and other storage related items are excluded, due to their large distribution among the trading network.

<sup>182</sup> Deagan 1988; Deagan 1996.

of Portuguese men, but also of complete families, the kitchens too show clear traces of Iberian influence, presumably as a result of feminine influence. Such engendered roles and patterns should however be approached with caution, since these might not always have been that clear-cut - and household settings in general might have been more complex, including for example servants or other (temporary) residents.

Nonetheless, in the light of the above some of the Portuguese elements of the Vlooienburg assemblages, could be interpreted as so-called *diasporic objects*, used to memorize their Portuguese lifestyle and providing us with insides in the belongings of Portuguese migrants in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in Amsterdam. With the decline of the overall presence of Portuguese ceramics in the Netherlands in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>183</sup>, it is however difficult to draw any hard conclusion regarding the disappearance of these wares among the Vlooienburg assemblages at the same time. One of the most obvious explanations could be that it was mainly the first generation of migrants arriving in Amsterdam who brought along such an extensive set of household goods, including complete sets of crockery and cooking utensils, whereas following generations, going through processes of cultural exchanges and a certain level of (un)intentional local adaptation, engaged with a different and changeable material environment.

It is not possible to come to an all-inclusive interpretation here, but it is evident that at least in the late 16<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Portuguese ceramics involved with food preparation and consumption took part in the formation processes of Portuguese immigrant identities at Vlooienburg, Amsterdam. Whereas some of the Portuguese ceramics were thrown away in cesspits while unbroken and still functional, other pots seem to have been used intensively as seen by thick layer of soot. It is known from the probate inventory of Abraham Henriques Julio alias Diego Diaz del Campo, dating from 1718, that he kept, '*Portuguese ceramics both intact and broken*', in a box at in attic of his

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<sup>183</sup> Jaspers & Ostkamp 2014.

house.<sup>184</sup> So some people might have treasured their Portuguese pots, treating them as heirlooms and valuing them so much that they would keep them, even when broken, while on the other hand they might have been people discarding their Portuguese pots while still relatively new, in admittedly preference of adaptation to a new environment and a new life style. It remains to be seen what the actual intentions were among the inhabitants of Vlooienburg, however, the set of collective material biographies clearly shows how seemingly random household items took on a significant role in shaping of identities in the past and to some extent added to a level of community belonging and engagement.

### **3.3 Archaeological (in)Visibility: Small Migrant communities**

#### ***Search for Scandinavians***

Besides the Portuguese migrants that have been dealt with in the previous section, historical sources underline the significance of Scandinavian migrants who came to Amsterdam due to the economic opportunities.<sup>185</sup> Based on the promising results of pinpointing *diasporic objects* in the case of the Portuguese migrants at Vlooienburg, an attempt was made to conduct a comparable study for Scandinavian material evidence. The ambiguous goal of this effort was to shed light on the Scandinavian presence and corresponding lifestyles at Vlooienburg, while simultaneously testing the methodological approach in using *diasporic objects* as one of the tools in the search for migrant groups among the archaeological records.

In order to narrow down this research the first exploration focused on potential Danish components at Vlooienburg. The first results of this investigation seemed rather encouraging, as Danish earthen wares, so-called *Jydepotter*, were recovered. A total of 16 cesspit contexts from Vlooienburg contained fragments of *Jydepotter* ceramics, representing

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<sup>184</sup> Levie 1987, 23.

<sup>185</sup> See for example the amount of Scandinavian records in the burgher's book of the Amsterdam City Archives. See also: Kuijpers 2005; Sogner & Van Lottum 2007.

a minimum of 18 pots all dating from the 17<sup>th</sup> century (see fig. 3.14, 3.15 & 3.16). The fragments could be easily recognized as the typical burnished grey-black earthenware, most of which were cooking pots, although a fragment of a bowl and one fragment of a frying pan were also found in cesspit contexts. The current total amount of Jydepotter from Amsterdam has a minimum number of 75 individual pots<sup>186</sup>, dating mostly to the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century. Some 40 of these pieces come from Vlooienburg ; as mentioned there are 18 pieces from cesspit contexts and there are an additional 22 from other layers and landfills. This concentration of Jydepotter at Vlooienburg might appear evident, however, in must be kept in mind that this site reflects the remains of two complete residential housing blocks, potentially causing an overrepresentation.

Jydepotter are more frequently found at archaeological sites in the Netherlands, starting from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, with a peak from circa 1650 until the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Most of the pots have been found in the coastal regions of the provinces of Holland and Friesland, although incidental finds are known from other provinces too, though often at places that were located alongside waterways taking part in trading routes. Jydepotter are for example known as archaeological finds from Alkmaar, Enkhuizen, Hoorn, Zwaag, Zaandam, Broek in Waterland, Texel, Rottumerplaat and Utrecht.<sup>187</sup>

The link between these Danish ceramics and Scandinavian migrants becomes complicated, however, when a broader approach to the use and distribution of *Jydepotter* is taken. In contrast to the Portuguese cooking wares, which are not considered as straight forward commodities of trade, the *Jydepotter* were exported on a regular basis to places in Sweden, Norway, Northern Germany and the coastal areas of the Netherlands.<sup>188</sup> There are multiple historical sources mentioning these Danish pots as merchandise, as is the case in the custom records

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<sup>186</sup> See Appendix 6.

<sup>187</sup> Van Reenen & Jensen 1995; Bartels 2017, 142, Duijn 2011, 55; Klei 2018, 97-98; Ostkamp & Jaspers 2008, 17; Schrickx 2016, 153; Schrickx 2019,29-30; Van der Voorde 1988, Knol & Buursma 2015, 243.

<sup>188</sup> Linaa 2015.

from Varde, Hjerting<sup>189</sup> or in the records of the Sound Toll Register<sup>190</sup>, describing them as *sorte potter* (black pots). An explicit cause for this export remains unknown and despite the fact that the pots are regularly found at 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century sites in the western regions of the Netherlands, not much is known about the actual use of *Jydepotter*. The explanations for the presence of Jydepotter in archaeological assemblages in the Netherlands are diverse. Some interpretations suggest that the grey ceramics were traded as a by-product of ships from the Baltic Sea, which were carrying other products, such as timber, agricultural products, dried fish and peat.<sup>191</sup> This may be debated, however, as some have described these unglazed wares as products inferior to the local glazed cooking wares. Other suggestions are the use of the pots as containers of unknown Danish delicacies or for the preparation of a specific dish giving it a particular flavour.<sup>192</sup> The divergent interpretations regarding the Jydepotter in the Netherlands, and the fact that these pots clearly seem to have been exported to various countries at the time, ask for a very careful approach and it would be too simplistic to suggest that they may be used to identify the households of Danish migrants. On a European scale not much attention seems to have been paid to the Danish 'black pots', or at least not much has been published about them in English. On the other hand, they are considered a technically specialized product which can be of relevance in the study of the urban poor, leaving us with many questions about their interpretation.<sup>193</sup>

Besides the issue of the Danish Jydepotter, the Scandinavian cases also brought to light some interesting methodological complications. It turned out that conducting specialist research that focuses on ceramic assemblies only, can create a distorted picture, causing important other material groups to be overlooked. After investigating the Danish ceramics, the question arose what Norwegian ceramics, and cooking

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<sup>189</sup> Linaa 2015: Custom records from Varde, Hjerting, State Archives (after Guldberg 1999).

<sup>190</sup> See for example Sont Toll Register record 084\_0028\_16.

<sup>191</sup> Van Reenen & Jensen 1995, 5-6.

<sup>192</sup> Ostkamp 2008, 17.

<sup>193</sup> Linaa 2019.

wares in particular, looked like in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. This resulted in the realization that Norwegians did not produce, or barely produced any ceramics in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and therefore obviously Norwegian ceramic are absent in ceramic analysis, and thus are seemingly not present at all when solely studying ceramic remains.<sup>194</sup> As a replacement, the Norwegians imported pottery from elsewhere or used stone vessels, which were often as cooking utensils. A quick scan of the stone fragments from Vlooienburg, however, did not reveal any potential fragments of soap stone vessels or any comparable fragments at all.

Next to the previous mentioned interpretive and methodological issues, it has to be taken into account too that there was a significant Dutch-Scandinavian connection in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, resulting in for example Dutch ceramics showing up in 17<sup>th</sup> century Danish and Swedish assemblages.<sup>195</sup> This element of partial intercultural exchange on the level of domestic utensils might therefore complicate the identification of potential diasporic objects in the cases of Scandinavian migrants. However, the level of interconnectedness between the local Danish and Swedish communities and the (often trade related) Dutch migrants did develop over time.<sup>196</sup>

Besides the concerns mentioned above there are some straightforward circumstantial differences between the Portuguese and the Scandinavian migrants that might have influenced the degree of archaeological visibility, namely the socio-economic context and motivations for migration. Written evidence for instance illustrates the level of poverty among many of the Danish migrants. Some examples are the cases of Delia Knoesten, Elsje Christiaens and Marij Croes, coming from respectively Denmark, Jutland and Aarhus, who got into serious trouble due to their poor living conditions in Amsterdam. Delia Knoesten<sup>197</sup> was banished from the city in 1649, as she had been caught

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<sup>194</sup> Thanks go out to Volker Demuth and Christian Løchsen Rødsrud, who kindly helped me with this matter.

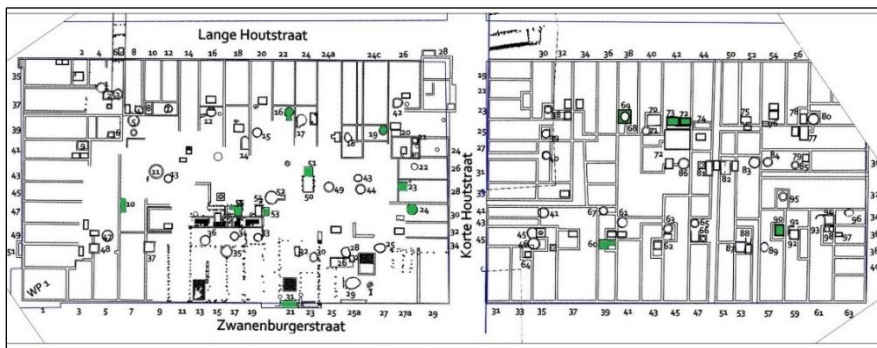
<sup>195</sup> Linaa ed. 2020; Carlsson, Forsblom Ljungdahl & Gustavsson 2017, 384- 386.

<sup>196</sup> Linaa 2020, 496-498.

<sup>197</sup> Amsterdam City Archives; Confession books, arch.nr. 5061, inv.nr. 308, p. 54.



begging. Elsie Christiaens<sup>198</sup> - famous for the sketches made by Rembrandt - was sentenced to death in 1664 after killing her landlady due to problems with the payment of her rent (see fig. XX.) And the story of Marij Croes<sup>199</sup>, being a pregnant single woman who temporary lived in the basement of an elderly couple at Vlooienburg, did not end well either in 1673. Based on these stories we might wonder if some of the Danish migrants were even in a position to bring along any personal belongings and therefore maybe not even able to provide us with any archaeological trace to reconstruct their presence or lifestyle. Unlike some of the wealthy Portuguese migrants, who apparently were in the position to ship their extensive set of household goods, there were those migrant poor who would not have much to carry forward at all. So to conclude, this case study underlines the difficulties in studying identity formation and expressions between different migrant groups in the same neighbourhood. Nonetheless, further research on the cases of Scandinavians at Vlooienburg, using a more holistic approach, closely combining historical and various material groups among the archaeological data, might provide us with a clearer image of the daily circumstances for these migrants.



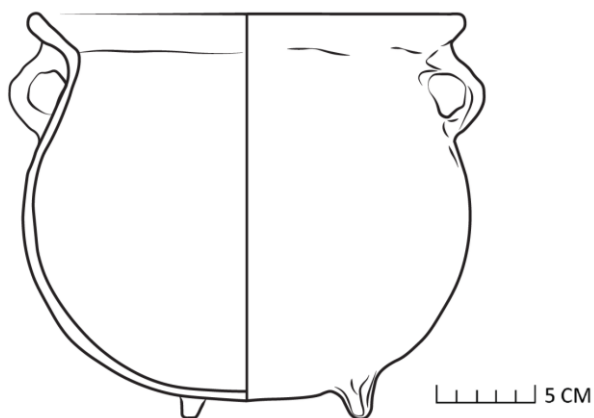
**Fig. 3.14** Overview of the presence of Jydepotter at the cesspits of Vlooienburg. Sources: Map of the neighbourhood by the Office for Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam. Data by author.

<sup>198</sup> Amsterdam City Archives; Confession books, arch.nr. 5061, inv.nr. 316, p. 83-84.

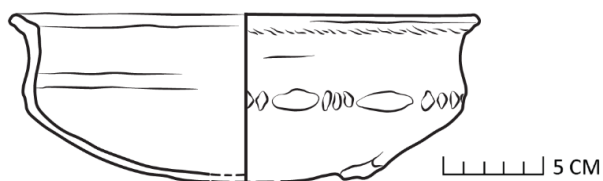
<sup>199</sup> Amsterdam City Archives; Confession books, arch.nr. 5061, inv.nr. 321, p. 100, 101,103, 104 & 105.



**Fig. 3.15**  
 Vlooienburg, Amsterdam:  
 Fragments from a Danish  
 Jydepot from one of the  
 cesspits contexts (WLO-301-  
 6). Photo: Ron Tousain,  
 Office for Monuments and  
 Archaeology, City of  
 Amsterdam.



**Fig. 3.16**  
 Vlooienburg,  
 Amsterdam:  
 Top: One of the  
 typical Danish  
 Jydepotter  
 cooking pots  
 from  
 Vlooienburg,  
 Amsterdam  
 (WLO-94-10).



Bottom: Danish  
 vessel from  
 Vlooienburg,  
 Amsterdam  
 (WLO-88-1).

Drawings M.  
 Stolk, after Van  
 Reenen &  
 Jensen 1995, 2.

### ***The small black community of Amsterdam***

Whereas the attention for historic African archaeology and slavery has grown over the last decades, this topic has for a long time been neglected or focused on European oriented elements of slavery only.<sup>200</sup> It is only more recently that African cultures as such and the African diaspora has gained more interest.<sup>201</sup> The archaeological identification of the origins of African slaves is considered to be exceptionally difficult, due to a lack of material remains and because of cultural transformations between the various African cultural zones as well as during the period of Atlantic (slave) trade.<sup>202</sup> The lack of material evidence on African sites is shown by the excavations of a large slave trading city in Ghana, Elmina, where many slaves from different regions had been traded between the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the only slave related artefacts that were uncovered were a potential burden weight and a shackle, both made from iron.<sup>203</sup>

When looking for African presence or material culture at European sites, the archaeological research is scarce, though recently gaining more attention. Historical evidence from Portugal suggests that slaves would bring nothing with them, plus it has to be taken into account that among the enslaved there were second- or third-generation slaves - who therefore might have had another perception of their own origin and as such of their potential material expression.<sup>204</sup> Despite this, some unique African related objects from Portuguese sites are considered potential material indicators regarding the presence of people from African origin in Portugal. These items, so-called '*African*' pots, have been uncovered at archaeological sites in Lisbon, Almada, Cadaval and Cascais. They are hand built, using the coiling technique, bag-shaped with a flat base and two handles and have a burnished surface treatment. The current state of research shows that they were not produced in Portugal, they show similarities to objects made by African populations in North America and by Africans in Brazil,

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<sup>200</sup> Singleton 1985; Singleton 1991; DeCorse 1991

<sup>201</sup> Ogundiran & Falola 2007; Lane & Macdonalds 2013; Kolfin & Runia 2020

<sup>202</sup> DeCorse 1991.

<sup>203</sup> DeCorse 1991, 92-96.

<sup>204</sup> Casimiro et. al. 2020, 81-82.

however their origin remains unknown.<sup>205</sup> So far they have primarily been interpreted as cooking pots because of the soot traces, though they might have been maybe secondary used as storage containers on ships coming from Africa and later revalued by members of the African population in Portugal. More research is certainly needed in order to establish whether these 'African' pots are actually of African manufacture and to what extent they shed light on the narrative of the small African community in early modern Portugal. Nonetheless these pots could be seen as a starting point in the research of African material culture in European contexts. It might very well be possible that – fragments of – such objects are present at more sites, but have not been identified before due to a lack of knowledge.<sup>206</sup>

Besides the *African pots*, a focus on glass beads in relation to enslaved people has been one of the main issues in archaeological contexts, reflecting on some sort of shared practice among African Americans. The beads are considered to have been of cultural significance in the process of self-identity through personal adornment, although the precise use and value was fluid and depending on the specific contexts, since glass beads had been used in (slave) trade in early modern times too.<sup>207</sup>

Currently archaeological evidence for the presence of the historically known small African community at Vlooienburg or Amsterdam at all is rare. It is very well possible that some material evidence was present, though it might not have been recognized or identified as such yet. So far one of the best leads is that of a West African / East American clay pipe dating in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century that has been uncovered at the excavations of the North South line. However it remains unsure if this item was brought back as a souvenir or was brought along one of the African inhabitants of the city.<sup>208</sup> A potential indicator supporting the idea that some African artefacts found their way to Amsterdam as possessions of African people, is to be

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<sup>205</sup> Casimiro et.al. 2020, 83-89.

<sup>206</sup> Casimiro et. al. 2020, 83-92.

<sup>207</sup> Lee 2011.

<sup>208</sup> Ponte, in prep. Afrikanen in Amsterdam, in *Archeologie en de Noord/Zuidlijn van Amsterdam*.

found in on one of Rembrandts studies of an African woman, who is carrying an indigenous pot (see fig. 3.17).<sup>209</sup> Rembrandt – who lived at the Jodenbreestraat, alongside Vlooienburg – preferred to draw from life and made multiple sketches and studies of the African people who lived in the neighbourhood.<sup>210</sup> The communal records of the early Portuguese Jewish community mention that members of the Portuguese nation brought their African ‘servants’ with them when they came to Amsterdam and describe the regulations that were established regarding their eventual membership of the Jewish community.<sup>211</sup>

To summarize we may conclude that the relative scarcity of comprehensive and integrated studies into African archaeology from the historical period, in combination with the seemingly minimal material remains, leave us with an extremely difficult problem when it comes to identification of African residents through archaeological evidence, whether they were enslaved or free people. However recent work on the matter seems promising<sup>212</sup>, further research, including amongst other things the glass beads<sup>213</sup> and cowrie shells<sup>214</sup> of Vlooienburg, would therefore be recommended.

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<sup>209</sup> Kolfin & Runia 2020.

<sup>210</sup> See: Kolfin & Runia 2020.

<sup>211</sup> Elazar-DeMota 2019; <https://www.asser.nl/global-city/news-and-events/african-blacks-and-mulattos-in-the-17th-century-amsterdam-portuguese-jewish-community/>

<sup>212</sup> See for example: Lee 2011, Lima et. al. 2014 and Heath 2016.

<sup>213</sup> At least 245 glass beads have been found at different Vlooienburg cesspit context.

<sup>214</sup> At least 38 cowri shells are known from different Vlooienburg cesspit contexts, other exotic shells present at Vlooienburg are: the *conus musicus*, the *fasciolaria trapezium*, the *coquille*, the *olivia ispidula*, different *strombus* shells and a *voluta musica*.



**Fig. 3.17** Study of a standing African Woman, by Rembrandt van Rijn, circa 1642. Montreux, E.J. Reynolds Collection, until 1932. Present location unknown.

**Fig 3.18**

Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: Depiction of a black person on a Dutch faience cup that was found in one of the cesspits ( WLO – 138 - 46, circa 1670 - 1700). Office for Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam.



### **3.4 Conclusion**

As this chapter has shown, any attempt to recover evidence for immigrant identities solely using archaeological evidence can be described as challenging. The finds from Vlooienburg, Amsterdam illustrate how different migrant groups ask for specified approaches in order to have a chance of finding potential archaeological indicators to identify them at first and further investigate and contextualize them afterwards. As such, this chapter should be seen as a contribution

and starting point for future research into Amsterdam migrant communities, whilst providing insight in its the theoretical, methodological and practical challenges.

In the case of the Portuguese migrants the ceramic finds turned out to be of great importance, though in order to be able to recognize the diasporic objects that were brought along by the first migrant generation, an in depth study of the various wares, shapes, functions and consumption and distribution patterns was crucial. The results were very promising and provided insights into the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century elite drinking habits of the Portuguese elite using so called púcaros, as well as bringing us to the private domain with the extended sets of traditional cooking pots. The finds embody how food ways and certain customs were considered as a cultural medium in the expression and maintenance of identity and as an element of memory and established practice. Whereas these specific Portuguese items evidence the way in which the Portuguese migrants must have navigated through the process of cultural mixing after their departure from the Iberian Peninsula, the objects seem to have disappeared from the Vlooienburg assemblages completely by the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This might suggest an adaptation of other customs and a certain shift in cultural identity, although another explanation could be that by the 18<sup>th</sup> century the wealthier members of the Portuguese community moved to other parts of the city.

As for the other migrant groups much more research needs to be conducted. The concise Scandinavian case study illustrated how sometimes a singular ceramic analyses could cause a distorted image and thus how a more holistic approach could be essential, and maybe even indispensable, in the case of labour migrants. Consequently, this concept would probably be applicable for the study of other European migrants, like the German, French or Italians who came to Amsterdam over the course of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century. In addition the exploration of the archaeological visibility of the small African community makes us aware of the large impact of involuntary migration on the material remainders, or more accurate on the lack of physical remnants.

This study underlines the relevance of combining historical and archaeological sources in order to come to a more complete impression of past society. Without the historical data some of the communities might go unnoticed and without the archaeological finds the everyday aspect might lose much of its details. It might even be advisable to incorporate more cultural anthropological and sociological migrant studies into future research, in order to come to interpretations outside own or contemporary frames of reference. In this way more attention could go out to the correlation between the processes of migration and the material and archaeological evidence that remains.



CHAPTER 4.

## KOSHER SEALS AND A KIDDUSH CUP

Jewish Practice and Identity at Vlooienburg



## 4. KOSHER SEALS AND A KIDDUSH CUP

### Jewish Practice and Identity at Vlooienburg

#### 4.1 Introduction

The archaeological study of Judaism in general, often focusses on the Late Bronze Age period in the Levant, investigating and debating matters concerning Early Judaism.<sup>215</sup> The archaeological research of the later Jewish diaspora, that of the European Middle Ages and Early Modern time, however is considered more sporadically due to a lack of physical evidence.<sup>216</sup> We can ask ourselves however, if there indeed is a lack of archaeological evidence related to Judaism? Or, whether it is the complexity of the material traces of Jewish religion within the archaeological record that results in the underrepresentation of 'Jewish Archaeology', especially in medieval and post medieval times?

Minority communities in medieval and early modern Europe, such as Jewish communities, have been barely investigated on an archaeological material level at all<sup>217</sup>, which according to Harck has to do with the relatively recent development of the terminology for and interest in minority communities in social and historical science.<sup>218</sup> On top of this he suggests that minorities are sometimes rather defined by immaterial values, than by material representation and are as such thus more difficult to identify within the archaeological record.<sup>219</sup> In the case of European medieval archaeological sites, objects with a direct reference to their Jewish possessors are scarcely recognized, despite the large quantities of ceramics and other finds from Jewish residential areas and Jewish cultural institutions. In fact many of the finds from Jewish residential contexts could as well have been found at non-Jewish find contexts and do not show any visible differences.<sup>220</sup> In the city of Amsterdam - as well as in many other European cities -

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<sup>215</sup> Wesler 2012, 188.

<sup>216</sup> Wesler 2012, 203.

<sup>217</sup> Harck 1999, 4-5.

<sup>218</sup> Harck 2014, 17.

<sup>219</sup> Harck 2014, 17.

<sup>220</sup> Harck 2014, 417.

there are some clear physical reminders of a Jewish presence in the past in the form of synagogues and burial grounds.<sup>221</sup> In some cities archaeological research has revealed the remains of medieval and early modern *mikvahs*<sup>222</sup> of which the earliest is date back as far as the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>223</sup> However, the research gets more complicated when moving towards the archaeology of settlements or when shifting the focus to a household level and religious practice in daily life. As for Vlooienburg, the question arises if any of the early modern finds from the residential area are recognizable as Jewish artefacts and if so, how these finds are to be related to the (renewing of the) Jewish faith and identity among its inhabitants? This chapter will therefore specifically focus on Jewish artefacts and religious practice at Vlooienburg.

Archaeological studies of Judaism in residential areas often search for 'markers' of Jewish religion, whereas 'Jewish identity' – particularly in 17<sup>th</sup> century Amsterdam - had a rather ambiguous character and was subject to change, depending on context and circumstances. As is pointed out by Roitman<sup>224</sup> - who closely analysed the social and cultural journey of two 17<sup>th</sup> century Sephardic merchant families – Jewish ancestry can be perceived in different ways: There are variations in the perception of Jewishness among those from Jewish descent and those who choose to be Jewish by assent, as well as among those who considered themselves Jewish or those who were considered Jewish by outsiders due to their (Sephardic) origin. In addition, it is suggested that those originating from the Iberian Peninsula – so called 'New Christians' - could be manifesting themselves as being Christian when in company of Christians, whereas many would reconnect with their Jewish origin when in company of Jews.<sup>225</sup> When also taking into account the phenomenon of crypto-Judaism<sup>226</sup> and the numerous cross-cultural

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<sup>221</sup> For information on the Jewish heritage in Amsterdam see i.a.: Vega & Swetschinski 1975; Kistemaker & Levie 1987 and Gawronski & Jayasena 2007.

<sup>222</sup> A mikvah - also spelled mikveh – is a Jewish ritual bath that is used for ceremonial cleansing.

<sup>223</sup> For examples in Germany see: Künzl 1992, 25-43, For the mikvah of Amsterdam see: Gawronski & Jayasena 2007, 27.

<sup>224</sup> Roitman 2009.

<sup>225</sup> Kaplan 1981; Roitman 2009, 222-223.

<sup>226</sup> Roitman 2011, 31-32.

connections that were part of the vibrant environment of 17<sup>th</sup> century Amsterdam, it becomes clear that defining a Jewish community - as was present at Vlooienburg in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century - is a rather complex matter. Swetschinski describes the Portuguese Jewish society as that of a '*patchwork culture*', with migrants speaking and writing different languages, using aliases and 'Dutchifying' their names, and combining elements of the Iberian, Jewish and Dutch life.<sup>227</sup>

In order to find a suitable research framework, the research for this chapter has mainly concentrated on the group of people who were actually known to have been practicing Judaism, since these households are likely to be the most detectable within the archaeological assemblages. I am of course conscious of the fact that this might leave out some groups, for example, those who were considered to be Jewish by the contemporary society based on their provenance, or were of Jewish origin, but were not practicing Judaism in an archaeologically visible way. The focus within this chapter is therefore to investigate the material visibility of Jewish religious practice based on archaeological finds and to explore the development of Jewish customs among the inhabitants of Vlooienburg while integrating both historical and archaeological data.

## **4.2 Jewish History and Heritage in Amsterdam**

### ***The Start of a Jewish Community in Amsterdam***

The early Jewish society of Amsterdam largely consisted of *conversos* or those in lineage of the New Christians who had fled the Iberian Peninsula by the thousands from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century and over the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, because of oppression by the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisition. They had often been forced to live as Christians or secretly practice Judaism at their homes for multiple generations, but nevertheless still felt the urge to return to their Jewish identity even after all this time.<sup>228</sup> The Dutch Republic, and especially the city of

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<sup>227</sup> Swetschinski 2000, 278-314.

<sup>228</sup> Swetschinski 2000, 4-5; Kaplan 2018, 25.

Amsterdam, took a relatively tolerant<sup>229</sup> attitude towards dissenters<sup>230</sup>, providing the New Christians with the opportunity to renew and redefine their Jewish faith and identity.<sup>231</sup> The first Sephardim settled around the area of the Nieuwmarkt, although soon this fast growing community became concentrated in and directly around the new Vlooienburg neighbourhood. Between roughly 1610 and 1675 the Sephardic community of Amsterdam expanded from approximately 350 residents up to about 2500.<sup>232</sup>

There were no social institutions that actually organized a systematic education for these renewed Jews, however the Jewish thought and practice of the community was to a certain level guaranteed by the distinct levels of leadership. In the first place, the ruling council, the *Mahamad*, maintained the sacred and social order of the community, mainly within the public sphere. Secondly the rabbinate was charged with the theological and philosophical tenets of the society. And finally, there were a number of charity societies who provided for the poorer members of the community and eventually made sure these members could receive religious education.<sup>233</sup>

After the settlement of the first Portuguese migrants in the course of the first decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Jews originating from eastern European regions found their way to Amsterdam. The first wave of these Ashkenazi migrants came in as consequence of the Thirty Years' War. They had fled the Germanic countries, mainly due to the poor living conditions and the anti-Jewish measures that had been taken and founded the Ashkenazi Community of Amsterdam in 1635.<sup>234</sup> Halfway

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<sup>229</sup> On tolerance regarding Jews in the Republic, see also: Swetschinski 2000, 8-53 and Cooperman 2008, 1-18.

<sup>230</sup> It is not certain what religion was adhered by the first Portuguese immigrants who arrived in Amsterdam at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, though it is clear that they were very willing to renew their Jewish faith and start their own community as soon as the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Vlaardingerbroek 2013, 16).

<sup>231</sup> Benoff 2018, 238-245; Levie-Bernfeld 2012, 1-4; Kaplan 2008, 183.

<sup>232</sup> Vlaardingerbroek 2013, 16-19.

<sup>233</sup> Benoff 2018, 238-245; For an extensive on poverty and poor relief in the Portuguese community of early modern Amsterdam, see: Levie-Bernfeld 2012.

<sup>234</sup> Kaplan 1989, 23; Wallet 2007, 106-107.

through the 17<sup>th</sup> century a second group of Ashkenazim found their way to Amsterdam due to the civil war in the Poland and the Russian invasion in Lithuania. The first German group and the second Polish group of Jews had formed their own community and prayer services, though the two communities joined together in 1673. In contrast with the stabilization of the migration of Sephardim, a great migration of Ashkenazim began from 1726 onwards. Hence while there had been around 5,000 Ashkenazim in Amsterdam around 1674, by 1795 the number of Jews from eastern Europe living in Amsterdam had risen to 22,000.<sup>235</sup>

All in all, the Portuguese Jews were welcome in Amsterdam, although a number of specific conditions were imposed upon their activities in return for residency. For example, Jews were not allowed to become burghers of the city of Amsterdam and, they initially had no access to political or administrative functions and, were not allowed to be part of most guilds.<sup>236</sup> Because of this exclusion from guilds, most of the Portuguese Jews found a profession in the brokerage, money trade, medical professions, book printing or the sugar, tobacco and diamond industries.<sup>237</sup> Around 1600, Amsterdam had been a city on the rise and the Sephardic Jews were a source of significant business contacts, resulting in economic benefits for both themselves and the city.<sup>238</sup> In particular, substantial trade contacts were made with Brazil and The West Indies, because of the exotic goods that these territories had to offer.<sup>239</sup> Portuguese Jews were highly active in the international trade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Despite this fact the influence of the Sephardic merchants in the economic system of Amsterdam was limited until 1648, when the end of the 80 Years war against the Spanish, allowed their share of the Atlantic trade to grow. In the late 17<sup>th</sup> century many Sephardic Jews took part in the organization and development of the stock market and took a significant share in the business of the West

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<sup>235</sup> Wallet 2007, 106-107.

<sup>236</sup> Vlaardingerbroek 2013, 14.

<sup>237</sup> Vlaardingerbroek 2013, 14.

<sup>238</sup> Swetschinski 2000,4.

<sup>239</sup> Stoutenbeek & Vigeveno 2008, 16.; Israël 1984, 34-35.

Indian Company.<sup>240</sup> In the contrary the wealth and thus the purchasing power of the population of Amsterdam was a great outlet for poor Jewish retailers and vendors.<sup>241</sup> The Ashkenazi Jews were mainly working in the elements of the business industry that were not organized through guilds, even though the government of Amsterdam was not very strict in the enforcement of laws that had to protect certain work fields and excluded Jews from specific jobs.<sup>242</sup> Most of them were vendors, worked on markets, or opened small-scale shops, functioning in relatively new businesses like for example the diamond, silk, tobacco or sugar refining industries. The Ashkenazim were however often very poor, with the exception of a small elite of wealthy merchants.<sup>243</sup>

### ***Synagogues and Cemeteries***

Even though the Jews were allowed relative freedom to observe their religion in Amsterdam upon their first arrival, they were not granted the privilege to hold their prayers in public synagogues. The Portuguese requested permission to establish their own synagogue in the city, however, this request was not immediately granted by the city. For this reason the Jews founded a congregation in Alkmaar in 1604 and in Haarlem in 1605, although in the end these communities were too small to survive.<sup>244</sup> The first Jewish religious gatherings in Amsterdam took place at the house of the rabbi Uri Halevie, an Ashkenazi Jew, who had been demanded to come to Amsterdam by the Portuguese settlers, and at other buildings within the private sphere.<sup>245</sup> The first actual synagogue at Vlooienburg arose in a converted warehouse at the Lange Houtstraat. From 1607 services were held at the Houtgracht, first in the house of Jacob Tirado (alias Guimes Lopez da Costa), resulting in the first congregation names *Beth Jacob* (House of Jacob). In 1614 they rented another former warehouse *huis Antwerpen* (the house Antwerp)

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<sup>240</sup> Michman 2007, 109; Oliel-Grausz 2-17,163.

<sup>241</sup> Stoutenbeek & Vigeveno 2008, 16.

<sup>242</sup> Wallet 2007, 107.

<sup>243</sup> Wallet 2007, 107.

<sup>244</sup> Vlaardingerbroek 2013, 13-14.

<sup>245</sup> Kaplan 2008, 182-183; Vlaardingerbroek 2013, 13-19.



at the Houtgracht, where a synagogue with galleries was created.<sup>246</sup> In 1608 another Portuguese congregation, *Neve Sjalom* (Abode of Peace) was erected and in 1618 the commune of *Beth Jacob* was split in two, leading to the establishment of *Beth Israël*. In 1639 the three communities were merged into the *Kahal Kadosj Talmud Torah* (the Holy Community for the Study of the Torah), who came together at the synagogue at the Houtgracht (see fig. 4.1).<sup>247</sup>

Halfway through the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the Jewish community was more established within Amsterdam, they were granted permission to build public synagogues, which were recognizable from the outside. It was due to the fourth city extension of Amsterdam between 1656-1662, that the Sephardic and Ashkenazic Jewish communities were able to acquire land close to Vlooienburg for the purpose of building their own churches. The first large synagogue for the Ashkenazim was erected in 1671. The complex consisted of a rectangular house of prayer, surrounded by a courtyard with side galleries and lower service buildings, which were used for educational institutions. A ritual bath, a so-called mikvah or mikveh, was constructed in the Northwest corner of the complex.<sup>248</sup> The synagogue was built by Elias Bouman and could accommodate 399 men on the ground floor and 368 women on the balconies.<sup>249</sup> Many additions, extensions and even a new larger synagogue were needed in the following decades however, because of the rapid growth of the community (see fig. 4.2). The Portuguese synagogue, which was also designed by Elias Bouman, was finished, after some delays, in 1675.<sup>250</sup>

Soon after their arrival in Amsterdam the Jewish community of conversos sought a burial ground of its own.<sup>251</sup> However, this was not

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<sup>246</sup> Vlaardingerbroek 2013, 18.

<sup>247</sup> Vlaardingerbroek 2013, 19;  
<http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.334067>.

<sup>248</sup> Gawronski & Jayasena 2012, 5-7.

<sup>249</sup> Wallet 2007, 107.

<sup>250</sup> Gawronski & Jayasena 2007, 9-12.

<sup>251</sup> Burial grounds can be of great value in the investigation of religious minorities. In the case of Judaism, Harck mentions the Jewish spatial separation of living areas and burial grounds – in comparison to the Christian



an easy process due to the opinion of dissenters within the Dutch Republic. The first burial ground, created after mediation by the States of Holland, was established in Groet, which is close to Alkmaar. This area was used to bury the dead from 1602 onwards, although the place was not ideal, as it was located circa 60 kilometer away from Amsterdam and tolls had to be payed along the way. It was only twelve years later in 1614 that the city council - after two earlier attempts - finally agreed to allow the purchase of a piece of land in Ouderkerk aan de Amstel, which was officially used and acknowledged by the community as the Bet Haim burial ground from 1616 onwards.<sup>252</sup> The previous burials in Groet were even transferred to the new cemetery in Ouderkerk – which is remarkable since, according to the traditions, Jewish graves should not be disturbed.<sup>253</sup> The cemetery was expanded through the acquirement of additional land four more times in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>254</sup>

Although the community in Amsterdam was by far the largest and the most welknown, there were a couple of other places in the Netherlands where the Portuguese Jews sought residence from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards. A group of *conversos* settled in Rotterdam around 1604, probably because of the trading opportunities within this port. They arranged a private synagogue in the attic of one of their houses in 1613 and later on even established a cemetery nearby.<sup>255</sup> Other 17<sup>th</sup> century communities were found in Den Haag (The Hague), Middelburg, Amersfoort, Monnickendam and Naarden.<sup>256</sup> The Hague had the largest Sephardic congregation outside of Amsterdam and in the 1690s a synagogue and cemetery were erected on their behalf. In Middelburg a synagogue was opened in 1641 – in the house of Paolo Jacomo (Jacob Jessurun) de Pinto - and a burial ground was assigned to

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custom of burial grounds close to the church and corresponding settlement – and the appearance of Hebrew texts on gravestones, as significant indicators. (Harck 2014, 18.)

<sup>252</sup> Konijn 1987, 90; Vlaardingerbroek 2013, 38.

<sup>253</sup> Vlaardingerbroek 2013, 38.

<sup>254</sup> Konijn 1987, 90.

<sup>255</sup> Israëli 1984, 34-35; Vlaardingerbroek 2013, 13-14.

<sup>256</sup> Michman et. al. 1992; Gawronski & Jayasena 2007, 27; Vlaardingerbroek 2013, 30-31.

the congregation in 1655. In the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, however, most of the Sephardim from Middelburg moved to join the Jewish communities in Amsterdam and The Hague. The remaining group blended with the Ashkenazi community at Middelburg.<sup>257</sup>

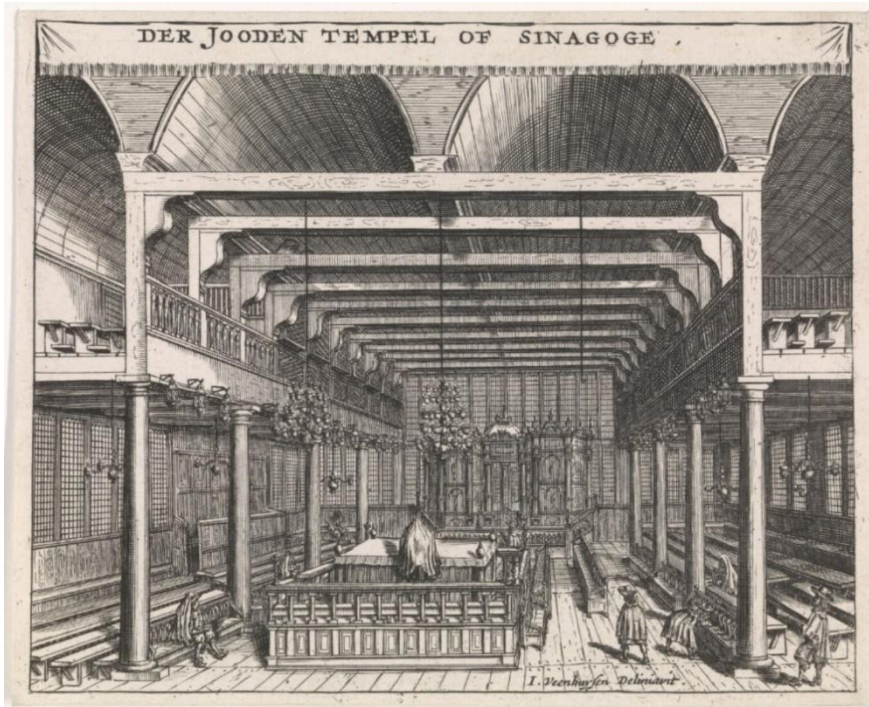


Fig. 4.1. The interior of the first synagogue of the Talmud Torah community at the Houtgracht in Amsterdam. Attributed to Jan Veenhuysen, Amsterdam 1664. Collection Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, object number: RP-P-AO-24-28.

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<sup>257</sup> Vlaardingerbroek 2013, 30-31.

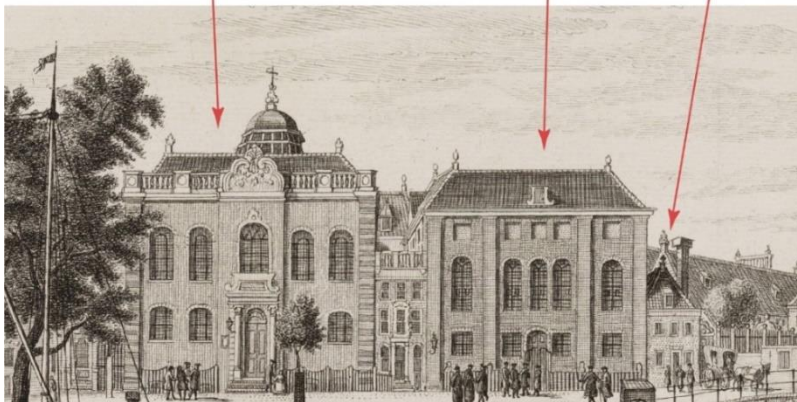
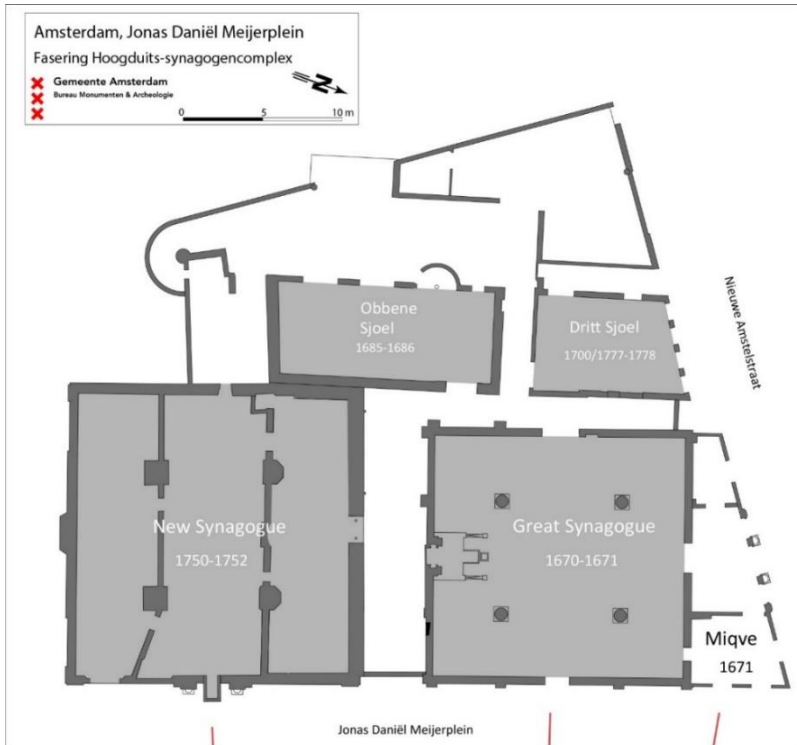


Fig.4.2. Top: Plan of the Ashkenazi synagogue complex. Bureau of Monuments and Archaeology (after Gawronski & Jayasena 2007). Bottom: Detail of an engraving by Jan de Beijer from 1765 (beeldbank, Amsterdam City Archives).

### 4.3 An Archaeological Study of Judaism in Amsterdam

#### *The Study of Jewish Material Culture*

Historical studies concerning the material culture of the Amsterdam Jews in the early modern period have provided a fascinating glimpse of daily life and religious practice. Inventories drawn from Vlooienburg, for example, inform us about Spanish tables, cabinets and bibles, 'Jewish' and Hebrew books, paintings with religious, classic or mythical scenes and many other artefacts that were to be found within the Jewish interiors of the neighbourhood.<sup>258</sup> The most common reasons to draw up an inventory in the Dutch 17<sup>th</sup> century were: to list the contributing properties one brought into a marriage, to secure the inheritance for minor children in the event of death, or in the case of a bankruptcy.<sup>259</sup> Despite the fact that the inventories are a rich source of information, there are some limitations to their use. It is important to note here that the different social classes are not evenly represented among the inventories. In general the elites and the upper class people are most commonly found among the documents, whereas there are only a few records referring to the poorest levels of society known for the early modern period in the Netherlands. In addition - in the case of the wealthiest members of the community - it sometimes occurs that incomplete inventories were made up, only mentioning a person's most valuable properties, such as precious metals, jewellery, clothes, libraries or collection of paintings.<sup>260</sup> In the end, the level of detail and completeness of an inventory depended on the precision of the person who drew up the document, which is apparent from a comparison of surviving archives.<sup>261</sup> Hence, whereas sometimes the contents of a kitchen might be listed in great detail, in other cases only the more

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<sup>258</sup> See among many others: Bonke 1987, 37-38; Levie Bernfeld 2012, 204-206, 217; and Amsterdam City Archives inventory of Diego Dias alias Aron Querido, inv. no. KLAB09502000129, <https://archieef.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/17.1.51/start/120/limit/10/highlight/9>

<sup>259</sup> Wijsenbeek-Olthuis 1995, 5.

<sup>260</sup> Wijsenbeek-Olthuis 1995, 7.

<sup>261</sup> Dibbits 2001, 33-34.

sustainable and valuable pewter utensils might be listed, leaving out the copies in wood or ceramic due to their more transitory or fragile character.<sup>262</sup>

An archaeological approach of this matter, assembling the finds from Vlooienburg's cesspits, has the potential to offer alternative insights to the archival historical data and potentially offer a more blanket insight into the possessions of all of the various residents, since both rich and poor leave an archaeological footprint. That said, archaeological resources also have their constraints and require a cautious approach. Potentially distorting factors include pre- and post-depositional processes, such as waste management strategies or the emptying of cesspits<sup>263</sup> which will have had their impact on the composition of waste assemblages. Also, certain materials are less likely to have ended up in a cesspit than others. For example some wooden objects were found in the Vlooienburg contexts, although it seems likely that other wooden artefacts might have ended up as fuel for the fireplace. Metal objects are also largely absent as valuable objects were often retained or melted down and or recycled instead of being discarded.

As noted in the introduction, this chapter will investigate the Jewish households at Vlooienburg from an archaeological material perspective, by analysing the household waste that was uncovered in the cesspits. In order to do so two sorts of artefacts will be discussed; on one hand those clearly recognizable as objects of a Jewish origin and on the other hand those not noticeable at first glance, but potentially detectible through a more extensive contextual analysis.

### ***The Jewish Piety of Pots and Plates***

The Jewish kitchen is based upon a complex set of rabbinic food regulations, known as the *kashrut*. The typical separation of meat and dairy products that is part of this – and which nowadays is considered one of the foremost characteristics of Judaism – is, however, thought of as a relatively recent development within the Jewish practices, since it

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<sup>262</sup> Dibbits 2001, 127-129.

<sup>263</sup> On cesspit use, see: Van Oosten 2015.

was not until the modern period that such specific and precise separation was required by the rabbinic authority.<sup>264</sup> Based on writings in the *Mishnah* and the *Tosefta*<sup>265</sup> it is known that there were already rules considering the transmission of taste in the first centuries of the common era, demanding a certain level of care when using dishes or other food utensils for both meat and dairy products. However, in times in which meat was not consumed that frequently, the practice of food separation was probably not that usual either. The same goes for most of the medieval period, from which the only surviving writings principally refer to the potential future use of pots, dishes and cutlery in light of their recent use for milk or meat products, and the ways in which the taste of either product could eventually be removed.<sup>266</sup>

The first mention of a very pious person marking his vessels with the words 'milk' and 'meat' comes from a document that was constructed in a German context in what was most likely the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. However, this does not mean that this was required by the authorities or was a general custom among the common people.<sup>267</sup> It is not until 1530 that a written work, originating in eastern Germany, claims that: 'the Jews use two kinds of vessels, one for meat and one for milk, listing an extensive enumeration of utensils used for cooking, serving and dining'.<sup>268</sup> A point of discussion here is of course who 'the Jews' are that are assigned here were exactly? Nonetheless, this could be considered a starting point in the custom of physical food separation by the use of different sets of household utensils.

The custom of systematic separation became more widespread by the 16<sup>th</sup> century, as is recorded in document in England and Germany and neighbouring lands.<sup>269</sup> Some 18<sup>th</sup> century written sources mention

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<sup>264</sup> Kraemer 2007, 99.

<sup>265</sup> The Mishna and the Tosefta are documentations from the first two centuries of the common era describing the Jewish oral traditions, also known as the Oral Torah.

<sup>266</sup> Kraemer 2007, 99-103.

<sup>267</sup> Kraemer 2007, 106-107.

<sup>268</sup> Kraemer 2007, 109-110, 117.

<sup>269</sup> Kraemer 2007, 109-110, 117.

that in practice Jews had to have double sets<sup>270</sup> of dishes, plates and cutlery, and in order to be very precise and even had to mark them with the word 'meat' or 'milk'. It is also reported that some really wealthy Jews may even have owned two separate kitchens to avoid any potential mixture of meat and dairy products.<sup>271</sup>

The development of Jewish customs, such as the separation of cooking, serving and dining utensils, was of course not as linear through time as the historical sources mentioned above might suggest. It is more likely that this was a dynamic process involving different levels of piety among contemporary Jews, both in the same as in different places. As such the strictness of commitment regarding the consumption of dairy and meat product had its influence on both the private and social sphere of Jewish identification, as is described by Kraemer.<sup>272</sup> We can, for example, subdivide Jewry in groups of people who consumed consciously but did not separate their utensils, people who did separate their utensils physically, people who used different sets of utensils, people who specifically marked their utensils, and even people who were in the position to construct and use completely separate kitchens. For this reason the interpretation of Jewish households based on archaeological cooking and dining utensils is a challenging inquiry. Nonetheless, the matter is, however of, great interest in regard to the renewed Jewish faith and development of Jewish identity within the Vlooienburg district.

It is known from historical sources that Iberian women coming to Amsterdam were expected to familiarize themselves with the Jewish customs and the dietary laws in particular. This could be done by reading *compendia* – manuscripts summarizing the Jewish Law that were composed in Spanish and Portuguese for the purpose of re-education throughout the Sephardi diaspora – or through instructions

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<sup>270</sup> Work by R. Yehiel Halevi Epstein from 1894-1898 adds that 'different sets should be placed on different planks and that the different sets should be made from different kinds or should be marked for the purpose of recognition and thus to avoid confusion'. (Kraemer 2007, 111).

<sup>271</sup> Kraemer 2007, 109-110.

<sup>272</sup> Kraemer 2007, 118-119.

by fellow Jews within their community.<sup>273</sup> Evidence shows that some of the women attempted to manage a kosher household and that specific household tasks were assigned to Jewish servants instead of non-Jewish maids.<sup>274</sup>

### *Separated Dishes at Vlooienburg?*

Based on the different levels of piety regarding the separation of meat and dairy products mentioned in the previous section, the recognizability of a Jewish household could range from: not different from a non-Jewish household at all, to: having two separate kitchens and everything in between. So, the question is, is any of this archaeologically detectable based on the remains of the Vlooienburg household waste? And if this were not to be the case, what does that imply? In general, the absolute majority of the ceramic finds from Vlooienburg are the same for both Jewish and non-Jewish households. The analysis of the ceramic assemblages based on provenance, typology and function do not seem to reveal any clearly visible differentiation among the ceramics or any level of systematic separation that goes back to the religious background of its users. Most of the household ceramics were principally composed of redwares and whitewares for cooking and food preparation, and of majolica, faience and porcelain for table wares and food consumption.<sup>275</sup> As is described in the previous chapter there were some specific Portuguese ceramics that indicated the location of Iberian migrant households - and thus point towards potential first generations of Conversos or Sephardic families - but this is only the case in roughly the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and this does not demonstrate any direct level of religious conviction.<sup>276</sup> Furthermore, these Portuguese ceramics seem to have been the exception to the rule, since any ceramic clues pointing towards the presence of Ashkenazim are lacking completely among the Vlooienburg finds.<sup>277</sup> The reason for this must be sought in the difficult and poor

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<sup>273</sup> Levie-Bernfeld, 2017, 70-71.

<sup>274</sup> Levie-Bernfeld, 2017, 82.

<sup>275</sup> See chapter 2 and Appendix 1.

<sup>276</sup> See chapter 3.

<sup>277</sup> See chapter 3.



circumstances from which the Ashkenazim had fled their home country and the impracticality for them to bring along many personal belongings during their process of migration. This in contradiction to some of the wealthy Portuguese families who were able to bring over many items to remind them of their Iberian lifestyle.

Despite the above there are, however, a couple of interesting faience artefacts that might be illustrative of the Jewish practice taking place at Vlooienburg. In the first place there is a plate depicting Hebrew texts related to the celebration of *Pesach*, secondly, there is a faience plate showing a six-pointed star that could potentially be associated with the Jewish emblem of the Star of David, and finally there are some examples that could be interpreted as crockery that was used for the physical separation of food according to the *Kashrut*.

#### *Hebrew Texts on Faience Plates*

Among the many ceramics finds from Vlooienburg direct references to Jewish inhabitants are very seldom and when solely looking at ceramic assemblages, at first sight Jewish practices might seem absent due to the fact that most of the ceramics from Jewish contexts show no significant differences in comparison to assemblages from non-Jewish contexts.<sup>278</sup> The only indisputable evidence of Jewish practices among the ceramic finds seem to be (fragments of) two *Pesach* plates<sup>279</sup>. The most complete plate has the following Hebrew text: 'שבעה ימים תאכל מצה' – *seven days you shall eat matzo*' in circular inscription and the words: 'בָּשָׂר - *meat*' and 'פֶּסַח - *Pesach*' in the center (see fig. X.X plate 1).<sup>280</sup> The objects date between circa 1725 and 1775, were most likely produced in Delft. They were found in a cesspit that was most likely used by a household that was located at Lange Houtstraat 18 (see fig. 4.11). These items were probably specifically commissioned for a Jewish family and used for the consumption of meat or meat containing products during the celebration of Passover. This illustrates the effort that was made to celebrate this Jewish holiday and the desire to have a unique and

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<sup>278</sup> This observation is similar for the medieval period in central Europe.(see: Harck 2014, 417)

<sup>279</sup> WLO-54-2 and WLO-54-3.

<sup>280</sup> Thanks to Tirtsah Levie Bernfeld for her help with the Hebrew translations.

recognizable artefact for the practice of this custom.

Parallel or similar artefacts are scarcely found in archaeological contexts. Complete copies of parallel plates are known at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, as a part of donation from the famous Stieglitz collection (see fig X.X plate 2),<sup>281</sup> also at the Jewish Historical Museum in Amsterdam, on loan from the Royal Antiquities Society of Amsterdam.<sup>282</sup> Currently, the only other known 17<sup>th</sup> century ceramic object with Hebrew text on from an archaeological context in Europe comes from London. This piece has the Hebrew inscription of the word 'הלב - *milk*, and is thus - similar to the Pesach plates from Vlooienburg mentioning 'meat' - referring to the separation of dairy and meat products according to the Jewish food laws. The plate was most likely produced in London, which indicates that this item also probably specifically commissioned and locally made.<sup>283</sup> Two other examples of specially commissioned items come from the Jewish Museum in New York, and once again, the Stieglitz collection at the Israel Museum. The first one is an early 18<sup>th</sup> century Dutch faience plate, produced by the prosperous pottery factory De Klaauw in Delft, and reads 'מזל טוב - Mazel Tov'. This piece was probably gifted to someone on the occasion of marriage.<sup>284</sup> The other plate is a pearlware piece with a so-called shell edge decoration, which was presumably produced in England (Staffordshire) and dates in the late 18<sup>th</sup> / early 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>285</sup> In the centre of the plate, the Hebrew word 'פסח - *Pesach*' is depicted, indicating that this item was acquired for and used during the celebration of Passover.

The rarity of ceramic plates with Hebrew texts in the early modern period in Europe indicates that these items were specifically commissioned for, since it is unlikely that Delft and London potters would have had knowledge of the Hebrew alphabet. Because of this, it

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<sup>281</sup> This plate was donated to the Israel Museum in Jerusalem as a part of the Stieglitz collection. See: <https://www.imj.org.il/en/collections/397472>

<sup>282</sup> <https://data.jck.nl/page/aggregation/jhm-museum/MB00117>

<sup>283</sup> Pearce 1998, 101-103.

<sup>284</sup> <https://thejewishmuseum.org/collection/466-marriage-plate>

<sup>285</sup> Thanks to the Medieval Pottery Research Group for their contribution to the determination, with a special thanks to Rob Hunter and Debbie Miller.

could be implied that plates like these were only meant for the wealthy people or orthodox Jews who wanted to display their renewed Jewish faith. The relatively large and central role of the Hebrew text on the faience plates indicates that this was meant as an explicit expression of Judaism.<sup>286</sup>

When we look for parallels in other material groups, the Jewish Museum in New York owns 20 pewter 18<sup>th</sup> century plates in their collection, bearing the words for meat or milk on them.<sup>287</sup> Another example of a pewter plate bearing the Hebrew word 'בשר – *meat*) on the rim, is present in the collection of the Jewish Museum in Berlin.<sup>288</sup> Such smaller marks could be interpreted as recognition material for servants.

#### *Six-Pointed Stars on Faience Plates*

Another remarkable find from Vlooienburg is a Dutch faience plate which depicts a six-pointed star in its centre. The plate represents a common shape in comparison to other faience plates at the time, but the decoration with the star is extraordinary. The central hexagram frames a Chinese landscape scene including two figures in the middle, making the dish an interesting piece combining Asian influences, Dutch craftsmanship, and the six-pointed – potentially Jewish – symbolism. The area around the star is filled with stylized floral motives representing leaves and what appears to be flowers or fruits. The base consists of a pierced foot ring, suggesting that the piece might not have just been used to serve or eat food from, but could have performed a decorative role as well.<sup>289</sup>

A more refined parallel example is known from a rural estate in Steendorp, Belgium, which was owned by a wealthy Portuguese merchant family from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards. This piece bears

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<sup>286</sup> Pearce 1998, 105.

<sup>287</sup> Kraemer 2007, 110.

<sup>288</sup> <https://objekte.jmberlin.de/object/jmb-obj=102548/Teller+f%C3%BCr+fleischige+Speisen?se=Suche&qps=q%3D%26page%3D10%26f.century%3D18>

<sup>289</sup> Perreira Lovegrove 2015.

the makers mark of the Delft faience factory *De Pauw* (*literary: the Peacock*), which was founded in 1651.<sup>290</sup> It hardly seems a coincidence that both of these plates, bearing the atypical decoration of a six-pointed star, are related to archaeological contexts of 17<sup>th</sup> century Portuguese migrant households, however, it definitely does not provide a conclusive explanation. The interpretation of these plates and more specifically of the six-pointed star remains a topic of debate, since there is no consensus about the inception date for the use of the Star of David as a symbol by Jewish communities.<sup>291</sup> Considering the early modern period, it is suggested that the Jews of Prague were probably the first to actually use the star as the central part of their emblem, probably in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>292</sup> It is therefore particularly intriguing that this plate was found at the Vlooienburg neighbourhood contemporary to the development of new Jewish communities and the renewed Jewish faith.

The question remains if the plate with the star should be seen as a case of Jewish symbolism, or whether an alternative explanation can be found in a totally different direction, as the hexagram has been a sign that was used in many different cultural contexts and periods. The circumstantial archaeological evidence does imply a Jewish interpretation, since the cesspit from which the plate was uncovered also contained no less than 224 kosher seals, which may be dated between 1775-1825.<sup>293</sup>

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<sup>290</sup> Poulain, Van Vaerenbergh & De Clercq 2017, 295.

<sup>291</sup> See for example Scholem 1949, 245 for a discussion on the use of plates with hexagram decorations for the use during Passover Seder.

<sup>292</sup> Spicer 1996. See also: The Jewish Museum, New York, Scenes from the Colletion, Signs and Symbols: The Star of David, January 21, 2018-present.

<sup>293</sup> Olsen 1997, 78.



**Fig. 4.3** Examples of faience plates depicting Hebrew texts:

1. Passover plate in Dutch faience from archaeological site Vlooienburg, Amsterdam (WLO-54-2), dating 1650-1675. Photo: Ron Tousin, Bureau of Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam.

2. Passover plate in Dutch faience from the Stieglitz Collection, donated to the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, 18<sup>th</sup> / 19<sup>th</sup> century. Photo: The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Source: <https://www.imj.org.il/en/collections/397472>

3. *Chalav* (milk) plate in London Delftware from the archaeological site of 12-14 Mitre Street, London, early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Photo: Andy Chopping, Courtesy Museum of London, source: <http://www.chipstone.org/imgpublications/2/36/690/smPearce-14.jpg>.

4. Marriage plate in Dutch faience (Factory De Klaauw, Delft) from the collection of the Jewish Museum in New York, early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Photo: Public Domain, source: <https://thejewishmuseum.org/collection/466-marriage-plate>.

5. Passover plate in Pearlware or Whiteware from the Stieglitz Collection, donated to the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, late 18<sup>th</sup> / early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Photo: The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, source: <https://www.imj.org.il/en/collections/395423>.



**Fig. 4.4** Two Dutch faience plates depicting a Chinese scenery in the centre of a six-pointed star. Left: The fragmented plate from the site of Vlooienburg, Amsterdam, Object WLO-8-411, dating ca. 1650-1700. Photo: Office for Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam. Right: A similar find from Steendorp, Belgium. Photo: after Poulain, Van Vaerenbergh & De Clercq 2017, 295.

#### *Crockery Sets: Fashion or Religious Practice?*

Based on the historical data mentioned earlier and the *Pesach plate* from Vlooienburg, it might be assumed that at least some of the Jewish inhabitants in this neighbourhood used separate dishes in order to avoid mixing of dairy and meat products. The question is, however, if such a systematic separation by the use of divergent sets of crockery is visible and recognizable within the archaeological record? Discussions regarding the current practice of Judaism indicate that there are no strict regulations prescribing specific colours or decorations for items that are used for the preparation or consumption of meat or milk, as long as the persons using them would be able to recognize the difference.<sup>294</sup> Therefore every Jewish household might appear totally different, while at the same time they could all be maintaining different sets of crockery following up Jewish food laws. Nowadays the diversity of available cooking and dining utensils is far more extensive than it was

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<sup>294</sup> Thanks go to i.a. Sharon Cohen, Tirtsah Levie-Bernfeld and from the Jewish Historical Museum Julie-Marthe Cohen and Hetty Berg.

in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, however still a clear noticeable pattern does not to have been needed on ceramics, with the exception of sets that were clearly marked with the Hebrew words for milk and meat and apparently used in the more orthodox households.<sup>295</sup>

As for household waste<sup>296</sup> that is recovered from cesspits – in Vlooienburg - it is naturally common to find items from many different crockery sets, due to alternating phases of habitation and the corresponding use of the cesspit. Besides that, the desire to possess sets of ceramics seems to have increased over the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, especially among the more well-to-do households who sometimes even owned different ceramic shapes with matching decoration – regardless of religion.<sup>297</sup> Lead glazed or tin-glazed wares and porcelain were the most fashionable table wares at the time and with their bright blue on white decorations they made for suitable sets to put on display or to use on special social occasions. Common designs included heraldic weapons, fruit bowls, animals, landscapes and chinoiserie. The lead glazed ceramics and the completely white or only simply decorated tin-glazed pieces were meant for the less wealthy consumers, whereas the more refined and elaborately decorated items were principally produced for the richer layers of society.<sup>298</sup>

Based on the ceramic contexts that were completely analysed for this current research<sup>299</sup> indicators for contemporary crockery sets that could have been used for the sake of food separation according to the Jewish food laws are scarce, or even as good as absent. There was of course sufficient variation in pottery that was available (see chapter 2), but disentangling an actual separate use seems virtually impossible. As for the table wares, there is only one cesspit that actually yielded two simultaneous sets of faience dishes, which could be interpreted as sets that were intended for Jewish religious practice. This example contains of at least eleven Delft-made faience dishes<sup>300</sup> of the same shape type

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<sup>295</sup> Pearce 1998, 101-103; Kraemer 2007, 110.

<sup>296</sup> We have to bear in mind here that some of the cesspits might have contained more than just household waste, since the neighbourhood also housed some taverns and cafes.

<sup>297</sup> See for example the cesspit assemblage of Oudezijds Voorburgwal 40; Ostkamp 2017, 36.

<sup>298</sup> Ostkamp 2017, 58-66.

<sup>299</sup> See appendix 1.

<sup>300</sup> They concern dishes in the shape of the Deventer System type: f-bor-11; in consultation with S. Ostkamp.

dating between circa 1675 and 1725 (see fig 4.5). Five of these dishes are elegantly painted with a curly pattern on the rim and a peacock and floral motives in the centre. The six other dishes are just plain white, but have the exact same shape and diameter. The first reason why these dishes could potentially have functioned as sets for a kosher way of food consumption is the fact that they are two version of the exact same shape type and diameter. Second, this shape was apparently not often produced undecorated<sup>301</sup>, and finally it is remarkable that within the same household both the less expensive plain white dishes and a more luxurious decorated version of the same set were used simultaneously. The case does of course not provide us with indisputable proof that the dishes played a role within Jewish religious practice, however, the discovery of five lead kosher seals<sup>302</sup> within the same context and the convincing Jewish presence at Vlooienburg in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, do make it a plausible interpretation - and one that requests attention in future research projects into Jewish contexts. Nevertheless, it leaves us with the question, why both sets of plates were discarded?

As for the cooking wares the data from the material culture are much less clear, although one would expect that the kitchen would be the main place for strict food separation doing the preparation of meals. However, like the table wares, the kitchen wares show a large variety of distinctive ceramics, which supported the opportunity to use distinct sets for dairy or meat products, although no actual separate use based on pottery identification could be demonstrated during this study. Organic residue analysis<sup>303</sup> performed during the Diaspora and Identity Research Project (see chapter 1), did provide an initial exploration of possible differences in the use of fats in frying pans between potential Jewish and non-Jewish users. A first small sample, comparing Portuguese and Dutch cooking wares from specially selected contexts, revealed a difference in vegetable lipids and dairy lipids. In the Portuguese frying pans, a combination of animal and vegetable fats was mainly found, as can be expected in a kosher diet, while a combination of animal meat and dairy fats was found in the Dutch frying pans. It seems obvious to directly link a kosher interpretation to this, whereas a difference in cooking tradition should be considered here as well with

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<sup>301</sup> Pers. Comm. S. Ostkamp.

<sup>302</sup> Unfortunately from this context (WLO-98) the animal bones were not investigated.

<sup>303</sup> Bakker, in prep. This research was conducted by my colleague Jan Bakker in collaboration with the Department of Archaeology of the University of York.



regard to the Iberian origin, where the use of, a frying agency such as olive oil was probably more obvious anyway. More research is needed to further investigate this matter, preferable with organic residue samples being analysed from different cooking wares originating in cesspits with a documented Jewish household use – to explore the potential use of different cooking sets. In this last case one could examine potential differences in residue composition between similar redware cooking pots with divergent inner colours due to the use of slip and oxides<sup>304</sup> or choose to compare white and red cooking wares of a similar shape.

All in all, investigating the use of separated dishes, cooking pots or other utensils asks for a careful approach. The few material indicators pointing to a supposed separation of artefacts for religious practice at Vlooienburg is, nevertheless, evident and do show that at least a couple of Vlooienburg's Jewish households did separate their dishes. It is possible that more members of the Jewish communities separated their utensils, but that this just was and still remains invisible to anyone who was not a member of the household. Another possibility - provided by Kraemer based on historical rabbinic compositions – is that utensils did not have to be kept apart, but just rinsed very properly with boiling water after their use for a specific type of food.<sup>305</sup> It is also the case that other than in the case of house fires, or deliberate house clearances, broken ceramics will only have been thrown into cesspits intermittently, as they were broken, and some sets may have served families for several years. The historical evidence remains equivocal, sometimes prescribing very strict laws to keep apart pots that were used for different types of foods, though other times describing for example<sup>306</sup> that the use of a pot for both milk or meat products was allowed as long as there was a timespan of at least 24 hours before using it for the other type of product. Interestingly there is a 13<sup>th</sup> century source describing that a pot that was used for the preparation of both meat and dairy products should not be used again, not even after 24 hours of waiting. In the case of a metal pot the object could be 'kashered' (made kosher again), but in the case of a ceramic pot it would have to

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<sup>304</sup> Among the finds from Vlooienburg for example the typical Dutch cooking pots, so-called *grapen*, were found in the regular plain red edition, as well as with an inside covered with a yellowish slip layer and transparent glaze and a variation with an inside slip layer that was covered in a green glaze, probably on a copper-oxide basis.

<sup>305</sup> Kraemer 2007, 102-112.

<sup>306</sup> Kraemer 2007, 102-112.

be broken and thus not used again.<sup>307</sup> This latter perspective of course gives us to think about the sets of faience dishes that were previously mentioned. Was it just a kitchen shelf coming down? Or can we dare to suggest that there might have been more to this in the light of Jewish religious practices? Whatever the case might have been, discussing this matter, including both archaeological and historical evidence, brings forward new perspectives and might therefore even demand extra caution during the excavation of Jewish contexts when it comes to waste depositions.



**Fig. 4.5** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: Set of faience plates in the exact same type and size with and without decoration originating from cesspit of Korte Houtstraat 30 (WLO-98). Photo: M. Stolk.

### **Meaningful Metal Finds**

While sometimes artefacts were specifically made for religious purpose and also clearly recognizable as such – for example by Hebrew texts – other items can be very ordinary and used by Jews as well as non-Jews. In fact, according to the rabbinic prescriptions, the most delicate or precious version of an object should be used for religious practices, even if this object does not match the characteristics that one might expect or such an object. An example of this can be found in a 17<sup>th</sup> century silver pitcher of the Portuguese Israeli Community in

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<sup>307</sup> Kraemer 2007, 105; Rabbenu Peretz d. 1295.

Amsterdam, depicting a scene showing the mythical story of the Judgement of Paris.<sup>308</sup> More or less comparable in European contexts is the use of objects that were primarily produced to be sugar casters – executed in materials such as pewter, copper or silver – , but in Jewish religious context functioned as the spice boxes (*Besamim*) that were used during the *Havdalah*, the Jewish ceremony that marks the end of the Shabbat.<sup>309</sup>

The finds from Vlooienburg contain a number of attractive metal finds some of which have a clear Jewish association, whereas others are of a more evocative character. The following section will discuss these finds and interpret them within their archaeological and historical context.

### *Shabbat Lamps and a Menorah Lamp*

Lighting plays an important role in Jewish religious practice, as is made clear by one of the most famous symbols of Judaism, the Menorah candle holder. The Shabbat was an important element of the Jewish religion and this aspect was as such complied under the observant eye of the so-called *Mahamad*, the ruling council of the Jewish Community. Anyone trespassing the solemn rest of the Shabbat – for example by visiting the stock exchange – even risked the penalty of being (temporary) excommunicated.<sup>310</sup>

One of the most striking indicators of Jewish practice among the metal finds from Vlooienburg is the discovery of one complete and several fragments of Shabbat lamps. The one complete copper lamp from Vlooienburg<sup>311</sup> (fig. 4.6) was most likely produced in the third quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and consist of an oil basin with seven spouts, a drip tray and a little weight at the bottom. Whereas oil basins of Shabbat lamps can vary from having six up to twelve spouts, the one from

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<sup>308</sup> Van Voolen 1987, 76.

<sup>309</sup> Van Voolen 1987, 76; Cohen, Heimann-Jelinek & Weinberger 2018 ,106. Silver sugar casters that functioned as spice boxes are known from the collections of i.a. the Westfries Museum in Hoorn and the former Synagogue in Tilburg (currently in loan by the Museum Sjoel Elburg).

<sup>310</sup> Benoff 2018, 240 / Kaplan 2000, 148.

<sup>311</sup> This Shabbat lamp comes from Vlooienburg but was however purchased later, the exact archaeological context is unfortunately unknown.

Vlooienburg has seven in total, which probably refers to the days of the week.<sup>312</sup> The archaeological finds are in line with the picture that emerges from the historical data, that show quite a number of Jewish lamps, most of which date to the late 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century. The inventories mention Shabbat lamps as well as *hanukkah* lamps often carried out in copper, although sometimes in silver as well. Some examples are the '*Coopere Sabathlamp*' (copper Shabbat lamp) of Anthony Lopes Alvin in 1685, the '*lampa de sabath*' (Shabbat lamp) of Maria Mendez de Medeiros in 1638 and the '*koopere Sabah lamp en blaaker met een hanuca lamp*' (copper Shabbat lamp and sconce with a hanukkah lamp) of Rachel de Spinosa Henriques in 1737.<sup>313</sup> The mention of an example as early as 1638 is interesting here, since the archaeological finds are rather difficult to date precisely.

Besides the fragments of at least five different Shabbat lamps at Vlooienburg, a Menorah lamp was found at the address of Zwanenburgwal 168, just across the water at the westside of Vlooienburg (see fig. 4.7, left). The lamp is executed in a copper alloy and contained a total of eight oil basins. A more or less similar type of lamp of beaten brass, dating in the late 17<sup>th</sup> or early 18<sup>th</sup> century and presumably produced in the Netherlands has been found among the belongings of the *Shearith Israel* congregation in New York. Congregational traditions associates the lamp with the first synagogue of New York, which was located at the Mill Street.<sup>314</sup>

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<sup>312</sup> Van Voolen 1987, 77. De Goffau, 2020, 25.

<sup>313</sup> Levie-Bernfeld 2012, 207; Amsterdam City Archives entry no. 5072, no. 610, 12 February 1685, p. 181: inventory A.L. Alvin; Amsterdam City Archives SAA entry no 5075, no. 1555A, Not. J. Oli, 22 December 1638, p. 402: inventory M. Mendez de Medeiros; Amsterdam City Archives entry no. 334, no. 694, inventory Not. J. Barels, 18 November 1737, p. 109: R. de Spinosa Henriques.

<sup>314</sup> De Sola Pool 1955, 121; <https://jck.nl/nl/longread/joden-de-cariben-0>



**Fig. 4.6** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: The fragments of Shabbat lamps that have been uncovered from cesspit contexts (left). An almost complete Shabbat lamp was found at Vlooienburg as well and was later purchased by the City's archaeological department, the exact find context of this item is not known. Finds: WLO-185-6, WLO-211-2, WLO-8-5, WLO-254-2, WLO-135-6, WLO3-1, WLO-138-2, top down, from left to right. Photos: Office for Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam.



**Fig. 4.7** On the left the archaeological find from Zwanenburgwal 168, Amsterdam (ZWA3-2) and on the right the Hanukkah lamp that belongs to the Shearith Israel congregation in New York, both dating to the late 17<sup>th</sup> or early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Photos: Office of Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam (left) and after JHM: <https://jck.nl/nl/longread/joden-de-cariben-0> (right).

### *A Funerary Medal*

Another intriguing metal find is a copper alloy funeral medal that was probably produced for, or in commemoration of, one of the members of the Jewish community. Funeral medals could function as a gift to those who participated or as pallbearers at a burial<sup>315</sup> or as a proof of those who attended the ceremony.<sup>316</sup> Commemoration medals would in general be decorated or even portray an image of the deceased, whereas the other medals would be more functional and would mention the name of the person attending the funeral instead of the name of the deceased. Members of a guild were expected to attend each other's funeral ceremonies on pain of a fine when one would not attend

<sup>315</sup> Laing 2000, 438.

<sup>316</sup> See also: Van Orden 1830, 40-41; and the "Catalogus der genealogisch heraldische tentoonstelling in het raadsgebouw der gemeente 's-Gravenhage Mei 1933", 119-121.

and as such they received a funeral medal with their name on it upon their entrance to the guild. The medal than would be handed in when one attended a funeral. A number of these medals have survived, the most famous of which belonged to Rembrandt, who was a member of the Guild of Saint Luke.<sup>317</sup> Although excluded from many guilds, it seems likely that the Jewish community maintained a comparable system, since there are a number of medals in the collection of the Jewish Historical Museum as well<sup>318</sup>, which are similar to the find from Vlooienburg.

The Hebrew text on the Vlooienburg medal reads the abbreviation for *chewre kehilla Ashkenazi*, which could be freely translated as the Jewish Ashkenazi association, referring to their funeral society. The remaining Hebrew text reads the name of *Abraham bar Menachem* (Abraham son of Menachem) and the year 1754.<sup>319</sup> A more or less similar medal is known from the Leprozengracht, which is located directly near to the Vlooienburg site. This medal reads the name *Solomo ben Jozef* (Solomo son of Jozef).<sup>320</sup>



**Fig. 4.8** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: Both sides of the same funeral medal found, WLO-127-4. Photo: Office for Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam.

<sup>317</sup> Eeghen 2012, 4-6.

<sup>318</sup> Jewish Historical Museum, collection numbers: M000377, M007708 and M010750.

<sup>319</sup> Thanks go out to Bart Wallet and Rob Snijders for their help with the translation and the interpretation of the abbreviation.

<sup>320</sup> Gawronski & Jayasena 2007, 8-9; find number LEP-5.

### *A Gilded Kiddush Cup?*

One of the exceptional finds from Vlooienburg is a gilded cup<sup>321</sup> that was probably made in Germany in the second half or third quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (see fig. 4.9).<sup>322</sup> The cylindrical cup was originally placed on three ball feet - one of which is now absent - and the sides are decorated with engravings of classical and mythical figures, framed in ovals with floral motives, pomegranates (?) and waving ribbons along the sides. The three figures depict *Justinus* - probably referring to Justin the Martyr or the Roman emperor -, *Ninus* - most likely associated with King Ninus, founder of the Assyrian city of Nineveh - and *Numerianus* - who was a Roman emperor from 283 until 284 AD. This decoration is a variation of what apparently was a customary décor, namely that of medaillons of emperors set in a floral ornamented surrounding<sup>323</sup>, which sometimes is called an *emperors' beaker*.

In contrast to some of the finds described in the previous paragraphs, this find does not depict any Jewish symbols, nor does it show any Hebrew texts. Instead it portrays what seems to be a philosopher, a king and a Roman emperor. So what is this object? Just a very luxurious display piece? When looking more closely into the context of a wealthy Dutch Sephardic household in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century this does seem possible, although - as suggested in the subtitle of this paragraph - the may also have been used as a kiddush cup. In the first place, historical sources, such as probate inventories, reveal that Dutch Sephardim owned objects from a range of cultural backgrounds, including elements of Iberian lifestyles and exotic objects, as well as eclectic assemblages with Catholic, Jewish, historical and mythical characteristics. Lists of paintings and books are illustrative for their interest in history, philosophy, classics and mythology.<sup>324</sup>

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<sup>321</sup> Object number: WLO-294-5, Office for Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam.

<sup>322</sup> Thanks to Dirk Jan Biemond, Suzanne van Leeuwen and Jerzy Gawronski for their help with the determination. For similar 17<sup>th</sup> century objects in gold or silver see among others: Hernmarck 1977, Müller 1986, Kommer 2001, Biesboer 2020.

<sup>323</sup> Müller 1986, 210-211; Published in Müllers *European Silver* a variation can be found with portraits of saints.

<sup>324</sup> Levie Bernfeld 2012, 204-206, 217.



Consequently, a cup or beaker with similar themed scenes seems to be in line with this cultural and broadly historical interest. On the other hand, there is a specific Jewish custom that might have applied to such an item. According to rabbinic prescriptions, the most beautiful or precious version of an object should be used for religious practices - even if this object would not match the characteristics that one might expect for such an object. An example of this can be found in a 17<sup>th</sup> century silver dish<sup>325</sup> of the Portuguese Israeli Community in Amsterdam, which is used to wash the hands before the priestly blessing, and is depicting a scene showing the mythical story of the Judgement of Paris.<sup>326</sup> The use of non-Jewish objects for Jewish worship apparently was not exceptional, both in the synagogue or at home, and it even upgraded an objects status.<sup>327</sup> More or less comparable in European contexts is the use of objects that were primarily produced to be sugars casters - executed in materials such as pewter, copper or silver - , but in Jewish religious context functioned as the spice boxes (*Besamim*) that were used during the *Havdalah*, the Jewish ceremony that marks the end of the Shabbat. Taking this into account a gilded beaker, showing the fine craftsmanship of engravings and depicting historical and mythical themes that were in fashion at the time - might have been an excellent choice for religious usage as a kiddush cup.

Of course, the idea that this gilded cup may have been used as a kiddush cup is not a conclusive interpretation. The circumstantial evidence, however, support the suggestion that this object was used as a ceremonial cup. The piece was found among the household remains of cesspit number 87, which is related to the addresses of Zwanenburgerstraat 51 and 53.<sup>328</sup> Archaeozoological evidence shows

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<sup>325</sup> Object number MB00096, Jewish Historical Museum, lease-lend by the Portuguese Israeli Community of Amsterdam.

<sup>326</sup> Van Voolen 1987, 76.

<sup>327</sup> Van Voolen 1987, 76. For the use of non-Jewish objects in Jewish religious practice see also: Fishof 1985, *From the Secular to the Sacred*, catalogue, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

<sup>328</sup> The cesspit is located on the plot that corresponds with the address of Zwanenburgerstraat 53, however the residents of Zwanenburgerstraat 51 shared the use of this cesspit, as was revealed in the deed for the sale of this house in 1705. Pers. Comm. Maarten Hell.

that the household corresponding to this cesspit kept a kosher diet<sup>329</sup> as does the find of a couple of some lead kosher seals, one of which is related to the Portuguese Jewish community, Talmud Torah.<sup>330</sup> Also historical documents revealed that the Jewish David Cohen D'Azevedo and his family – his wife Hanna de Haro and their sons – lived at the address of Zwanenburgerstraat 53 from 1678 until at least 1715 and maybe even up to 1736.

So far, there is only one comparable example of a late 17<sup>th</sup> century emperors cup known which is interpreted as a kiddush cup in the collection of the Jewish Museum in New York. This piece was similarly placed on three ball feet and depicting the portraits of three Roman portrait medallions, suggesting a primarily secular origin. The silver piece was probably made by Thomas Ringler in Nuremberg, Germany.<sup>331</sup> In the end it remains unclear if this cup was just a beautiful showpiece or whether it was used during the blessing that was pronounced at the beginning of the Shabbat and other holidays. Nonetheless it is a remarkable item of which one wonders why and how it ever ended up in a cesspit at all.

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<sup>329</sup> Bakker, PhD dissertation, in prep.

<sup>330</sup> See also the paragraph on kosher seals.

<sup>331</sup> Tebbe et. al. 2007, 342; <https://thejewishmuseum.org/collection/900-kiddush-cup>



**Fig. 4.9** Gilded beaker found in the cesspit at former Zwanenburgerstraat 53, Vlooienburg, Amsterdam. WLO 294-5, Photo: Office of Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam. Drawings: M. Stolk

### *Kosher Seals and Food Habits*

Based on historical data it is known that in 1632 a special Jewish meat hall was active at the ground floor level of one of the houses at the Houtgracht alongside the Vlooienburg neighbourhood, and in 1648 a new warehouse with a meat hall was constructed nearby.<sup>332</sup> It was however not until the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when the sale of kosher meat became a serious contribution to the gathered taxes of the communities, that the Jewish congregations summoned their members to exclusively buy meat in their own community.<sup>333</sup> In this way the attachment of a kosher seal to the meat was used to insure a significant element of the income for the Jewish community. Through this levying of taxes on items that were related to ritual practices, everyone contributed to the greater good, as for example the care of the poorer members of the community.<sup>334</sup>

Archaeozoological analysis of the household waste from Vlooienburg that took place in the 1980s already revealed a pattern of specific kosher dietary practice.<sup>335</sup> Recent archaeozoological research on the Vlooienburg contexts has shown that some of the cesspit contexts contained up to a 99% percent kosher content, as is for example the case at the address of Zwanenburgwal 51 for the period between 1650 and 1675.<sup>336</sup> Similar zooarchaeological and studies from medieval contexts in Oxford (UK),<sup>337</sup> and Tàrrega and Puigcerdà (Spain)<sup>338</sup> have been conducted, resulting in the observance of Jewish dietary patterns.

Of the 106 Vlooienburg cesspits that were analysed in the 1980s, a total of 55 showed clear deliberate choices according the kosher regimen based on zooarchaeological remains; lacking the

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<sup>332</sup> Vlaardingerbroek 2013, 17; Bakker 2020, 48.

<sup>333</sup> Levie-Bernfeld 2012, 142.

<sup>334</sup> Levie-Bernfeld 2012, 138.

<sup>335</sup> IJzereef 1987, 25-31; Gawronski & Jayasena 2007, 7-9.

<sup>336</sup> Bakker 2020, 46.

<sup>337</sup> Dunne et. al. 2021. In addition to this casus, residue analysis on ceramics from the Jewish contexts too uncovered patterns of specific dietary customs, based on lipid analysis.

<sup>338</sup> Bada 2009; Dunne et.al. 2021.

presence of pork, shellfish and the back half of cattle.<sup>339</sup> Four of those cesspits are to be dated between roughly 1600 and 1675, whereas 51 of them date between circa 1675 and 1800.<sup>340</sup> It therefore might be tempting to interpret this as the result of an increase in Jewish practice from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards. It should, however, be taken into account that the disturbance of the older contexts through post-depositional processes and the interim emptying of cesspits will have had its influence too. Besides that for the complete timespan between 1600 and 1800 it has to be taken into account that Jewish and non-Jewish households contemporary or consecutively used the same cesspit, causing a mixture of Jewish and non-Jewish household waste, consequently making it extremely difficult to recognize selective Jewish dietary customs.<sup>341</sup> Illustrative for the suggested mixed use of cesspits are the cases of cesspit 76 and cesspit 35. This first example, located at Lange Houtstraat 54, belonged to a house that was split into five apartments as a result of the sale of the house in 1742.<sup>342</sup> The other cesspit was positioned right on the middle of the parcels of Zwanenburgerstraat 15 and 17 and was thus used by the inhabitants of both houses (see also fig. 4.12).

As for the metal finds, the practice of the Jewish dietary laws is in part represented by a total of 424 lead kosher seals that were found among at Vlooienburg, 224 of which are coming from one single cesspit (see fig. 4.12; cesspit 1, WLO-8).<sup>343</sup> Kosher seals that were used to mark if (meat) products were prepared according to the kosher regulations, appear from the 17<sup>th</sup> until the 20<sup>th</sup> century and in some cases are even still attached nowadays. Most of the seals from Vlooienburg date in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>344</sup> The kosher seals are often recognizable by the stamped word for kosher in Hebrew, כֹּשֶׁר , on one of its sides. Other marks that

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<sup>339</sup> IJzereef 1987, 25-31; Gawronski & Jayasena 2007, 7-9.

<sup>340</sup> IJzereef 1987, 26; Gawronski & Jayasena 2007, 9.

<sup>341</sup> Bakker 2020, 48.

<sup>342</sup> Bonke 1987,

<sup>343</sup> Olsen 1997,3. See her complete thesis for an all-inclusive overview of all of the kosher seals.

<sup>344</sup> Helbergen 2016.

can be found<sup>345</sup> - executed in the Hebrew or Latin alphabet - describe the day of the week on which the meat was slaughtered or a product was prepared; a reference to the *shochet*<sup>346</sup> slaughtering the animals; the initials of the Rabi who was involved to guarantee a product's kosher quality; or to the Jewish community to which the vendor belonged and/or taxes were paid.<sup>347</sup> It is suggested that most of the Vlooienburg kosher seals were presumably used to indicate the kosher quality of chicken meat, since some of them were found in situ together with smaller or larger chicken foot bones (*sesamoids* and *metatarsals*).<sup>348</sup>

Interestingly, there are a number of kosher seals that are depicting an abbreviation or symbol and are thus specifying an association to one of the Jewish communities. A minimum of seven examples with the Hebrew abbreviation *qof alef* (קף)<sup>349</sup> and two pieces with the inscription *tav tav* (תת)<sup>350</sup> have been recognized, referring to respectively the Kelilah Ashkenazim and the Talmud Torah. One single seal<sup>351</sup> is characterized by the image of a pelican that is feeding (her own blood) to her young - a symbol of Catholic origin - that was repeatedly used by the Portuguese Israelite community. When placing these specific finds within their archaeological find contexts, we can see that the Ashkenazi related seals were recovered from the cesspits numbers 34, 38, 51, 62 and 100, and that the Sephardic seals were found at cesspit numbers 37 and 87. This distribution does not however demonstrate a clear pattern from which any firm conclusions can be drawn.

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<sup>345</sup> See: Olsen 1997 for an inventory of the various types of kosher seals found at Vlooienburg.

<sup>346</sup> A *shochet* – lit. ritual slaughterer – is someone who slaughters and inspects cattle and fowl in the ritually-prescribed manner, for kosher consumption.

<sup>347</sup> Olsen 1997, 10-12.

<sup>348</sup> Olsen 1997, 4.

<sup>349</sup> Context numbers: WLO-127 (cesspit 34), WLO-131 (cesspit 34), WLO-132 (cesspit 34), WLO-161 (cesspit 38), WLO-195 (cesspit 51), WLO-235 (cesspit 62) and WLO-327 (cesspit 100).

<sup>350</sup> Context numbers: WLO-138 (cesspit 37) and WLO-295 (cesspit 87).

<sup>351</sup> Find number WLO1-107 (purchased; cesspit context unknown).

Within Amsterdam more kosher seals were uncovered during the excavations that took place because of the construction of the North/South metro line between 2003 and 2012. At the location of the Rokin station, which is located relatively close to the former Vlooienburg neighbourhood, a total of 84 kosher seals have been found. Among these finds there were examples that could be attributed to the Talmud Torah (in this case by the abbreviation TT) and to the Kelilah Ashkenazim.<sup>352</sup> Furthermore two kosher seals are known from an excavation at the Valkenburgerstraat, both of which were too bearing the Hebrew letters  $\kappa\gamma$ .<sup>353</sup> Parallels of kosher seal food-labels are known from other Dutch archaeological sites too, although they are relatively small in number; seals are known from excavations in Haarlem, Den Haag, Leeuwarden and Arnhem.<sup>354</sup> The kosher seal from Arnhem is found among remains of 18<sup>th</sup> century city waste. The seal not only reads the Hebrew letter *chaf* ( $\text{כ}$ ) as a part of the word kosher, but also depicts the initials *sjin lamed* ( $\text{לש}$ ): S.L. These latter letters probably refer to the first known *shochet* – the ritual slaughterer – of Arnhem, Salomon Levi, who lived and worked here between at least 1765 and 1788.<sup>355</sup> Metal detectorist enthusiasts have brought to light kosher seals from fields and meadows in the Netherlands around Amsterdam Zuidoost, Ouderkerk aan de Amstel<sup>356</sup> and Nieuwkoop.<sup>357</sup> Kosher seals are also known from archaeological sites in London, however, the number of finds is limited to just a few.<sup>358</sup> To sum up, the amount of kosher seals at Vlooienburg and other locations in Amsterdam is remarkable, and shows the visible

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<sup>352</sup> Helbergen 2016.

<sup>353</sup> Gawronski & Jayasena 2016, 80; analysis by Allard van Helbergen.

<sup>354</sup> Olsen, 1997, 28; Smole 2018, 199-200. A number of twelve kosher seals are included in the collection of Museum Rotterdam, though their original context is unknown it is likely that they were found in Rotterdam.

<sup>355</sup> Smole 2018, 199-200.

<sup>356</sup> Items as reported within the PAN-project (Portable Antiquities of the Netherlands), consulted in Oct. 2019 (with thanks to Koen Vogelzang for drawing attention to these finds).

<sup>357</sup> Van Oostveen 2016.

<sup>358</sup> Pearce 1998.

propagation of the Jewish faith in the city through the course of the later 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century.

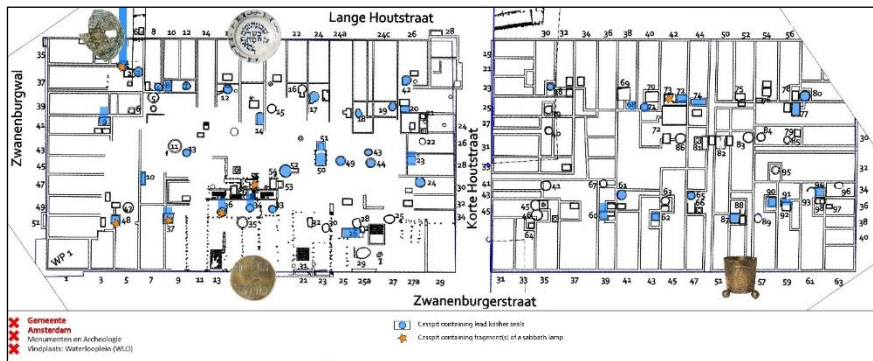


**Fig. 4.10**  
Vlooienburg,  
Amsterdam: Kosher seal  
together with chicken  
bones (WLO – 266 - 22).  
Photo: R. Tousain, Office  
of Monuments and  
Archaeology, City of  
Amsterdam.



**Fig. 4.11** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: Kosher seals referring to the different Jewish communities of Amsterdam; *Kelilah Ashkenazim* and *Talmud Torah*. Photos: R. Tousain, Office of Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam.





**Fig. 4.12** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: Overview showing the distribution of Judaica among the different cesspit contexts. Represented are: the presence of lead kosher seals (in blue), Shabbat lamp elements (in orange), the faience plate with the six-pointed star, the faience Pesach plate, the funeral medal, and the possible kiddush cup.

#### 4.4. Conclusion: The (In)Visibility of Jewishness

The finds from Vlooienburg illustrate the entangled identities of the Jewish inhabitants of early modern Amsterdam. Overall, it seems that the archaeological visibility of Jewish religious and daily practice becomes more distinguishable from the later 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, despite the fact that the historical data inform us about religious gatherings as early as the first decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In a way the material life seems to have followed the historical path, becoming more visible over time, from hidden synagogues and private religious practice towards the construction of publicly visible synagogues, and an open celebration of the Jewish faith. The development and more systematic organization of the Jewish congregations – like the institutionalization of the meat halls and arrangement of a tax structure – also becomes more archaeologically visible through the surviving kosher seals and the funerary medal.

The more private confirmation to Judaism is less clear, although is certainly not absent in the archaeological record. The direct material indicators are small in number, but rather convincing as is evidenced

by the faience plates with the Hebrew lettering regarding the Passover celebration and the symbol of a six-pointed star, which might be an unusually early case within the history of Judaica. Besides that the remains of multiple Shabbat lamps show an important element of Jewish practice that took place in the privacy of the home. Nonetheless we have to conclude here that there also is a large part of the Jewish tradition that is barely visible in material possessions, namely the case of food separation on the levels of both preparation and consumption. This mainly has to do with the fact that the utensils used by Jewish households did not vary from the everyday objects that were used in non-Jewish houses. This research does, however, provide a glimpse of eventual possibilities when a more in depth study of crockery set and cooking wares can be conducted. The two sets of faience dishes and some first results of organic residue analysis do seem promising and future research in this direction could be very fruitful, especially when combined with archaeozoological data.

It is interesting to note that from an archaeological perspective a deliberate expression of the Jewish faith that could be visually recognizable by others, is far less clearly evidenced than the private matter of kosher food consumption. Whereas kosher seals – and the amount of kosher animal bone assemblages – are rather numerous, the artefacts with Hebrew texts or references towards Jewish symbolism or religion are of a limited extent.<sup>359</sup> As for the first generations of inhabitants, this could be attributed to a level of caution being exercised, or to the evolving state of their Jewish identity. A more plausible explanation, however, would seem to involve the entangled character of the Jewish inhabitants, consisting of elements Iberian and Dutch culture, of local and internationally traded goods, and of Jewish and Catholic faith as is described by historians.<sup>360</sup> The material world took part in the ever evolving social and private identity and included elements of the integrated Jewish faith, simultaneously with the

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<sup>359</sup> Pearce (1998, 107) sketches a more or less similar dilemma for Jewish archaeology in London. When setting Hebrew lettering, Jewish names or religious symbols as criteria for Jewish identity, the evidence is limited.

<sup>360</sup> Levie Bernfeld 2012.

construction of Dutch habits, adaptation of wider European styles and maintenance of Iberian customs. The faience plate with the six-pointed star functions as a great example in this matter; being produced in the Dutch ceramics centre of Delft, depicting Asian motives inspired by porcelain vessels and integrating a star shape that could be interpreted as an early expression the famous Jewish symbol. Less recognizable, but likewise intriguing the possible Kiddush cup, an item that appeals to the imagination and could be seen as a fashionable item for the aristocracy alluding to historical themes, although it might also have been repurposed and put to use as a centre piece for the blessing of the wine on the celebration of the Shabbat. Fitting together the above with a combination of kosher seals mentioning the different Jewish congregations, the zooarchaeological remains, the historical data and the ceramic finds of Portuguese mentioned in the previous chapter, the story of this cultural conglomeration is completed.

To summarize, it is important to say that for a reconstruction of the Jewish identity of Vlooienburg's inhabitants an interdisciplinary approach is desirable, and probably even essential, as the material traces can be absent or ambiguous. Artefacts depicting Hebrew texts or other elements of Jewish symbolism should not be used as criteria, but merely seen as indicators and as such form a starting point for a multi-angled research procedure. For future research it would be interesting to investigate the other religious beliefs of Vlooienburgs inhabitants, exploring for example the materiality of the Catholic or Protestant elements within the archaeological records.<sup>361</sup> A preliminary quick scan of the Vlooienburg finds show for example a majolica dish with the depiction of Madonna with child dating from the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> century, which was found at the cesspit of Leprozengracht 28 (see fig. 4.13).<sup>362</sup>

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<sup>361</sup> As the archaeological research at the site of *Ons Lieve heer op Solder* has shown Catholic elements can for example be studied through the presence of Maria figurines, containers for holy water and the appearance of *putti* on faience after 1650 (Ostkamp 2017, 70-74).

<sup>362</sup> This concerns find WLO-266-41, found at cesspit 77.



**Fig.4.13** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: Dish with the depiction of Madonna with child, Office for Monuments and Archaeology, find number WLO-266-41. Photo: M. Stolk

CHAPTER 5.  
RATTLES, TOYS AND MINIATURE ARTEFACTS  
Children at Vlooienburg



## 5. RATTLES, TOYS AND MINIATURE ARTEFACTS Children at Vlooienburg<sup>363</sup>

### 5.1 Introduction

For the last 30 or 40 years the archaeology of childhood has gradually developed from a more or less descriptive subfield, focused on stereotypical interpretations, towards a more integrated field of research in which the presence of children has a central role in understanding past societies.<sup>364</sup> With the integration of the field, the absence of children in archaeological studies became an issue, especially because anthropological studies had shown the importance of studying children.<sup>365</sup> Led by the assumption that culture is learned through socialisation, rather than inherited, children are considered of crucial importance for the study of cultural developments.<sup>366</sup> As part of the subsequent development of archaeology, the study of children and childhood has evolved from being almost non-existing in archaeological studies (indirect interpretations), into being of significant importance for the interpretation of (household) archaeological data.<sup>367</sup> Moreover, as Baxter describes in her introduction to *The Archaeology of Childhood in Context*: “[...]the archaeology of childhood should not be considered an endeavour that is isolated or compartmentalized as a separate sphere of analysis but rather is a way to enrich and enhance our understanding of communities and cultures as a whole.”<sup>368</sup> In other words, the sphere of childhood should be contextualized as part of the every-day world of adults, households and the wider society. In the Dutch archaeological

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<sup>363</sup> This chapter has largely been previously published by the author, as a part of this PhD research, see: Stolk, M. (2020): Rattles, Toys and Miniature Artefacts: Archaeological Insights into Childhood and Childrens’s Identities at Vlooienburg, *KLEOS: Amsterdam Bulletin of Ancient Studies and Archaeology*, Issue 3: 64-81.

<sup>364</sup> Baxter 2006.

<sup>365</sup> Sofer Derevenski 1994; Willemsen 1998; Kamp 2001; Lillehammer 1989, 90; Baxter 2008, 160.

<sup>366</sup> Baxter 2008, 159-161.

<sup>367</sup> Baxter 2006; Kamp 2009; Lillehammer 2010; Dozier 2016; Crawford, Hadley, Shepherd 2018.

<sup>368</sup> Baxter 2006, 1-6.



field, a 1998 publication by Willemsen brought much needed attention to the material culture of children. Willemsen's study shed light on the daily life of children in medieval times by investigating both archaeological, art-historical and written sources. The work describes more than a thousand toys from archaeological contexts and describes how playing was considered a natural and appropriate part of childhood for children under the age of seven, although this age limit for playing activities could be stretched up to 10, 12 or even 14 years old.<sup>369</sup>

The Vlooienburg neighbourhood offers an intriguing case for the study of children and childhood identities as it was inhabited by people of different ethnic, religious and social backgrounds. As has been described in detail in the previous chapters the first inhabitants were both local Dutch people and immigrants from other areas in Europe, such as Jews or *Conversos*<sup>370</sup> from the Iberian Peninsula, the Ashkenazi Jewish refugees from eastern Europe and labour migrants from Scandinavia.<sup>371</sup> Concurrently with this influx of migrants, and in part stimulated by the arrival of foreign merchants, Amsterdam developed into a centre of maritime trade.<sup>372</sup> In the light of these developments and due to the multi-ethnic character of the neighbourhood, the life of children at Vlooienburg must, in a certain way, have been influenced by European and maybe even global elements of life at that time.

## 5.2 Rattles, Teats and Breast Glasses

It is usually difficult to prove the presence of babies and toddlers within archaeological find assemblages, since often there is little material culture left which can be specifically related to this group<sup>373</sup> Therefore,

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<sup>369</sup> Willemsen 1998.

<sup>370</sup> Jewish people, who had been converted to Christianity, often under the pressure of the Spanish Inquisition.

<sup>371</sup> Stoutenbeek & Vigeveno 2008, 15-16, 76; Kuijpers 2005

<sup>372</sup> Levie 1987, 7; Stoutenbeek /Vigeveno 2008, 15-16, 76; Gawronski et al. 2016, 38; Kuijpers 2005; Bodian 1997, 1; Municipal Archives of Amsterdam; GAA Index Burgher Books 1531-1652.

<sup>373</sup> In this paper, this group will be defined as children aged between zero and 36 months old.

the small number of archaeological finds from Vlooienburg that can be directly linked to babies and toddlers are of significant importance. The discovery of fragments from three rattles<sup>374</sup>, two teat rings<sup>375</sup> and two so-called breast glasses<sup>376</sup> in different cesspits, spread throughout the neighbourhood, are clear evidence for this category of young children (see fig. 5,1).

Rattles are relatively uncommon archaeological finds but are likely to have been present in many households. A possible explanation for their rarity may be that a part of them was made of organic materials, which may not be preserved in archaeological contexts. An example of a rattle made of organic material can be seen in a Dutch painting by Jan (Salomon) de Bray dating to the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century (fig. 5.2). Over the course of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, open-work lead alloy rattles and rattles made of bone and pewter or copper elements were introduced. The shape and appearance of these rattles are similar to the more expensive fine worked silver or golden rattles, which are pictured on many 17<sup>th</sup> century children's portrait paintings (fig. 5.3).<sup>377</sup> This type of rattles combined multiple functions. The upper part was meant for children to nibble on when they were teething. This element was termed the 'wolf's tooth', which in folklore was thought to serve as a repellent against evil spirits and to give strength to the child. Bells were contained in the middle part of the rattle and its lower part, which was used as a handle, sometimes also functioned as a flute.<sup>378</sup>

Fragments of three of such rattles have been recovered among the analysed finds from Vlooienburg. It seems most likely that they date from the (early) 17<sup>th</sup> century as they look very similar to the design that is shown on the painting of the Sonck family (fig. 3), although they were

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<sup>374</sup> Bureau of Monuments and Archaeology, Amsterdam, find number WLO-322 10, WLO-155-215 and WLO-267-9.

<sup>375</sup> Bureau of Monuments and Archaeology, Amsterdam, find number WLO-124-6 and WLO-293-26.

<sup>376</sup> Bureau of Monuments and Archaeology, Amsterdam, find number WLO- 190 18 and WLO-36-6.

<sup>377</sup> Willemsen 1997, 407-408.

<sup>378</sup> Collection Westfries Museum, Gemeente Hoorn: *Double Portrait of the Sonck Family*, 1602, by Jan Claesz.; <https://wfm.nl/topstuk-dubbelportret-van-het-echtpaar-sonck>.



produced from less expensive materials. Two of the rattle elements are made of a combination of bone or antler and pewter and functioned as the upper and middle part of the rattle. In both cases, the top parts show clear bite marks. It is also interesting that they indeed seem to have been shaped in the model of a wolf's tooth. The middle part of one of the rattles still holds two bells. The second rattle has the attachment rings for the bells left on it as well. The other rattle element is made of bone and functioned both as a handle and a flute. Two additional bone rings found at Vlooienburg (not depicted in fig. 5.1) were most likely part of teats, or rattles dating to the 18<sup>th</sup> century or later. The rattles and potential teat rings indicate a clear care for younger children, paying attention to both the development of their teeth and their amusement.

The finds from Vlooienburg also include two breast glasses, which are similar to pieces that have been found in Delft.<sup>379</sup> The glasses, which were used to collect breast milk, were most likely produced in Germany and generally date to the 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> century. The examples from Vlooienburg come from find complexes that date between c. 1725 and 1775. The glass was placed over a breast to collect milk. The child could later drink the milk from the little sprout on the edge of the glass.<sup>380</sup> All in all these finds show that the care for infants in the Vlooienburg neighbourhood was rather developed at that time. Historical sources mention that breastfeeding was considered of significance for the survival rates of the young children during this period.<sup>381</sup> Hiring a wet nurse was possible, but extremely expensive and not common in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century according to contemporaneous personal documents.<sup>382</sup> So the use of breast glasses and earlier versions of breast pumps<sup>383</sup> were most likely used by mothers to improve

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<sup>379</sup> Henkes 1994, 335.

<sup>380</sup> Henkes 1994, 334-335.

<sup>381</sup> Dekker 2000, 99-100.

<sup>382</sup> Dekker 2000, 99-100.

<sup>383</sup> Examples of 17<sup>th</sup> century glass breast pumps are known from archaeological contexts in Delft, Hoorn, Alkmaar and Egmond aan den Hoef (Henkes 1994, 334-335; Bitter 2016, 150; <https://www.erfgoedalkmaar.nl/vondst-op-vrijdag/kolfglas-uit-beerput-aan-bierkade>)

breastfeeding and the care for their little ones.



**Fig. 5.1** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: Example of a breast glass, dating ca. 1725-1775 (WLO-190-18), and three rattle elements, dating c. 1600-1700 (top down: WLO-322-10, WLO-155-215 and WLO-267-9). Photos breast glass courtesy of Bureau of Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam. Photos rattle elements by the author.



**Fig 5.2** Left: An example of a basketry rattle in the painting *Laughing Boy with Wicker Rattle*, by Jan (or Solomon) de Bray, mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. Picture: Victoria and Albert Collection, London.

**Fig 5.3** Right: An example of a *rinkelbel* in a detail from the *Double Portret of the Sonck Family*, dated 1602. The picture shows the son of Frans Albertsz Sonck holding a silver rattle with bells in his right hand. The flute (lower part) and a wolf's tooth (upper part) are clearly visible. Picture: Collection Westfries Museum, Hoorn.



### 5.3 Toys and Gaming Pieces

When discussing toys within an archaeological assemblage, it is important to distinguish between toys, which were specifically designed for children, and gaming items, which might also have been used by adolescents and/or adults. Amongst the toys that directly relate to children, we can include objects such as dolls, spinning tops and marbles, whereas amongst the group of toys that might also have been used by adults items such as dice, tokens, balls and other gaming pieces

can be included. It is for example known that gambling games and ball sports were played by adults at the neighbourhood in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, because they are referred to in historical literature sources. A tavern with a *kaatsbaan*<sup>384</sup> existed at Vlooienburg in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and another tavern which “functioned as a gambling hall”<sup>385</sup>, was owned and operated by the Portuguese Jew Jan Sabbatai Sena in the same period.<sup>386</sup> Although it is known that both taverns were located on the *Lange Houtstraat* within the Vlooienburg neighbourhood, there are no specific concentrations of toys or gaming pieces from the excavated cesspits in this street that could reveal their exact locations. This is why it is important to keep in mind that not all of the toys and gaming attributes can be interpreted as children’s toys and that some of them could have functioned for adults as well.

Even though for a part of the artefacts it remains unclear who the actual users were, there is a large number of artefacts that can be safely interpreted as children’s toys. The most frequently found type of toys and gaming pieces which can be related to children, are ceramic, stone, and glass marbles (table 5.1). One possible explanation for the large number of retrieved marbles from Vlooienburg is that it was an easily accessible game and that marbles were inexpensive. Losing a marble or intentionally throwing them away in a cesspit may not have been a great loss for its owner. The second most common category of child-related objects from the Vlooienburg cesspits are the miniature artefacts, which were used to ‘play house’ (discussed in more detail later on). They occur in different sorts of materials such as various ceramic wares, wood, metal and even glass. Other than that, dolls and skill games also seem to have been quite popular (fig. 5.4). Among the finds from Vlooienburg there are figurines, spinning tops, and wooden sticks, which were used for the Dutch game *pinkel*.<sup>387</sup> Whereas most of

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<sup>384</sup> A *kaatsbaan* was an area for ball games.

<sup>385</sup> This gambling hall was later on owned by Abram de Crasto Tartas and remained in use until at least 1710.

<sup>386</sup> Hell 2017, 223-224.

<sup>387</sup> *Pinkelen* is a game of skill, in which one hits different pieces of wood with a bat, in order to make shoot in a certain direction.

the toy artefacts were specifically produced for gaming activities, sometimes objects were recycled and repurposed to create toys. An example of this is a former lead cloth seal, which was transformed into a buzzer functioning as a sort of whirligig (see fig. 5.5.).<sup>388</sup>

A specific toy category that cannot always directly be related to children is the group of dollhouse parts. These items might have been used by children, but may also have been part of elaborate dollhouses which were used by women in the 17<sup>th</sup> century collection cabinets in to display fine and fragile pieces of craftsmanship.<sup>389</sup> Among these luxurious dollhouse parts were, for example, very tiny pieces of pewter, silverware and porcelain or carefully crafted pieces of furniture.<sup>390</sup> Three wooden doll house parts have been identified in the Vlooienburg cesspit assemblages. Besides these, there are a number of tiny porcelain vases, which could be interpreted as children's toys or as dollhouse parts (fig. 5.6). The relatively large amount of porcelain miniatures at Vlooienburg - fifteen in total, from ten different cesspits - either suggests that such dollhouses were quite popular and not limited to the higher classes of society, or, more likely, that miniature porcelain items were sometimes also used as toys. And there is even a third possibility. Some scholars believe that these miniature artefacts could also have functioned as collectibles or souvenirs, as they originate from Asia.<sup>391</sup> Porcelain miniatures may have arrived from the East in bulk, as they are mentioned as a component of ship ballast between 1690 and the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This circumstance shows that these items were probably not particularly exclusive or expensive from the later 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards.<sup>392</sup> In cases like this it is therefore difficult to strictly address the function of toys and miniature objects, as similar objects might have

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<sup>388</sup> Buzzers were objects, that were spun around by tightening and loosening a rope, which would result in creating a buzzing sound.

<sup>389</sup> See for example the 17<sup>th</sup> century dollhouses of Petronella Dunois and Petronella Oortman in the Rijksmuseum collection; respectively inventory number BK-14656 and BK-NM-1010.

<sup>390</sup> Lukezic 2007, 57-58; Pijzel-Domisse 2000.

<sup>391</sup> The possibility that miniatures were used as souvenirs or mementos is for example described by Mills (2010, 37 & 53).

<sup>392</sup> Sönmez 2015, 349.

fulfilled different functions in different contexts. Hence, whereas an adult might have considered a porcelain miniature to be a show piece or souvenir, a child might have perceived the same object to be a toy.

So to conclude, the significant number of toys, gaming pieces and fancy collectables tell us that both children and adults in the Vlooienburg neighbourhood must have had sufficient time for leisure activities. The variation amongst the children's toys shows that there was quite a variety in quality of materials, ranging from wood to glass and from reused lead to finely worked copper alloy (table 5.1). This corresponds with the findings of Willemsen's research, which states that children's toys must have been accessible to all layers of society in the medieval period and at the start of the early modern period.<sup>393</sup>



**Fig. 5.4** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: On the left a wooden spinning top, dating circa 1650-1675 (WLO-237-19). On the right a wooden doll, dating ca. 1750-1775 (WLO-244-5). Photos: Bureau of Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam.

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<sup>393</sup> Willemsen 1998, 295-299.

<b>Toys &amp; gaming pieces</b>	<b>Material</b>	<b>Number of finds</b>
Balls	wood	6
Bird (shaped) whistles	Ceramic	6
Dice	bone and ivory	8
Dolls and figurines	wood, pewter and porcelain	10
Dollhouse parts	Wood	3
Domino tile	bone and wood	1
Gaming pieces and tokens (round and square)	bone, ivory, wood and ceramic	29
<i>Kolf</i> game attributes	wood and lead	2
<i>Kootwerpen</i> game attributes	Worked talus bones (sometimes filled with lead)	4
Marbles	ceramic, stone and glass	373
Miniatures	ceramic, porcelain, glass, metal, wood.	170
<i>Pinkel</i> game attributes	Wood	10
Skittle	Wood	1
Spinning tops	Wood	4
Toy weapons (one miniature)	pewter, copper alloy	2
Toy soldiers	pewter	2
<b>Totals</b>		<b>631</b>

**Table 5.1** Amsterdam-Vlooienburg: Overview of toys and gaming pieces dating between ca. 1600 and 1800.



**Fig. 5.5**  
Vlooienburg, Amsterdam:  
Buzzer made out of a lead cloth  
seal, dating ca. 1700-1750 (WLO-  
240-48). Photo: M. Stolk.



**Fig. 5.6**  
Vlooienburg, Amsterdam:  
Examples of some miniature  
porcelain vases, dating ca. 1675-  
1700 (top down: WLO-199-81 /  
WLO-199-82 / WLO-199-26).  
Photos: M. Stolk.

#### 5.4 Miniature Artefacts

Perhaps the most interesting category of toys from Vlooienburg is a group of miniature artefacts. Miniatures of full-sized objects are known from a great variety of archaeological sites ranging through time and space and they fulfilled different functions, depending on the context in which they were used. Miniatures sometimes served as grave offerings or as part of ritual practices, as was the case in for example Inuit Canada, Iron Age Italy and Viking Age Scotland.<sup>394</sup> Within the household contexts of the Vlooienburg neighbourhood however, it is reasonable to interpret the miniatures as children's toys, as is often the case in comparable archaeological settlement contexts in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>395</sup> By mimicking adult life during infancy children became familiar with prescribed, approved and appropriate patterns of

<sup>394</sup> Park 1998, 275; Bietti Sestieri 1992, 227; McGuire 2013, 18-27.

<sup>395</sup> Gomes et al. 2018, 1-12; Bitter 2016, 153-155; Willemsen 1998, 92-95, 182-188; Gawronski & Jayasena 2017, 52-54.



behaviour as part of their socialization.<sup>396</sup> By playing with miniatures that represented daily adult life, children were able to practice and acquire cultural skills, customs, knowledge, habits and values.

The presence of miniature objects within cesspit assemblages is a common phenomenon in Dutch post-medieval archaeology.<sup>397</sup> Most of the miniatures in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century were made of the same material and had the same appearance as full-sized artefacts. The ceramic miniatures were often produced in the same workshops as the full-sized ones, but in some cases the production of miniatures was more specialized, as was the case with pewter alloy objects.<sup>398</sup> Historical evidence from 1648, mentioning the inventory of a toyshop at the Zeedijk - located on a walking distance from Vlooienburg - underlines the suggestion that children's toys had their own specialized industry in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>399</sup>

Miniature artefacts are present in at least 48 of the circa 100 cesspits within the Vlooienburg neighbourhood and are spread relatively evenly across the different streets in the neighbourhood (see diagrams in fig. 5.7). Whereas some of the cesspits contain just one miniature artefact others contain multiple examples, ranging up to whole sets, as is the case in cesspit numbers 13, 34, 52 and 67. Archaeologically, these miniature artefacts can broadly be divided into three game categories: playing house, playing with dolls and playing with tools or weapons.<sup>400</sup> The material participation of these categories are all to be found among the Vlooienburg finds, although the first category is by far the most often encountered. Other than this, a few dolls and toy weapons were retrieved from the Vlooienburg cesspits (table 5.1). In fact, one beautifully crafted copper-alloy miniature handle of a rapier was found in cesspit number 1 (fig. 5.11). Although it might be tempting to understand the different mimicking games, like playing with dolls or playing with weapons or tools, through gender

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<sup>396</sup> Lillehammer 2010,10-11.

<sup>397</sup> Bitter 2016, 153-155; Gawronski & Jayasena 2017, 52-54; Ostkamp et al. 2001, 153-154.

<sup>398</sup> Bitter 2016, 153; Willemsen 1997; Willemsen 1998, 182, 188-189.

<sup>399</sup> <https://www.amsterdam.nl/stadsarchief/stukken/kinderen/speelgoedwinkel/>

<sup>400</sup> Park 1998, 274.

stereotype roles in life, this is of course a debatable issue. On the basis of ethnographic observations in earlier studies, it has been concluded that gender roles have not always been that fixed and are not of great concern among children younger than nine or ten years old.<sup>401</sup>

Most of the miniatures from Vlooienburg are related to the preparation and consumption of food, and as such they can be interpreted as early parallels of the modern 'toy kitchens'. Most of these are ceramic and metal artefacts from local Dutch or German origin, but wooden or glass ones have also been recovered. Within the ceramic miniature assemblages, there are cooking pots, skillets, frying pans, lids, strainers, oil lamps, plates, cups, and almost every other item that one might find in a full-sized household assemblage (fig. 5.8). Among the metal miniatures, porringers and plates are relatively common, although there are also other objects such as a fire grill (fig. 5.9). Wooden or glass miniatures are relatively scarce at Vlooienburg, as is the case in general for this period. The wooden miniatures consist of a knife, a jug and a tub. The three glass miniatures represent two different types of drinking glasses, namely the *berkemeijer* type - a conical pruned beaker - and the *roemer* type - a more convex glass on a higher stem (fig. 5.10). Both of these forms are very common types of drinking glasses in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and were most often produced in the Netherlands or Germany.<sup>402</sup> These miniature types are of quite high quality and must have been luxurious toy objects. Similar examples are found in Delft and Alkmaar.<sup>403</sup> A differently shaped glass miniature is known from a castle moat from the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Eindhoven.<sup>404</sup>

It is interesting to note that some of the cooking wares and at least one oil lamp in the Vlooienburg miniature collection have clear soot traces. This may indicate that in some cases children were literally playing with fire. Learning to tend a fire was an important and useful skill at that time, as taking care of the fire was a daily routine in households. Moreover, it was the main supply of warmth and acted as the hearth for cooking. We could ask how this relates to social

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<sup>401</sup> Park 1998, 279-280.

<sup>402</sup> Henkes 1994, 189-195.

<sup>403</sup> Henkes 1994, 194-195; Bitter 2016, 154.

<sup>404</sup> Willemsen 1998, 394.

stratification, taking into account that upper-class households most likely had servants to take care of the fireplace and the cooking? In this case, we might not expect the children of a higher household to be mimicking this behaviour. Furthermore, it is striking that some specific eating and drinking habits from adult life found their way into children's play. Prime examples of this are the miniature drinking glasses, which in adult life were used to consume alcoholic drinks. A second example is the prevalence of tea pots and tea sets. The increasing consumption of tea from the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards encouraged the development of children's play focused on acting out tea ceremonies with miniatures assemblages (fig. 5.12).

The excavations at Vlooienburg have also produced one remarkable ceramic miniature with a very specific foreign origin. A Portuguese miniature drinking cup (fig. 5.13), which was probably produced in Lisbon, was found in an early 17<sup>th</sup> century cesspit layer.<sup>405</sup> A few parallels for this typical Portuguese miniature drinking cup have been found in wealthy contexts in Lisbon.<sup>406</sup> This Portuguese miniature, together with a number of Portuguese cooking wares that have been found at Vlooienburg, may be linked to the Portuguese immigrants living in the neighbourhood.<sup>407</sup> Portuguese cooking wares are otherwise only found in Portugal, or within Portuguese colonies, and were no part of the Portuguese export products in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, nor were they wanted by non-Portuguese.<sup>408</sup> Consequently, the presence of this Portuguese miniature indicates that it was not only adults, but complete families, including children, who were migrating to Amsterdam in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. This specific Portuguese miniature can therefore consequently be interpreted as evidence of value attachment in relation to ethnic background.

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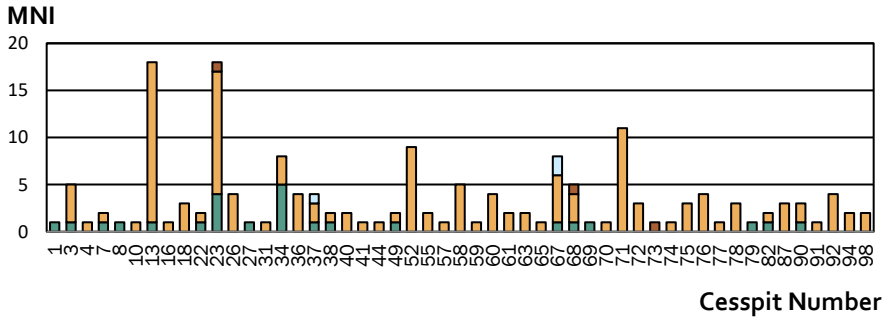
<sup>405</sup> Pers. comm. T. Casimiro, Instituto de Arqueologia e Paleociências, da Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

<sup>406</sup> Pers. comm. T. Casimiro, Instituto de Arqueologia e Paleociências, da Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

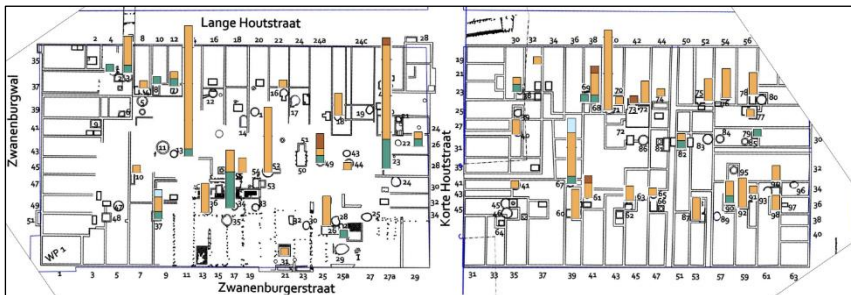
<sup>407</sup> Stolk 2018.

<sup>408</sup> Casimiro 2014, 6045-6051; Newstead 2014, 75-92.

## Miniature Artefacts per Cesspit (N=170)



**Fig. 5.7a** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: diagram overview of the ceramic miniatures (in orange), the glass miniatures (in blue), the wooden miniatures (brown) and the metal miniature (in green) from the cesspits, dating between c. 1600 and 1800.



**Fig. 5.7b** Distribution map with the diagrams of the miniature artefacts plotted on an overview drawing of the neighbourhood. Sources: map: Bureau Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam, data: M. Stolk. Note: It is possible that there are some more ceramic miniatures in total than there are represented in this table, because not all of the ceramic assemblages have been completely scanned and/or analyzed yet. At this point of research, full ceramics studies are available for the following cesspit numbers: BP1; BP23; BP 24; BP 29; BP 37; BP 48; BP 52; BP 62; BP 63; BP71; BP 82; BP 90, the ceramic content of the other cesspits has only been scanned.



**Fig 5.8** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: A variety of Dutch redware miniatures, including cooking wares with soot tracks, dating ca. 1600-1750. From left to right, top down: a cooking pot (WLO-312-2); a frying pan (WLO-15-7); a strainer (WLO-261-20); an oil lamp (WLO-199-109); a dish (WLO-51-6); a skillet (WLO-73-2); a spouted pot (WLO-51-16); lid (WLO-266-5) and a marmite (WLO-250-25). Photos: M. Stolk.



**Fig. 5.9** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: Miniature pewter grills (WLO-241-67 & WLO-106-5) and porringers (WLO-127-30 & WLO-95-16), dating ca. 1575-1675. Photos: M. Stolk



**Fig. 5.10** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: Miniature drinking glasses; two so-called *berkemeier* types (WLO-240-64 & WLO-240-65) and a *roemer* type (WLO-138-58), dating ca. 1600-1650. Photos: M. Stolk.



**Fig. 5.11** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: Copper-alloy handle of a rapier sword (WLO-8-91), dating ca. 1675-1700. Photos: Bureau of Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam.



**Fig. 5.12** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: Miniature marbled lead glazed teapot (WLO-219-2), dating ca. 1675-1750. Photo: M. Stolk.



**Fig. 5.13** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: Miniature *púcaro*, Portuguese drinking cup (WLO-8-433), dating ca. 1600 - 1625. Photo: M. Stolk.

## 5.5 Conclusion

The finds from the Vlooienburg complex provide us with interesting insights into a 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century Amsterdam neighbourhood. About three quarters of all the cesspits contained child-related objects in a wide range of materials, quality and value, which shows us that the material culture of children, and childhood, has much to offer. First of all, these findings have allowed us to identify the presence of babies and infants by finds of specific artefacts, such as rattles and breast glasses. This shows the relatively developed level of nursing and infant care that was available for at least part of the population in the Vlooienburg neighbourhood in the early modern period. Secondly, the amount and variety of toys shows us that adults acknowledged and supported childhood play activities. Whereas some children were provided with finely crafted and more expensive glass or metal miniature objects, others played with simple toys made from wood, bone or even reused materials. It seems that no matter which social class, children had the option, time and objects to play their games. This corresponds with the general image of Vlooienburg as a multi-ethnic neighbourhood where families from different social backgrounds lived side by side in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

On the other hand, one can suggest that, while playing games, the children were to some extent being prepared for adult life. Examples of toy cooking pots with soot traces, the introduction of miniature tea sets and the very rare Portuguese toy drinking cup, are all clear illustrative representations of the socio-cultural development of children at the Vlooienburg neighbourhood. Different games and playing house taught them certain sets of skills and by mimicking adult life through playing with miniature objects, they practiced with the general customs, knowledge, values and habits of their surrounding society. In this way, this case study does not only allow us to shed light on the socialization of children, but also gives us the possibility to see some elements of adult life through the activities of children.



CHAPTER 6.

## BÚCAROS AND BANDHANI

Mesoamerican Cups & Indian Cloth at Vlooienburg



## 6. BÚCAROS AND BANDHANI

### Mexican Cups and an Indian Cloth at Vlooienburg

#### 6.1 Introduction

##### *New World Products and Consumer Preferences*

Much has been written on the changing consumption patterns and material behaviour that altered daily life in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>409</sup> Historical studies have embraced the factor of ‘consumer preferences’ as a crucial element of cultural research, whereas economic studies have often approached those as generalized consequence of measurable financial and social conditions. All in all the general picture of consumption changes in the early modern period is a diverse one with exotic products spreading through the urban European societies, followed by the rural areas.<sup>410</sup>

From the late 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards Amsterdam underwent an exceptional growth and the city became a leading center for global trade. Consequently colonial commodities, such as previously unknown spices or luxurious textiles, became more prominently available. While some of the items were exclusive, luxurious and only accessible to the well-to-do at first, by the mid to late 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century most of the products were imported as bulk cargo and were available for much lower prices and as a consequence became accessible to the citizens with a middle or lower income.<sup>411</sup> The distribution of spices, tobacco, Asian porcelain and silks, as well as the later circulation of tea, coffee, and sugar, became more widespread and caused a clear change in people’s consumption patterns, as can be seen in written records as well as within the archaeological record.<sup>412</sup> By 1661 a total of 66 sugar refineries could be found in the city of Amsterdam, which is illustrated by the find of many ceramic funnels and jars which were used in the

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<sup>409</sup> See i.a.: Spencer-Wood, 1987 and Brewer & Porter (eds.) 1993.

<sup>410</sup> Blondé & Van Damme 2009, 1-14.

<sup>411</sup> See i.a.: Gawronski 2012, 56-71; Llorens Planella 2015, 89-93; McCants 2008, 172-200; Van den Heuvel & Van Nederveen Meerkerk 2014, 1-26.

<sup>412</sup> See i.a. Ostkamp 2003; Ostkamp 2011; Gawronski 2012, 71-79.

process of filtering the sugar molasses and jugs that were used to sell sugar syrup.<sup>413</sup> Historical evidence from Amsterdam as well as the city of Leiden reveals the increase of respectively coffee houses and specialized tea and coffee retailers in the period between the late 17<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>414</sup> To a certain level the Chinese porcelain production was even adjusted to Dutch preferences. Some of the porcelain shapes were customized and although the decorative motives were generally considered rather interesting and exotic even some of the decorations were modified to appeal to Dutch taste.<sup>415</sup>

Overall, the substantial change in consumer behaviour – described in the case of 18<sup>th</sup> century England as a '*consumer revolution*'<sup>416</sup> – was characterized not only by the emergence of new products and ancillary professions, but also by the appearance of new customs and associated utensils. The consumption of coffee, tea or chocolate for example demanded specified equipment to prepare the beverages and required appropriate drinking cups, as can be seen on the painting *Still Life with Ebony Chests* by Antonio Pereda (see fig.6.1). The painting depicts three (chocolate) cups on a silver plate - a Dutch faience (left), a Chinese porcelain (back in the middle) and a Spanish lusterware (right) - , behind them there are a special chocolate pot and a wooden whisk to prepare the chocolate. The woven cloth has been interpreted as a so-called '*pañó de chocolate*' (chocolate cloth), which was used to wipe away chocolate foam. In addition the pastries in the front were most likely to be dipped into the chocolate and the chunk on the right is thought to show either cheese or sugar which was used to supplement the chocolate.<sup>417</sup> In short, it was not just the introduction of the product cocoa itself, but the emergence of a custom that involved certain tools and knowledge of its preparation as well. Summarizing we can say that the arrival of new goods, was a first step in the appearance of specialized accessories and the development of new customs, as too is illustrated by 17<sup>th</sup> century writings of recipes on the preparation of

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<sup>413</sup> Gawronski 2012, 71-72.

<sup>414</sup> Gawronski 2012, 71; Van den Heuvel & Van Nederveen Meerkerk 2014.

<sup>415</sup> Llorens Planella 2015, 282-301, 313.

<sup>416</sup> McKendrick, Brewer & Plump, 1982.

<sup>417</sup> Ripollés 2018.

chocolate and the knowledge that actual 'chocolate parties' were thrown in 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century Spain.<sup>418</sup> However, not all new products became equally popular among the majority of the population. Some products were used only temporarily, or by a small segment of society and disappeared as quickly as they had arrived.



**Fig. 6.1** Still Life with Ebony Chest by Antonio Pereda, 1652. Collection State Hermitage Museum, Saint Peterburg, photo: Wikipedia, public domain.

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<sup>418</sup> Gray 2010,34-40.

### ***New World Goods at Vlooienburg***

The archaeological finds from Vlooienburg contain a diversity of both material culture and ecological objects and a significant increase of colonial imports can be detected from the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century onwards. As might be expected a variety of cups for tea or chocolate<sup>419</sup> are often present among the household waste, just as there are many clay pipes, and, as a result of the sugar industry at Vlooienburg, syrup jars.<sup>420</sup> As for the botanical remains there are seeds of figs, melons, olives and citrus fruits as well as the remains of Spanish pepper, black cumin, anise, cloves, coriander, grains of paradise and in one case even the expensive spice saffron.<sup>421</sup> The expansion of the textile trade - and likewise the local textile industry - can be tracked through the numerous fragments of various silk weaves. Additionally exotic shells are present as well as even more exceptional finds such as fragments of a box made of turtle shell<sup>422</sup> and the remnants of a sea urchin.<sup>423</sup> Besides the archaeological finds, written sources inform us about the emergence of various professions among Vlooienburg's inhabitants, as for example that of: diamond traders and diamond cutters, tobacco spinners and tobacconists, and silk weavers and dyers.<sup>424</sup>

The finds that will be presented and discussed in this chapter, however, form an exceptional and unique set of archaeological finds for both the city of Amsterdam and the Netherlands, since there are no parallel finds known so far. As a first case, this chapter will present a number of fragments of so-called *búcaros de Indias*, an exclusive type of ceramics that was supposedly reserved for the top elite members of the

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<sup>419</sup> See for some Dutch faience example find numbers: WLO-301-46, WLO-301-49, WLO-301-50, WLO-301-51 and WLO-138-46. For an image of these cups see chapter 2, fig. 2.11.

<sup>420</sup> One of the sugar refineries at Vlooienburg, named '*de Vier Suikerbroden*' (*The Four Sugar Loves*), was located at Zwanenburgerstraat 41 (Hell, in prep. *Work, Wealth and Worship in a 'Hodgepodge' Neighbourhood*). The corresponding cesspit, number 86, revealed at least two syrup jars (WLO-292-18 and WLO-292-19).

<sup>421</sup> Van Haaster 2020, 53.

<sup>422</sup> WLO-94-35 & WLO-94-36, cesspit 23.

<sup>423</sup> WLO-250-41, cesspit 71.

<sup>424</sup> Hell, in prep. *Work, Wealth and Worship in a 'Hodgepodge' Neighbourhood*.



Iberian society and were produced in Mesoamerica. As a result, other Mexican-Iberian influences and pottery styles will also be explored. As it is the first time that these unglazed Mesoamerican ceramics have been recognized in the Netherlands the discussion which follows will first discuss the identification process and their potential place of production.<sup>425</sup> The essential use and role of these ceramics will then be explored, and the investigation will conclude with an interpretation of the finds within the context of the Vlooienburg neighbourhood.

The second case study that will be discussed in this chapter consists of fragments of a silk or silk mix cloth that was dyed in a special pattern according to an Indian tie-dyeing technique. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, this so-called *Bandhani* dyeing technique was very different from the ways in which fashionable items were produced on the European continent. Like the forementioned Mesoamerican ceramics, this colonial product does not seem to have any known archaeological parallels in the Netherlands. In order to examine and interpret the find, the following section will briefly discuss the find in relation to other textile finds, including finds from the evolving silk industry at Vlooienburg. This research and the initial publication of these finds in this dissertation are a first step in their disclosure, however, it goes without saying that more in-depth studies and analysis could provide us with further insights in future research.<sup>426</sup>

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<sup>425</sup> The only other Mexican or Mesoamerican find from the Low Countries known so far exist of a tin-glazed plate that was found in a cesspit in Middelburg and dates between circa 1600 and 1650 (Jaspers, in prep.).

<sup>426</sup> Because of the promising quality and quantity of the Vlooienburg textile finds and other archaeological textile finds from Northern and Southern Holland, a new research project – ‘Textile from Holland’s Soils’ - has been set up. This project will further investigate the materials in the years to come.



**Fig. 6.2**  
 Vlooienburg,  
 Amsterdam: fragments  
 of unglazed burnished  
 earthenware's of most  
 likely Mesoamerican  
 origin, uncovered from  
 four different cesspits,  
 all roughly dating  
 between ca. 1600 and  
 1700. Photos: M. Stolk.

**Fig. 6.3**  
 Top and middle: Vlooienburg,  
 Amsterdam; find number WLO-  
 264-#021, probably produced in  
 Coimbra, Portugal , dating ca.  
 1600-1725, containing small  
 entangled clay strings on the  
 inside. Photos: R. Tousain, Office  
 for Monuments and  
 Archaeology, City of Amsterdam.

Bottom: Collection Museo de  
 América in Madrid; inventory  
 number 04529, presumably  
 produced in Tonalá Mexico,  
 dating ca. 1601-1700, which too  
 has a clearly visible amount of  
 spaghetti-like clay strings  
 attached on the inside. Photo: J.  
 Otero Úbeda.



## 6.2 Mesoamerican Ceramics from Vlooienburg

In the chapter two of this dissertation the lifestyles of Portuguese migrants and merchants at Vlooienburg were investigated through the close study specific ceramics of Portuguese origin. One particular type of ceramic objects that was dealt with was the so called *púcaro* – an unglazed earthenware drinking cup, that played a significant part in the Portuguese lifestyle at the time.<sup>427</sup> It was among those *púcaros* fragments, however, that five atypical sherds were noted. Although the general shape and thickness of the sherds were rather similar, the specific fragments were of a darker paste and had a significantly more refined surface (see fig. 6.2). After an elaborate study<sup>428</sup> and consultation with dr. Tania Casimiro, the potential provenance of the pieces investigated, lead to the suggestion that instead of Portuguese, the sherds might have a Mexican or at least Mesoamerican origin.<sup>429</sup> The research suggested that the sherds should maybe be *búcaros de Indias*<sup>430</sup>, as they are called in historical documents.<sup>431</sup> Such drinking cups appear on early modern Spanish still life paintings on a relatively regular basis<sup>432</sup> and as a matter of fact, multiple examples are actually depicted on the top of the box on the previously mentioned painting *Still Life with Ebony Chests* by Antonio Pereda (see fig.6.1).

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<sup>427</sup> See chapter 3, paragraph: *Fine wares and special fabrics*.

<sup>428</sup> García Sáiz & Barrio Moya, 1987; Fox & Ulrich 2008; Hamann 2010; Moratinos Rovira & Gaitán 2010; García & Villanueva Zubizarreta 2013; Krahe 2014; Gutiérrez Usillos 2018. In addition to the literature study, I am much obliged to Dr. Tania Casimiro for her suggestions and kind assistance in this research.

<sup>429</sup> Pers. Comm. dr. Tania Casimiro, Instituto de Arqueologia, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa.

<sup>430</sup> The inventory of Catalina de Silva, Princess of Melito dated Barcelona, 1568 for example makes mention of *búcaros* from India (Krahe 2014, 135).

<sup>431</sup> In this case '*Indias*' refers to the 17<sup>th</sup> century '*West Indies*' in America and not to the '*East Indies*' in Asia.

<sup>432</sup> See for example: '*Still Life with Sweets and Pottery*' (1627) and many other paintings by Juan van der Hamen; '*Still Life with Bread*' (1648) by Francisco de Palacios; '*Still Life with a Clock*' (1652)an other works by Antonio Pereda; '*Las Meninas*' (1656) by Diego Rodríguez de Silva; and '*Still Life with Sweets and Earthenwares*' (1676) by Josefa de Óbidos.



### ***Púcaros and Búcaros***

The fact that written sources mention *búcaros de Indias*, and explicitly refer to their provenance, illustrates that a clear distinction between different types of fine and precious ceramics was being made. It has to be noted here, however, that the terms *búcaros* and *púcaros* – which may be roughly translated as vases (Spanish) or jugs (Portuguese), though more precisely referring to drinking cups - might have been used interchangeably in written sources and literature.<sup>433</sup> Strictly speaking, it is therefore impossible to say where the pottery that is mentioned in written documents came from if no precise origin is noted. In this dissertation the term *púcaros* therefore will be used to indicate Portuguese fine wares, whereas *búcaros (de Indias)* will be used to refer to Mesoamerican fine wares, as these are the most commonly used terms in the literature.

*Púcaros* show a significant variation in type, design and Portuguese place of production between the mid- 15<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century. Their similarity with the *búcaros* lies in their fragrant properties, which were noticeable when drinking water from them. Cups from some of the Portuguese production places, such as Estremoz, were considered of a higher quality and were therefore reserved for high ranking elites. The relatively widespread occurrence of *púcaros* in archaeological contexts throughout the country of Portugal, however, seems to suggest that the custom of drinking water from earthenware vessels was adopted throughout the different social levels of society. The use of earthenware drinking cups, however, does not seem to be limited to Portugal, since historical documents describe them in relation with Spanish elite contexts<sup>434</sup>, where they are referred to as *búcaros* or *barros* (clay).<sup>435</sup>

As already noted, it was within the highest circles of Spanish nobility, that the habit of the so-called *bucarophagy* became an

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<sup>433</sup> Krahe (2014, 135) for example *búcaros* are described as a 'type of earthenware from Portugal of different shapes'

<sup>434</sup> It is therefore to be recommended for future research to include Spanish pottery in further analyzes, since this might lead to a better understanding of the use, development and distribution of this type of special drinking cups.

<sup>435</sup> Krahe 2014, 154.

appreciated practice. In this case it was the idea to not only drink from the special cups, but to actually eat parts of them, as is to be read in several 17<sup>th</sup> century documents.<sup>436</sup> The custom is described as ‘that of court ladies eating small pieces of *búcaro* or red earthenware from Portugal or the Indies.’<sup>437</sup> It was believed that the clays had healing properties and or were just consumed out of greediness.<sup>438</sup> Some of the effects of the consumption of *búcaros* that were recorded are: curing diseases, inducing a light toned yellowish skin, provoking weight loss and causing a postponement of the menstrual cycle.<sup>439</sup> One way or another, the eating of *búcaros* was apparently taken seriously. The 17<sup>th</sup> century Italian philosopher and diplomat Lorenzo Magalotti described the process of making scented water through a distillation of *búcaro* fragments, the addition of *búcaros* powder, sugar and other ingredients in order to make sweets, some sort of sorbet with freezing water and other sorts of recipes.<sup>440</sup> At one point, some (low fired) cups were even manufactured with very fine spaghetti-like clay strands on the inside that were specifically intended to be eaten.<sup>441</sup> Multiple examples of these *búcaros* with clay strings that were probably produced in Tonalá, Mexico can be found in the collection of the Museo de América in Madrid (see fig 6.3; bottom). An example of a cup with clay strings of Portuguese origin was found among the finds at Vlooienburg (see fig. 6.3; top and middle).

Despite an (art) historical interest in the drinking cups, archaeological research on the topic is still at an early stage. Discussions on the possible production, consumption and cultural value of these cups have only recently been undertaken rather.<sup>442</sup> The potential importance of

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<sup>436</sup> Domenici 2019, 5-6; De Covarrubias 1611, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*; d’Aulnoy 1691, *Relation du voyage d’Espange*; De Quevedo 1606-1623, *Casa de locos de amor*; De Vega 1608, *El acero de Madrid*; De Zabaleta 1659, *El die de fiesta por la tarde*.

<sup>437</sup> Krahe 2014, 154.

<sup>438</sup> Domenici 2019, 5-6; Krahe 2014, 154.

<sup>439</sup> Domenici 2019, 5-6; Krahe 2014, 154.

<sup>440</sup> Domenici 2019, 5-6; Magalotti 1695, *Varie operette*, Lettera quinta.

<sup>441</sup> Gutierrez Usillos 2018, 446; Domenici 2019, 5-6.

<sup>442</sup> Newstead & Casimiro 2019; Newstead & Casimiro 2020.

this Portuguese domestic practice, as shown by the frequent finds of *púcaros* within Portugal, is underlined by the appearance of these specific drinking cups in colonial contexts as well as by the pieces that were found in the Vlooienburg district, where Portuguese immigrants settled.<sup>443</sup> All in all, it seems that their presence in the colonial sphere led to the production of *púcaros* inspired cups in Mesoamerica too, known as *búcaros de Indias*. But how did the practice of drinking from *púcaros* and *búcaros* alter and develop over time? Was the eating aspect an Iberian one? Or was this perhaps prompted by the habit of Native Americans, who were eating unfired clay as well, as was already noted by 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century explorers.<sup>444</sup>

The '*Guide for Spanish colonial ceramics*' by Fox and Ulrich assigns the commonly named *búcaro* clay wares to the category of Tonalá Burnished wares, however, they mention that this group of ceramics was previously referred to as Aztec IV, Guadalajara Polychrome, and Tonalá Bruñida ware. The ware may be described as an unglazed earthenware of Mexican origin, having a fine brownish to grey paste. The surface is clearly burnished and can be of one colour, or have a painted decoration of fine clay slip.<sup>445</sup> In addition it may be mentioned that the material has a sweet and earthy scent when damp,<sup>446</sup> a characteristic that they share with some of the forementioned *púcaros*.<sup>447</sup> And, after actually wetting one of the pieces<sup>448</sup> that was found at Vlooienburg, as might have been expected an earthy smell was indeed noticed. The Mexican fabrics described in this section however were not only used for the production of drinking cups, as other shapes and figurines were produced in the same or similar fabrics as well.

It seems that *Búcaros de Indias* were produced in various

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<sup>443</sup> Casimiro & Newstead 2019; see also chapter 3.

<sup>444</sup> Woywodt & Kiss 2002; 143-146.

<sup>445</sup> The collection of the Museo de América in Madrid represents a large number of clearly burnished vessels that are assumed to be produced in Tonalá Mexico, which vary in colour from an orange or deep red to dark brownish shades.

<sup>446</sup> Fox & Ulrich 2008, 42-43.

<sup>447</sup> See chapter 3, paragraph 3.2.2; *fine wares and special fabrics*.

<sup>448</sup> For this experiment it was decided to use find WLO-295-#003.

regions of the colonial world. The main places of production that are mentioned in the archaeological literature are the city of Tonalá and the wider Guadalajara region in Mexico, a production site at Natá in Panama and at convents of Santiago de Chile.<sup>449</sup> Other places that apparently tried to produce *búcaros*, are San Juan Evangelista (Pujilí, Ecuador ) and Popayán (Southern-Colombia). The white or pinkish ceramics that were produced in these areas were not well thought of, however, as they lost their scenting properties when they were shipped to Europe and as a consequence lost their economic value and appeal.<sup>450</sup>

Recent research has shown that there were specific qualities to the clay that was selected for the production of both *púcaros* and *búcaros*, and which most likely served to enhance and retain the desired flavouring and scenting characteristics. A comparative analysis of three clay sources, in Portugal (Estremoz), Spain (Salvatierra de los Barros) and Mexico (Tonalá) showed that, besides similarity in colour and texture, these clays shared a high proportion of so-called *expandable clays* and were low in *carbonates*.<sup>451</sup> This means that clay from these respective sources has a good capacity to absorb water and to expand as a result, and are poor at odourless characteristics. The comparable mineral compositions of the clay sources, which were apparently carefully selected, might complicate future physical or chemical analysis if an attempt is made to reconstruct the exact provenance of *púcaros* and *búcaros*. As for other ceramic shapes this might not be the case, as different clays were selected for different purposes.<sup>452</sup>

### ***Bucaros de Indias at Vlooienburg***

Five sherds, belonging to a total four objects, were found among the cesspit assemblages from Vlooienburg and are classified as ceramics

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<sup>449</sup> Hamann 2010, 11; Domenici 2019, 3; A list of property of the Countess of Oñate from 1684 mentions: *3 display cases full of large and small pieces of Guadalajara pottery* (Krahe 2014, 156) and the inventory of Catalina de Silva Princess of Melito recorded in 1568 in Barcelona makes mention of *búcaros* from India (Krahe 2014, 135).

<sup>450</sup> Gutiérrez Usillos 2018, 148.

<sup>451</sup> Pilar García Rodríguez & Álvarez García 2019.

<sup>452</sup> Del Pilar García Rodríguez & Álvarez García 2019.

with a Mesoamerican origin. The sherds are different from the Portuguese fine redwares, based on colour, surface treatment, and decoration technique. Where the shade of most of the Portuguese sherds ranges from pale beige to bright orange, the Mesoamerican fragments have a strong red to deep brownish tone. A closer look at the surface of the sherds revealed that the brown fragments had been covered on the outside in a layer of clay slip that had been burnished and in some cases showed traces of a painted decoration (see fig. 6.2). The colour and surface treatment of the assumed Mesoamerican sherds shows similarities to what was produced in Tonála Mexico, according to the Guide to Ceramics from Spanish Colonial Sites in Texas,<sup>453</sup> however, a more extensive investigation would be necessary to make more concrete statements about this. Different colours of burnished clay slips seem to have been produced simultaneously in various regions of Mesoamerica. Based on the dimples in the surface of fragment WLO-295-#003, this piece could be stylistically ascribed to a production in Guadalajara, although the different shapes and designs were presumably influencing products in other regions as well, leading to the reproduction of styles and shapes elsewhere.<sup>454</sup> Cups and jugs with similar dimpled designs to that of fragment WLO-295-#003 occur on 17<sup>th</sup> century still life paintings (see fig. 6.1 and 6.5) Two other fragments, WLO-164-#003 and WLO-95-#001-2, have been decorated with a painted ornamentation, which might suggest a Chilean origin.<sup>455</sup> Their fabric, however, does not seem to deviate much from the other fragments (see fig. 6.6). More extensive research, combining a comparative analysis of fabric types and stylistic attributes might help to locate the exact provenance of the objects in the future.

In order to confirm the assumed difference between the *púcaros* and *búcaros de Indias* sherds from Vlooienburg and in an attempt to establish a first step the identification of potential production places, X-Ray Fluorescence (XRF) analyses of selected Portuguese and Mesoamerican fragments was conducted as a part of this dissertation.

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<sup>453</sup> Fox & Ulrich 2008, 42-43; see fig 4-3 a.

<sup>454</sup> Domenici 2019, 3.

<sup>455</sup> Domenici 2019, 3.

A total of twelve XRF measurements were taken and interpreted by the Dr. Luc Megens of the Dutch Cultural Heritage Agency. Although the statistical significance of the XRF results should be treated with caution due to the relatively small number of fragments analysed, there seems to be an apparent divergence between the pieces that can be distinguished as Portuguese and Mesoamerican (see fig. 6.6). The statistics suggest that the *púcaros* from Vlooienburg contain a respectively higher amount of zirconium and rubidium, and a lower level of lead in comparison to the *búcaros de Indias*.<sup>456</sup>



**Fig. 6.4** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: traces of paint on two of the potential Mesoamerican pottery fragments. the contrast and lighting of these photos has been slightly adjusted to clarify the paint residue in the rendering. Photos: [M.Stolk](#)

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<sup>456</sup> I am much obliged to Dr. Luc Megens of the Cultural Heritage Agency for his time, expertise and willingness to conduct the XRF-analyses for this research. The following fragments have been selected for the analyses: *púcaro* fragments: WLO-164-#002, WLO-274-#001, WLO-274-#002, WLO-274-#004 and *búcaro* fragments WLO-95-#001-2, WLO-164-#003, WLO-237-85 and WLO 295-#003.

WLO-295-#003

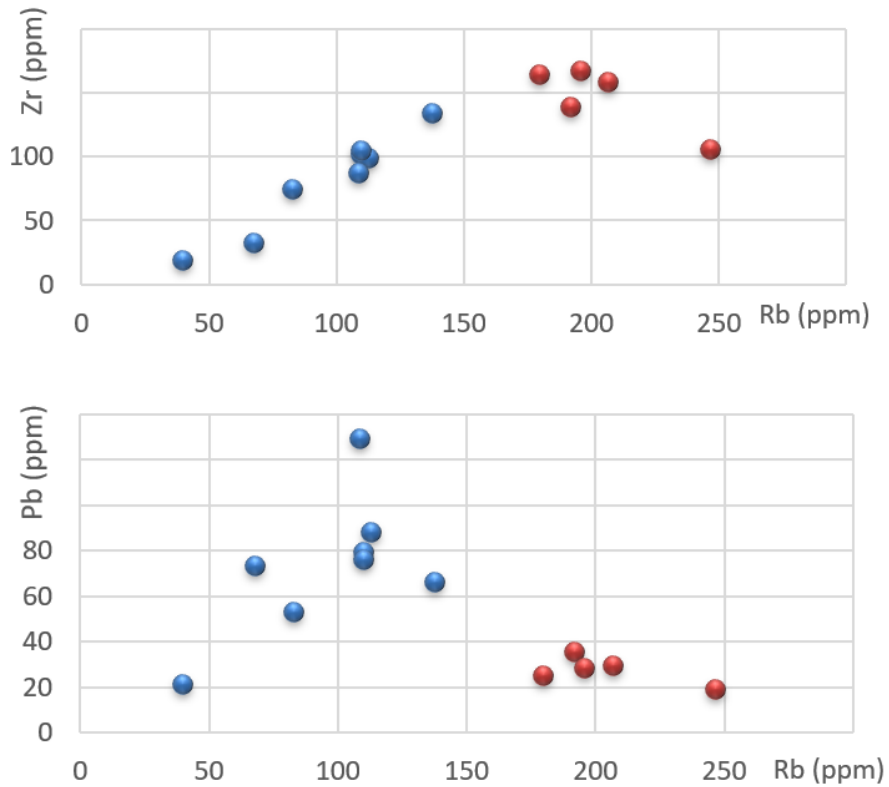


**Fig. 6.5**

Left: Amsterdam, Vlooienburg: find WLO-295-#003, dating ca. 1600-1675, showing a clear dimpled decoration pattern. Photo: M. Stolk.

Bottom: *'Still Life with Bread'* by Francisco de Palacios, 1648, depicting a small jug in a red fabric with a similar dimpled pattern on the outer right. Source: Collection Graf Harrach'sche Familiensammlung, Gemäldegalerie, Schloss Rohrau. Image: Wikipedia, public domain.





**Fig. 6.6** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: Results of the XRF-analyses of the *púcaros* (red dots) and assumed *búcaro de Indias* fragments (blue dots), highlighting the present amounts of rubidium (Rb), zirconium (Zr) and lead (Pb) in parts per million (ppm), within the sampled surface of the fragments. Analysis by Dr. L. Megens of the Dutch Cultural Heritage Agency.



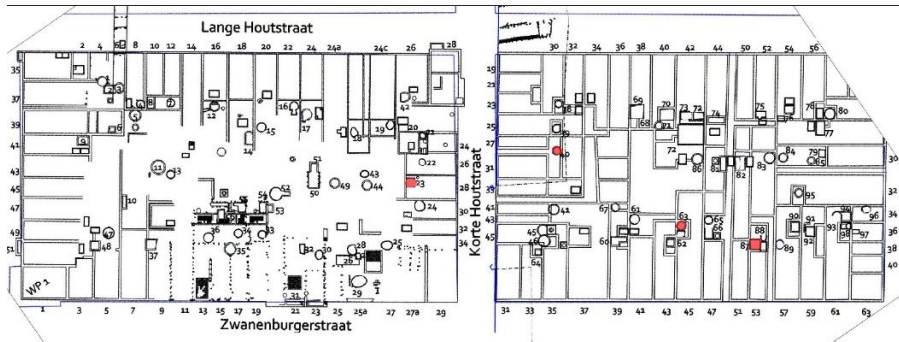
The *búcaros de Indias* fragments from Vlooienburg were uncovered from four different cesspits that were located on plots along the *Korte Houtstraat* and the *Zwanenburgstraat* (see fig. 6.7). It is interesting that all of these cesspit contexts also contained Portuguese redwares, and all of the corresponding addresses are known to have been inhabited by Portuguese over the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The *Korte Houtstraat 28a* was inhabited by *Francisco Lopes Gomes* alias *Isaque Abrabanel* between 1631 and 1663, by *Pinhas Abrabanel* from 1663 until 1683 and by *Josua Fortado* – who was also known as Furtado Jessurun, as he came from Venice - in the period of 1683 upto 1697. *Korte Houtstraat 29* and *31* were also occupied by a number of Portuguese and Spanish residents, the most notable of which was *Jeronimo Doria* alias *Salomon d'Andrade* from São Miquel (Portugal) who lived there between 1629 and 1661. *Jeronimo* was a merchant and apothecary and actually a pharmacy at number *31*. The Sephardic orphanage, the *Abi Jethomim*, was based on the address of *Zwanenburgerstraat 45* from 1650 until 1719, and the wealthy merchant *David Cohen d'Azevedo* and his family lived in a house of *Zwanenburgerstraat 53* from at least 1678 onwards.<sup>457</sup>

Based on the above, it might be assumed that the Mesoamerican ceramics found their way to Amsterdam via the Iberian connection. Given the written evidence and the current literature, it could be suggested that these cesspits belonged to members of the Iberian elite. Vlooienburg did indeed house a number of rich merchants, such as the aforementioned *David Cohen d'Azevedo*, however, we can also turn the argument around. What if, like other colonial products, at first the consumption was popular among the top elite, and later found its way to the middle class in the decades that followed? On the other hand, it is interesting to see that one of the fragments comes from a cesspit that might be related to the pharmacy of *Jeronimo Doria*, since *búcaros* were said to possess a number of medicinal qualities. The refined decoration of the cups does not seem to imply a purely medicinal function, though it is something that should be taken into

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<sup>457</sup> I am much obliged to Maarten Hell for sharing his considerable historical research on these addresses.

account. It must be kept in mind here is that the *búcaros* might be underrepresented in archaeological dataset, if indeed the practice *bucarophagy* was as popular as some of the historical evidence suggests. In this case this custom should be considered as a pre-depositional process that has destroyed an unknown share of the once present amount of *búcaros*.



**Fig. 6.7** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: The find locations of *Búcaros de Indias* marked in red.

### ***Mexican Influences Among Amsterdam's Ceramics***

The discovery of the *búcaros de Indias* among the Vlooienburg ceramics led to a re-evaluation of the Portuguese ceramics from Amsterdam and a brief study of stylistic and decorative characteristics of Mesoamerican pottery. Because of this, renewed attention was given to a number of other vessels that were found in and directly around the Vlooienburg neighbourhood.

In the first place there is this small spouted bottle - of circa eight centimeters high - which has been found amongst one of the cesspit assemblages from Vlooienburg. It has so far been identified as a probable Portuguese piece and it's exact use is unknown. The current study found out that, even though it is smaller in size, broadly speaking the artefact shows clear similarities in shape and design to several 17<sup>th</sup> century pieces from Tonalá, Mexico in the collection of Museo De America in Madrid which can have a size upto circa 40 centimeters (see

fig. 6.8).<sup>458</sup> In the museum collection, the objects are described as a *recipientes*, which can be translated as a containers or vessels. There are various examples in this collection, with similar shapes, that are slightly varying in design and decoration. The numbers of ears vary from one to three on each side of the shapes body and some of them are placed on a stemmed foot. The preliminary interpretation is that it is a miniture version that was inspired by the larger Mexican bottles. Where it was made exactly, and for which purpose remains unknown. Nevertheless it seems evident that it was made by someone who was familiar with the Mexican container shapes.



**Fig. 6.8** On the left: Vlooienburg, Amsterdam; a small bottle shaped container of circa 8 cm high, presumable of Portuguese origin (WLO-274-6). Photo: Bureau of Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam. On the right: Collection of the Museo de America, Madrid; an example of a similarly shaped piece (circa 40 cm high), which most likely originates from Tonalá, Mexico and is dated between 1600 and 1700 (Inv.nr. 04175). Photo: Joaquín Otero Úbeda, Museo De America, Madrid.

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<sup>458</sup> See for example inventory numbers: 04175, 04190 and 04513.  
<http://ceres.mcu.es/pages/Main>

A second ceramic object that seems to have been clearly influenced by Mexican pottery is this fruit bowl – a so-called *plato frutero* – that based on the fabric is considered to be of Iberian origin (OZA-30-25). Found in an archaeological context at the *Oudezijds Achterburgwal*, this find was uncovered only a short walking distance from the Vlooienburg neighbourhood. The bowl is placed on a stemmed foot and has a decoration of lines and dots that were scratched and imprinted when the clay was still soft. Most remarkable and typical are the cut-outs in the rim of the both the bowl and the base of the object. The fruit bowl shows a clear resemblance to six items from the Museo de America in Madrid, which are also said to be from Tonalá, Mexico.<sup>459</sup> The shape and cut-outs are very much alike, although the decoration on the bowl itself is conducted in a different technique. The examples from the museum collection have a stamped decoration pattern, whereas the piece from Amsterdam shows a decoration that has been scratched in the soft clay surface. It remains uncertain where this fruit bowl was produced, although the resemblance with the Mexican examples is remarkable and it is again clear that this could not have been made without knowledge of the Mexican pottery spectrum.



**Fig. 6.9** Left: Oudezijdsachterburgwal, Amsterdam; fruitbowl of a probable Iberian origin (OZA-30-25). Photo: R. Tousain, Bureau of Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam. Right: Fruitbowl, a so-called *plato frutero*, produced in Tonalá, Mexico, 1600-1700. Museo de América in Madrid, inv. No. 04351. Photo: J. Otero Úbeda.

<sup>459</sup> See for example inventory numbers: 04347 – 04351 and 04353.  
<http://ceres.mcu.es/pages/Main>

Finally, there are some fragments of grey cups and a black coloured vessel fragments from Amsterdam that are worth discussing here, because of their similarity to two rare greyware Mexican cups at the Hispanic Society Museum in New York. The finds in the New York collection are described as *búcaros de Indias*. Found in the same cesspit as the dimpled cup fragment above, there are a number of sherds from one single grey cups that are decorated with stone inlay, incisions, imprinted dots and appliques of mica rich glimmering clay (WLO-295-#005, see fig. 6.10). Similar finds are also known from wealthy contexts in Portugal.<sup>460</sup> In the chute of a cesspit at the *Jodenbreestraat*, the street just north of Vlooienburg, a fragment of a finer grey micaceous sherd with incised decorations was uncovered (J08-18, see fig. 6.11.). The house corresponding with this cesspit had for a time belonged to the famous painter Rembrandt van Rijn, who was known to be a collector of exotica.<sup>461</sup> Finally, there is a complete basket shaped bowl of an almost black fabric with a décor of incisions and appliques made of a clearly visible micaceous clay, which was found just a few plots further up the same street (J04-7, see fig.12). The appliques consist of key, a lions head and some floral motifs.

When we compare these Amsterdam finds with two extremely rare grey micaceous rich cups from the collection of the Hispanic Society Museum in New York (see fig 6.13), there are a few remarkable resemblances. In the first place there are the carefully executed decorative incisions on the cups, that are much alike those on the sherd and the bowl that were found at the *Jodenbreestraat* in Amsterdam. In the second place these cups show appliques that are rather similar with the fragments from the Vlooienburg sherd (WLO-295-#005) and the bowl from the *Jodenbreestraat*.<sup>462</sup> Based on macroscopic and stylistic analyses it seems that the finds from the *Jodenbreestraat* might be of Mexican origin, as they are equally refined and precise in their

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<sup>460</sup> Pers. Comm. dr. Tania Casimiro, Instituto de Arqueologia, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa.

<sup>461</sup> Hulst 2016, 14-15.

<sup>462</sup> Alike the cups in figure 6.3 the grey cups from the Hispanic Society Museum too contain small clay string on the inside, though in this case even accompanied by small animal figurines.

decoration. The fragments from the cup from Vlooienburg seem to be a bit coarser and less delicate. In combinations with the stone inlays it thus appears once again that this piece might have been a Portuguese cup, inspired by Mexican examples.



**Fig. 6.10** Top left: Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: Fragments of a greyware cup with decorative incisions, imprints, stone-inlays and appliques (WLO-295-#005), dating ca. 1600-1675. Photos: M. Stolk

**Fig. 6.11** Top right: Jodenbreestraat, Amsterdam: Both sides of the grey sherd with incised decorations. (JO8-18), dating ca. 1600-1700. Photos: M. Stolk

**Fig. 6.12** Bottom: Basket shaped blackware from the Jodenbreestraat (JO4-7) decorated with incisions and appliques of micaceous clay, dating ca. 1600-1700. Photos: R. Tousain, Bureau of Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam.



**Fig. 6.13** Top left & right: 'Handled Bowl with Fish' of micaceous clay, circa 1650, Tonalá, Mexico. Photo: Hispanic Society Museum, New York, inv. no. LE-1967. Bottom left & right: 'Handled Bowl with Bird' of micaceous clay, circa 1650, Tonalá, Mexico. Photo: Hispanic Society Museum, New York, inv. no. LE-1966.

### Discussion

The discovery of the *búcaro* fragments gave the journey through the 17<sup>th</sup> century neighbourhood of Vlooienburg a new exotic smell and taste, which in Dutch archaeology had not been identified in any earlier research. The scenting cups do not fit the general picture of consumer changes in early modern Europe, and the custom of bucarophagy was certainly not for everyone. It gives us a glimpse of some of the most

eccentric practices at the time that arose as a result of the cultural and material encounters on multiple levels. The appearance of *búcaros* in Amsterdam can be seen as a consequence of Iberian habits, intertwined with Mesoamerican materials and customs, and most likely reflects an undefined multidimensional use within Dutch context. Some households might have kept *búcaros* as a display element in their 'cabinets of curiosities' or 'art chambers'.<sup>463</sup> Other families, especially those with an Iberian background, will have used *búcaros* and *púcaros* to drink from or just to fill with water in order to let their Amsterdam houses smell of their homeland. In some cases (parts of) the cups might have actually been eaten, whether as a participation within the material landscape of colonial worlds that were explored in the context of social gatherings, or in an attempt at medicinal treatment.

Theoretically the case study of the use of Mesoamerican (and Iberian) drinking cups can be perceived as a complex meshwork, representing a long-term process of exchange of cultural practices such as consuming mineral waters or clays, which over time evolved into a custom of social engagement of elite groups, valued through the shared experience of consumption of exotic goods. Simultaneously other meshes originated, unrolling as side paths, as for example the desire to display the finely decorated ceramics or to explore their medicinal qualities. Previously to all of this there are the knots of colonists or merchants using their Portuguese drinking cups at their settlements in the Mesoamerican world and the consequential mesh of technological and artistic transformations in the local pottery production due to the exposure of different material worlds at Mesoamerican soils. On a methodological level it is worthwhile mentioning that the literal consumption of *búcaros* and *púcaros* should be considered as a pre-depositional formation process, which potentially could have led to an underrepresentation within find-assemblages. In addition their rare appearance and ambiguous character makes it difficult to frame them within standard typologies.

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<sup>463</sup> One can for example find one in the lower left corner of the painting 'Chamber of Art and Curiosities' by Frans Francken the Younger, 1636.



### 6.3. Bandhani: An Indian cloth at Vlooienburg

#### *Textiles at Vlooienburg*

A specific group of the Vlooienburg's assemblage that will be part of future research consists of a great quantity of textile fragments that are in a good condition, considering their stay in the ground for a couple of hundred years.<sup>464</sup> Preliminary analysis of the textile finds in the 1980s resulted in a rough estimation of 550 textile fragments, with a wide variety of textiles and production techniques being present.<sup>465</sup> During the current research a complete inventory scan of the Vlooienburg textiles from all of the different features was carried out, resulting in a total count of 1531 textile fragments from archaeological features, of which most are cesspits, and another 142 fragments from dumping layers of the construction phase of the neighbourhood, bringing the total amount of textile fragments from the Vlooienburg site to 1673 pieces.<sup>466</sup> This section will briefly discuss these finds and highlight one of the most exceptional textile finds, namely an Indian *Bandhani* dyed cloth. In order to interpret this specific find, I will begin by briefly exploring the archaeological and historical context of this discovery.

The textile finds from Vlooienburg vary from coarse woollen weaves and endlessly repaired stockings to very fine silk weaves and ribbons, and even some fabric with applied decoration in metallic thread. The fabrics include woollen knitting, twill and tabby weaves as well as silk or silk mix satins, damasks, jacquards and brocades (see fig. 6.14).<sup>467</sup> Among the material there are the remains of clothing, and sometimes parts of patterns, stockings, buttonholes and seams are

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<sup>464</sup> Because of the promising quality and quantity of the Vlooienburg textile finds and other archaeological textile finds from the provinces of Northern and Southern Holland, a new research project – 'Textile from Holland's Soils' - has been set up by the author. This project will further investigate the materials in the following years.

<sup>465</sup> Vons-Comis 1988, 211-219.

<sup>466</sup> I am much obliged to Martine Teunissen and Thea Teunissen for their help by inventorying all of these textile finds and by sharing their knowledge.

<sup>467</sup> It has to be noted here that vegetable based fibers and weaves, such as linens, cottons and flax, are underrepresented due to deteriorative processes and their more transitory nature (Cybulska & Maik 2007, 186-188).

clearly recognizable. The fragments however, consist not only of clothing remains, but also provide some clear indications for textile-related occupations, as is witnessed by the left over cuttings and dyed raw silk. The suggestion of textile processing in the Vlooienburg neighbourhood is supported by the discovery of various related tools, such as spindles, card weaving tablets, sewing rings and thimbles, knitting needles and sheaths, as well as bobbin lace bobbins and a weaving shuttle. The finds give the impression that the following textile related activities must have been carried out, on a household or on a more industrial level: thread and/or yarn production, knitting, weaving, lace production, sewing and/ or tailoring, and silk dyeing.

On top of the archaeological finds the written sources concerning the inhabitants of Vlooienburg make mention of several tailors: *Aernoit Hendricks van Vriesenburgh* living at Vlooienburg in 1645, *Adolp Streng* living at the *Lange Houtstraat 18* in 1741.<sup>468</sup> Furthermore there are archival records of numerous textile and cloth merchants, as for example: *Hector Mendes* alias *Daniel Abendana* (from Portugal) living at Vlooienburg in 1660, the textile merchants *Jacob Isaaks* living at the *Lange (Joden) Houtstraat* in 1726 and the merchant in textiles *Simon Nathan Magnus* who was also living at the *Lange Houtstraat* between 1722 and 1729.<sup>469</sup> Historical research also has revealed the presence of a number of textile workers from the Iberian Peninsula, such as silk workers, weavers and seamstresses and the case of *Abraham Rodrigues*, who had been a tailor in Seville. As there were no guild restriction in the silk manufacturing industry, this offered great possibilities for employment as silk weavers for the Jewish poor<sup>470</sup> Research of domestic inventories also illustrates that the household of Sephardid Jews in Amsterdam repeatedly contained spinning wheels and sewing cushions. It is known though that it was quite common for women (both Jews and non-Jews) in early modern Europe to do a great deal of needlework at home or at another location, since it was work that could be done in addition to their regular daily activities.<sup>471</sup>

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<sup>468</sup> Pers. Comm. Maarten Hell.

<sup>469</sup> Pers. Comm. Maarten Hell.

<sup>470</sup> Levie-Bernfeld 2012, 197.

<sup>471</sup> Levie Bernfeld 2012, 197.

The large amount of well-preserved textiles and their relatively good quality are rare from an archaeological perspective. However, the material could historically be considered no more than a logical consequence of the major developments in the field of textile trade, industry and consumption that had taken place in the previous centuries. With the technically improved looms and the organization of labor through guilds over the course of the late Middle Ages, a great revolution took place in the European textile industry.<sup>472</sup> The migrating textile workers from the Southern Netherlands, Flanders and Northern France in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century brought their technical knowledge to the Northern Netherlands and thus contributed to the development of the silk industry in the cities of Amsterdam and Harlem. Vlooienburg, for example, is known to have housed the velour manufacturer *Pieter Bruijningh* who came from a place close to Liège, Belgium, and the Frenchman Guillaume de Chantelou, who was a dyer from Reims, France.<sup>473</sup> The rise of the Amsterdam textile industry was of course only possible due to the expanding import of new (raw) materials - such as silks and cottons - through the maritime trade networks via Asia and the Levant.<sup>474</sup> One of the results of this expansion was that, weavers in Amsterdam came to focus on silk fabrics in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, producing specialised silk fabrics such as armosin, damask and kaffa. By 1663 this had been professionalized and the manufacturing of silk in Amsterdam also included gold and silver cloth, satin, tabby, brocades, velvet, paduasoy, florets, grograin and other finely executed silk fabrics.<sup>475</sup> One of the streets of the Vlooienburg neighbourhood, referred to in this thesis as the *Zwanenburgwal*, had previously been known as the *Verversgracht* (literally translated as the *Dyers canal*), which demonstrates that the impact of the textile industry had a strong presence in the district. Archival sources refer to several dyeing factories at Vlooienburg, with various names. For example; a

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<sup>472</sup> Van der Wee 1975, 203-221; Zimmerman 2007, 66- 73.

<sup>473</sup> Hell, in prep. *Work Wealth and Worship in a 'Hodgepodge' Neighbourhood*.

<sup>474</sup> On these topics see a.o. Noordegraaf 1997; Martin 1997; Bitter 2002; Colenbrander 2010; Van den Heuvel 2014; Van Oosten 2020; Llorens Planella 2015, 50-123 and Hell (in prep).

<sup>475</sup> Colenbrander 2010.

document from 1611 mentions the dye-house *De Os (The Ox)*<sup>476</sup> and the dye-house *De Groene Papegaj (The Green Parrot)*, which was erected in 1619 by the previously mentioned Frenchman.<sup>477</sup> Archaeologically these dyeing activities have been traced by the find of a few pieces raw silk that have been dyed in different colours (see fig. 6.15).



**Fig. 6.14** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: A few examples of some of the different fabrics and weaves that have recovered from the archaeological contexts, coming from 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century contexts. Photos: M. Stolk.

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<sup>476</sup> Amsterdam City Archives, arch.no. 5062, inv.no 54.

<sup>477</sup> Hell, in prep. *Work Wealth and Worship in a 'Hodgepodge' Neighbourhood*.



**Fig. 6.15** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: Fragments of raw silk dyed in what seems to have been blue, red and black colours have been uncovered at the layers of the *Leprozengracht*, one of the canals that had been surrounding the Vlooienburg district. Future research will be undertaken in an attempt to find out about the dyeing techniques and pigments. Photo: M.Stolk.

### ***A bandhani cloth at Vlooienburg***

One of the most striking pieces of textile consists of a number of fragments of one thin red silk cloth with a decorative pattern of light dots (see fig.6.16). The fabric appears to be a silk one, although it cannot be ruled out that it was originally produced as a cotton-silk blend, since cotton would most likely not have survived. Research has shown that this object is painted according to the so-called *bandhani* technique, which is sometimes also referred to as *bandhni*.<sup>478</sup> This traditional, indigenous, Indian way of 'tying and dyeing' is performed by winding threads tightly around small pieces of fabric, dyeing the textile as a whole and then removing the threads, revealing circular resist motifs.

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<sup>478</sup> I am much obliged to Martine Teunissen (Beleef het Verleden), Bianca du Mortier (Rijksmuseum), Ebeltje Hartkamp-Jonxis (Rijksmuseum), Mrilanini Luthra (University of Amsterdam) and Mandira Luthra for their help with the identification of this fabric.

Based on its appearance, this particular piece from Vlooienburg was most likely produced in the Rajasthan region of India<sup>479</sup>, although similar productions are also known from the Gujarat region, which was considered one of the most important areas of Indian cotton trade for the English, the Dutch and the Portuguese at the time.<sup>480</sup> The *bandhani* dyeing technique is still practiced and has survived the technological developments of the textile industries. The labour-intensive process of this specific tie-and-dye method is thought to have survived because of its strong regionally-specific identity. Certain colours and patterns of cloths in *bandhani* techniques were, and still are, considered important in the process of socio-cultural expression.<sup>481</sup> Red cloths with special square lined motives, for example, are worn by brides. The design on this *bandhani* cloth from Vlooienburg is divergent from what was generally considered fashionable in 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century Holland. Common patterns that were locally produced in Amsterdam at the time mainly depicted floral patterns or stripes.<sup>482</sup>

Silk was imported in great quantities by the East India Company in the early modern period, and as such one might think that this *bandhani* cloth can be considered to be one of a vast number of pieces. However, the large scale import trade principally focused on raw silk. The import of woven and processed silk by the VOC was disputed in Haarlem and Amsterdam, as it posed a threat to their own silk industry. The craftsmen in both of the cities feared that it would be at the expense of local employment and thus they objected against the import of processed and woven silk products. They also protested against the export of samples of Dutch fashion items, as they did not want their patterns or designs copied overseas.<sup>483</sup> This historical background puts the find of the *bandhani* cloth in a different perspective. How did it end up in Amsterdam? Was it brought to Vlooienburg by a sailor as a souvenir, or was it perhaps some sort of sample to demonstrate the

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<sup>479</sup> Pers. Comm. Mandira Luthra, University of Amsterdam

<sup>480</sup> Parthasarathi 2009, 20.

<sup>481</sup> Mukund 1992, 2057-2064. Pers. Comm. Mandira Luthra, University of Amsterdam.

<sup>482</sup> See for example: Rothstein 1964.

<sup>483</sup> Colenbrander 2010, 259.

quality of Indian red dyed silk, because the Indian dyes at the time were considered of high colourfast quality?<sup>484</sup>

The Indian cloth was recovered from cesspit number 1 (find number WLO-8), which is a context that can be dated to circa 1675 - 1725. The ceramic analysis of this context revealed large quantities of barely used porcelain items, and significant amount of chocolate and tea cups. These finds have been interpreted as items discarded by a wealthy household, although additional explanations for the relatively atypical composition of the ceramic assemblage could be found in the possible event of a house clearance or as a consequence of private trading activities as well.<sup>485</sup> The context also contained a large number of clay tobacco pipe fragments<sup>486</sup> and the archaeozoological remains - which were studied in the 1980's - suggest that the diet of the household was that of a very wealthy Jewish family when compared with the archaeozoological remains from other Vlooienburg cesspit contexts. This interpretation is strengthened by the large number of kosher seals, and the fragments of Shabbat lamps that were recovered from the same cesspit.<sup>487</sup> Furthermore, other textile fragments from this context, underline the interpretation of a wealthy household including members who must have been engaged in trading activities involving exclusive and luxurious textiles. Among the fragments there are the remnants of slashed silk velvet clothing – as can for example be seen on the “*Banquet at the Crossbowmen’s Guild in Celebration of the Treaty of Münster*” by Bartholomeus van der Helst, 1648. Another flamboyant example is that of a silk fragment with an embroidered decoration in metallic thread – for which archaeological parallels for instance can be found among the rich finds of the so-called *Palmwood Wreck*.<sup>488</sup>

It is difficult to relate the archaeological context and finds to any specific archival evidence, as there is no consensus about the exact address to which this cesspit may be tied. The cesspit is on the corner

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<sup>484</sup> Mukund 1992, 2061.

<sup>485</sup> Perreira Lovegrove 2015, 60.

<sup>486</sup> Oostveen 2006.

<sup>487</sup> IJzereef 1989, 48-51; see on the Jewish religious material culture chapter 4 of this dissertation.

<sup>488</sup> Bommel, Serrano & Joosten 2016, 177-185.

of two streets and in close proximity of two other cesspits (see fig. 6.7). Previous research has nevertheless suggested that *Zwanenburgwal 35* is the most likely address to be associated with the use of this cesspit. If this is indeed the case then the archaeological finds could once have belonged to the households of the Jewish merchant *Jacob Israel Mendes* (alias *Duarte Rodrigues Mendes*), his wife *Lea Abenacar* and their three children, and/or that of the Jewish merchant *Samuel Henriques de Medina* and his wife *Ribca Mendes da Costa*, as they are all known to have inhabited the number 35 in the period between 1680 and 1716. Afterwards the house at *Zwanenburgwal 35* was owned (and probably inhabited) by the Roman Catholic merchant and leather purchaser *Hendrik Tijhof* and his wife *Johanna Bosch*.<sup>489</sup>

### ***Discussion***

The find of the bandhani cloth at Vlooienburg is just one example from a rich assemblage of textiles and adds a significant dimension to the image of daily life provided by the finds of porcelain, spices, sugar, tobacco and cacao import in the early modern period. Together with the pieces of dyed raw silks, the piece sheds light on the once flourishing silk industry of Amsterdam. A more in-depth future study of the textile complex will expand on the preliminary results presented in this thesis as the examples discussed here are just the tip of the proverbial iceberg.

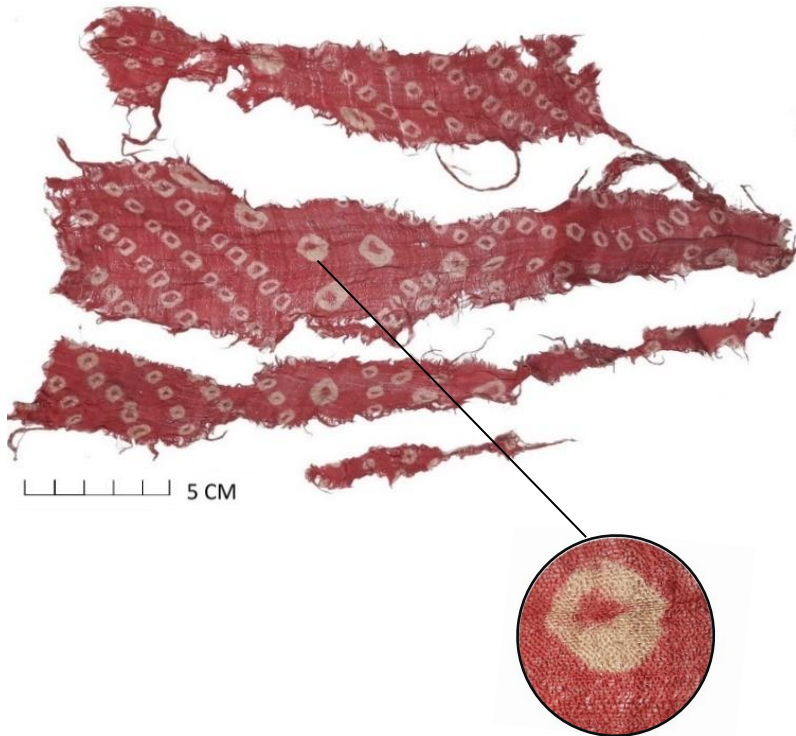
To sum up, regardless of the prodigious textile industry that is known to have existed in the Vlooienburg neighbourhood, the piece of *bandhani* silk is an enigmatic find that raises many questions. The most likely explanation for its presence at Vlooienburg is that it was once brought along by a merchant, most likely as a part of their private purchases, as the import of processed and woven silks was prohibited by the Amsterdam and Harlem textile guilds. And whereas this Indian product must have acted as a non-spoken means of communication in its indigenous socio-cultural context, it most likely functioned as an exclusive showpiece item within Amsterdam daily life in the 50 year

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<sup>489</sup> Lovegrove Pereira 2015, 24-25, 55-56, 61-62. Thanks go out to Maarten Hell for sharing his historical data and considerations in this matter.



period between 1675 and 1725. It is tempting to speculate that it could have been worn by one of the merchant's wives who lived at the address of *Zwanenburgstraat 35*. It is to be hoped that future research will throw more light on the daily use of similar exotic textiles.



**Fig. 6.16** Vlooienburg, Amsterdam: The fragments of the Indian cloth (WLO-8-433) that was dyed according to the *bandhani* tie-dye technique (top) and a detail of the weave (bottom). The fragments come from a cesspit context that dates between ca. 1650 and 1750, which has an emphasis between 1675 and 1725. Photo: R. Tousain, Bureau of Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam.

## 6.4 Conclusion

A large share of the material remains from Vlooienburg were brought to Amsterdam by the extensive international trading systems in 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe. The finds presented in this chapter, however, have highlighted some exclusive products (and accompanying customs) that are unlikely to have found their way into the daily life of the average resident of early modern Amsterdam.

The first group of finds discussed consisted of a number of five sherds of Mesoamerican origin, and most probably produced in Mexico. From a total number of more than 23,000 sherds, these few finds might not seem to significant, nonetheless the sherds reveal an interesting story. Similar items may be seen on 17<sup>th</sup> century still life settings by Spanish painters, and are mentioned in historical documents associated with elite households. The sherds therefore provide us with a glimpse of the global reach, aspirations and luxurious daily life of the most wealthy members of the Vlooienburg neighbourhood. Whether these *búcaro* cups were used as display items, to smell and drink from, or as a part of the elite custom of eating clay, they highlight an exclusive counterpart – which was much appreciated among the Sephardim - for the colonial bulk import by the East India Company in the early modern period. An interest in Mesoamerican ceramics is underlined by the assumed Iberian shapes that were undoubtedly inspired by Mexican vessels. Finally, it is worth observing that despite the special attention that is given to the *búcaro* cups in the written documents, and the fact that they were highly appreciated by the elites in the Iberian Peninsula, this type of vessel, and its associated practices apparently did not take root in the social context of the Vlooienburg inhabitants with a non-Iberian background.

The second case study discussed in this chapter, the exclusively dyed silk cloth, provides an example of a culturally distinctive Indian technique. The find is of great rarity, because the large scale import of processed or woven silks from the colonial world was considered to be a threat to the local silk industry in both Amsterdam and Harlem. As such this find must probably be interpreted as a highly prized personal item which may have been worn by one of the wealthy merchants' wives. The patterns of the *bandhani*, which must have had very specific

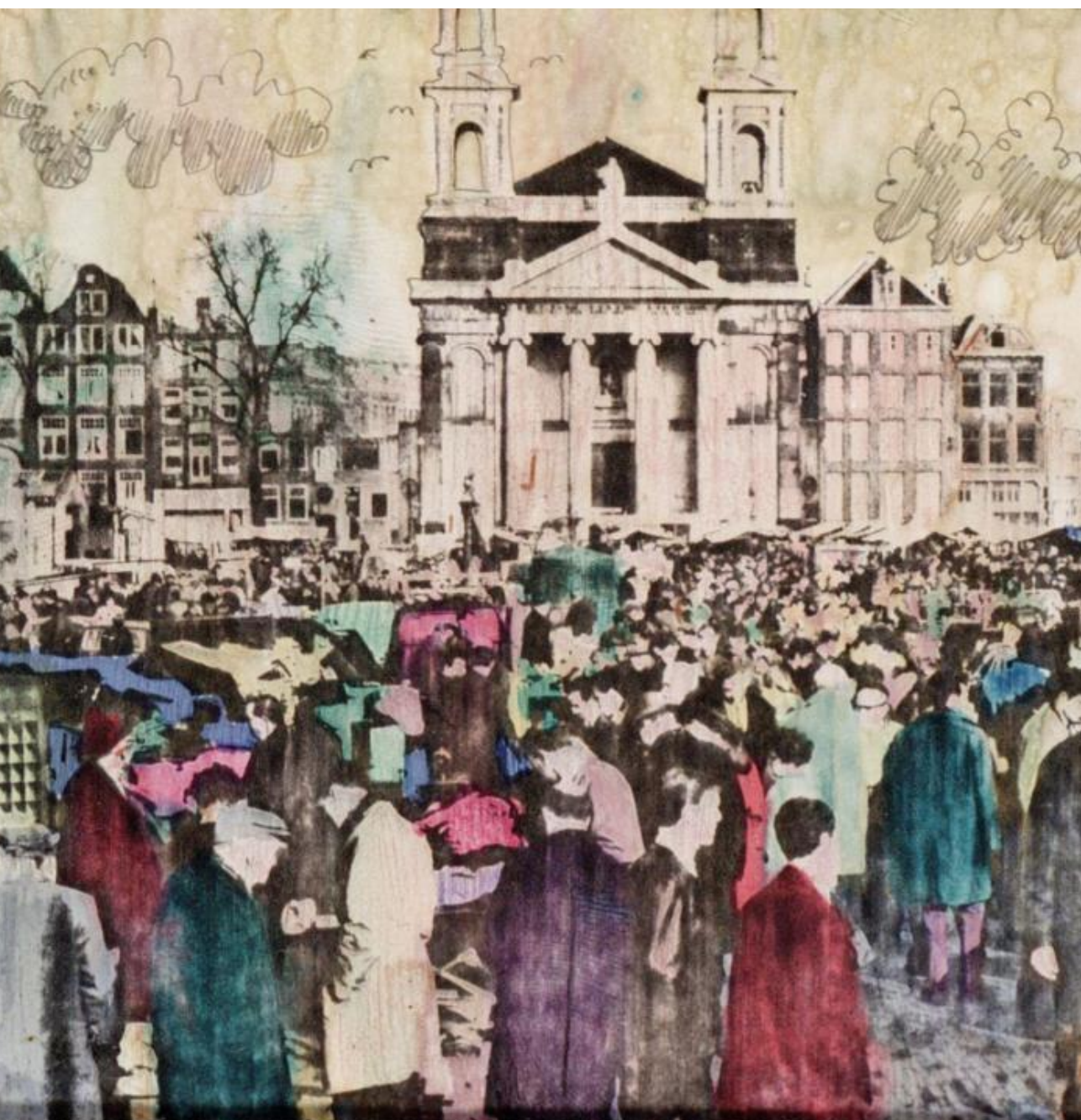
socio-cultural meaning in India were, however, very different from the usual fashions in late 17<sup>th</sup> century, early 18<sup>th</sup> century Amsterdam, and when in use must therefore have had a very striking appearance.

The cases studies provided in this chapter are intriguing examples of artefacts that are strongly divergent from the general items that were used in the Vlooienburg households on a daily basis. Instead of, or in addition to, the regularly found porcelains, clay tobacco smoking pipes and other finds that are to be related to the bulk trade imports from the East India Company and the transformed consumptions patterns at the larger Dutch cities at the time, these objects might have been ascribed a substantial social connotation. Mesoamerican cups and Indian cloths, and the status that could be derived from them probably took an active part in identity formation. However, putting these objects back into daily life, the Mesoamerican cups were most likely used in the domestic sphere of the household, in company of a selected group of family members and acquaintances. As such these cups probably had less of a social impact than the clothes that were worn outside of the house, and as such might be considered to be a more flamboyant and consciously chosen medium of non-spoken interpersonal communication. Of course, we do not know if the Indian cloth was used as a part of a woman's personal outfit, as I have speculated, but if it were, it might have been quite a statement piece.



CHAPTER 7.

# CONCLUSION



## **7. Conclusion**

### **7.1 Materiality of Daily Life in Multicultural Amsterdam**

As a part of the *'Diaspora and Identity Project'*, this dissertation has contributed to the reconstruction of the material world and daily life in the district of Vlooienburg between 1600 and 1800. The archaeological analysis - together with archival sources that were available - formed the essential data set to come to a first stage of reassembling an *assemblage of practice* when it comes to past daily life at Vlooienburg. The uniqueness of this research mainly lies in the interpretative step of re-entangling groups of (household) objects to historically documented human communities, and more specifically in this case, the actual former Vlooienburg residents. All the various steps in these processes of reassembling and re-entangling that were undertaken as a part of this research, led to a vibrant image of everyday life in what can be described as one of the earliest - if not the first - multi-ethnic, districts of Amsterdam. In answer to the research aims and research question we can come to the following conclusions.

#### ***Average Household Assemblages at Vlooienburg***

Through an extensive study of various find assemblages from the Vlooienburg site, it turned out to be possible to find some sort of average household assemblage and distinguish and further investigate different socio-cultural and ethnic groups based on the results of divergent household practices, despite the post-depositional processes and often contemporarily disturbed cesspit contexts. In order to be able highlight different patterns of consumption and human-thing relations, an overview of more or less average ceramic assemblages of local household practices was made.

In general we could say that most of the household ceramics present are composed of common redwares and to a smaller extend whitewares, which were often local but sometimes of German origin. They were mainly used in relation to cooking, storage, heating, lighting and sanitary practices. The element of intercultural connectedness as a result of the intercontinental trade is almost solely expressed in the more socially related household affairs. Items that were used for the

consumption of food or beverages were executed in majolica, faience or porcelain, and although the largest share of the majolica and faience was produced in the Netherlands, it was clearly influenced by Mediterranean or Asian ceramics. Decorations and techniques were copied, and new shapes started to occur in Dutch faience as a result of the consumption of goods such as tea or chocolate – some of the ‘new luxury’ that may have been reserved for the wealthier circles at first, but soon grew out to more general consumer changes.

### ***Identifying Migrant Identities***

Due to the enormous number of finds and the complexity of the matter it was not possible to investigate all of the historically known ethnic, religious or other socio-cultural groups of the Vlooienburg community. Because of this a number of case studies were undertaken. The selections for these studies were based on the available archaeological data and potential additional historical sources. As for the investigation of different migrant groups that had inhabited Vlooienburg over the centuries, it was decided to analyse the historically well documented group of Portuguese migrants, who had initially come to Amsterdam as religious refugees. Their material expression primarily proved to be archaeologically demonstratable through the discovery of earlier unrecognized Portuguese cooking wares and chamber pots that most likely have been part of the household effects of the first generation of migrants. Similar finds of such *diasporic objects* are not known from the Netherlands up to now, and seem to be exclusively found on sites in Portugal or the former Portuguese colonies. On top of that it appeared that the Iberian custom of drinking water from unglazed earthenware cups, so-called *púcaros*, was also brought to Amsterdam by the Portuguese migrants. All of these ceramic objects can therefore be perceived as diasporic objects, that could have performed an important role in migrants so called ‘homecoming practices’, as described in sociological studies.<sup>490</sup> It has to be noted here that the presence of Portuguese ceramics in general certainly does not directly apply as an indicator for the presence of Portuguese people. On the contrary, the

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<sup>490</sup> Pechurina 2015.

distribution pattern of Portuguese faience in the Netherlands evidently seems to be trade-related, with the exception of Portuguese faience from Vlooienburg which bears Portuguese family names and coats of arms. On a level of individual or household identity the process of transposing Portuguese and Dutch customs is of course far more complicated than the choice between Portuguese or Dutch cooking wares. While some people intentionally deposited whole and still usable cooking pots in cesspits in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, a probate inventory from the Amsterdam City Archives describes a crate of Portuguese ceramics both whole and broken in the first quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. So where some migrants abandoned their traditional cooking wares maybe after one or two generations, others apparently treasured ceramics from their home country even when they were shattered. In one specific case it actually seems that someone might have had the attention of perpetuating Portuguese habits by passing them on to his or her child. This is evidenced by the discovery of what is most likely a children's toy miniature version of a Portuguese drinking cup. Over the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, however, the presence of Portuguese pottery diminishes, despite the strong trade contacts with the Iberian area.

After the promising results of the Portuguese case study, the possibilities for the investigation of other migrant groups was explored. An investigation of the Danish cooking pots from Vlooienburg, quickly showed that the same methodological approach was not fit for a study of the Danish or Scandinavian migrants, because of the different valuation and distribution of these pots. At this point other ethnic groups do not appear to be visible in the Vlooienburg ceramic assemblages at all. This is not surprising, however, given the fact that the archaeological visibility of migrants is depended on a large number of pre- and post-depositional factors. To give an example: A wealthy Portuguese merchant would have been able to bring along his entire family together with all of their belongings by ship, whereas a poor single migrant from eastern Europe fleeing war and traveling over land was able to only bring along some essential belongings. Or take for that matter people of African origin who might have previously been enslaved or were working as a servant, what archaeologically



detectable remnants would they leave? Every migrant group therefore demands to be embedded within their contemporarily circumstances, investigating the situation in their home country, the motivation for migration and the way and route of migration. And, as is illustrated in the previous section, it must be taken into account that the conscious material expression and design of identity is strongly subject to personal preferences. The example of migrant identities at Vlooienburg also shows how easily certain cultural groups are overlooked, because they are not visible or not recognized in material assemblages, which underlines the significance of integrated archaeological and historical research.

### ***From Household Waste to Hanukkah***

Another element of this dissertation lies in the study of the material expressions of religious identity. Since the former Vlooienburg district is situated in the so-called Jewish Quarter of Amsterdam and is located close to the 17<sup>th</sup> century Sephardim and Ashkenazim synagogue complexes, it was obvious to choose the Jewish religion as a case study here. More or less similar to the previously mentioned aspects of ethnic identity, it turned out that a significant part of the religious Jewish identity was shaped through the practice of dining and drinking. In contrast to the aspect of the Portuguese migrant identities however, the Jewish aspect of identity is something that seems to be not detectable on a material level among the household waste of the first generation(s). This can be explained by the fact that the Iberian people had been forced to abandon - or secretly practice - Judaism for generations at the Iberian Peninsula, which would consequently lead to the absence of Jewish religious practice - or the visually undetectability of Jewish religious practice. After their arrival in Amsterdam, a revival of the Jewish faith took place, however, not all of the related practices are materially detectable. The first synagogues in the Vlooienburg neighbourhood arose in the domestic domain and were not publicly visible. And while the archaeological visibility of Jewish religious and daily practice on a material level becomes more distinguishable from the later 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, it is already distinguishable in an earlier stage through the analysis of the animal bones and thus the kosher diet.

In a way it seems that the material life followed the historical path. The Jewish religious practice moved from a more private and publicly invisible domain towards the construction, systematic organization and public celebration of the Jewish faith. On a material level this may be seen, for example, through the large amount of surviving lead kosher seals - sometimes referring to the different Jewish congregations - and the find of a funeral medal, reflecting the institutionalization of the meat halls and arrangement of a tax structure. This level of organisation with regard to the regulation of food consumption shows an increased scale of entanglement in the practice of dining and the elements involved. Instead of a practice at household level it evolved to become part of a larger organism, which itself must have been embedded in a complex network within the neighbourhood, the city of Amsterdam and the surrounding regions.

Aside for the kosher seals, however, the Jewish practice of dining and drinking leaves little traces among the material remains from the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards. One reason for this is the fact that both Jewish and non-Jewish households largely used the same utensils for food preparation and consumption, which makes it almost impossible to study for example food separation according to the Jewish dietary laws based on standard ceramic analysis. It is only in one cesspit that sets of faience dishes have been found which might have potentially been used for the separation of different foods. The only ceramic finds that are obvious expressions of Jewish identity, are two faience plates, one with the Hebrew lettering regarding the Passover celebration (found in cesspit 14) and one with the symbol of a six-pointed star (found in cesspit 1), the latter of which might be a seldomly early case within the history of Judaica.

All in all, the material remains that are the result of Jewish religious practice are evident, however they should be seen as a part of the ever evolving social and private identities. Both on a personal and on a household level these must have included elements of the renewed Jewish faith, while simultaneously developing local habits, and adapting of lifestyles European styles – and in some cases with the maintenance of Iberian customs as well. Summarizing this makes for a complex and integrated assemblage of practice, which can be materially

reconstructed through the imaginative use of local ceramic wares for the separation of different types of foods according to the kosher food laws and the consumption of kosher food from a Dutch faience plate, depicting Asian motives.

### ***Material Expressions of Identity***

Overall, it can be concluded that the find assemblages from the Vlooienburg cesspits provide us with evidence on many facets of different identities, whether it is on an individual level, a household level, or as a part of a social or cultural group. A primary step in this research was to find essential and clearly recognizable aspects of identities in order to be able to actually detect them among the archaeological assemblages, such as the Portuguese cooking pots or lead kosher seals. However, in order to approach the different aspects of identity as dynamic and evolving over time, the following step is to address those identities as multifaceted concepts. A significant amount of the finds from Vlooienburg illustrate how material culture was consciously and unconsciously used by individuals and groups to distinguish themselves from others with regard to ethnicity, religion or lifestyle. Some of the ethnical traditions or religious practices took place in the safety of the private and domestic background of the house, while other elements were part of the interrelationship between a household and its socio-cultural organisations in the open space. While the maintenance of Portuguese cooking traditions were practiced in the privacy of the kitchen, kosher seals were visible and recognisable labels that one could find both in the private and public domains of the Vlooienburg neighbourhood. Despite the fact that this dissertation might have focussed on the divergent and exceptional materiality, it must be noted here that the majority of the household waste from the Vlooienburg cesspits shows a large overlap, which implies on one hand that by far not all of the daily practices related to the construction on identity are detectable in the material record, whereas on the other hand it might suggest a level of intended or unintended community sense among the residents of Vlooienburg.

## 7.2 Methodological and theoretical remarks

### *Reassembling Material Assemblages*

When it comes to reassembling daily practice through research the materials from cesspit contexts the most difficult part seems to be refitting the former *life assemblages* and *assemblages of practice*.<sup>491</sup>

The material assemblage that is available for study of course is influenced by waste management systems in the past and in addition by post depositional processes, ranging from the interim emptying of cesspits in the past to the level of precision during excavation. This makes it difficult to subdivide different contemporary or subsequent phases of use and thus various material assemblages, unless a clear stratigraphy is present and documented during the excavations. Of course an attempt could be made to reconstruct different phases through closely dating elements of the find assemblages, however, these would be suggestive and they still would not rule out the mixture of waste by contemporary users of the same cesspit. As a result we might therefore be forced to study the contents of cesspits as a whole and rather focus on divergent material expressions than try to apply a phasing to the assemblage.

Taking it back to the theoretical approach, we could then suggest that a cesspit should be seen as the domain for the assemblage of practice. It ties together different gatherings and entanglements that are representatives of daily practice. As such the complexity of cesspit context should not be seen as a limitation to the research, because it prevents us from dividing different phases, users or historically documented households. On the contrary we should perhaps see it as a way to look outside the box and delve into the more hybrid aspects of identity, mutual cultural influence and the mutability of everyday life. It might be a way to not just study human-thing entanglements, but also human-human entanglements through their material expression, especially when combined with written sources, art historical research and other disciplines. Instead of thinking of a household as just one

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<sup>491</sup> On *assemblage of practice* see: Antczak & Beaudry 2019.

family, it helps to open our eyes and look for the remains of servants of temporary residents too.

### ***Considerations on Ceramic Analyses***

Even though the complete ceramic assemblages of only eleven cesspit contexts from the total amount of 100 cesspits was investigated in this research – representing a roughly 11% of the total of all ceramics – some rare and unexpected finds turned up. In the first place the variation of Portuguese ceramic wares was remarkable. Most of them had been previously recognized among the large ceramic assemblages, both among the fully analysed cesspits, as well as while scanning through all the other cesspits, and were easy to find because they are all listed under the same Dutch Deventer System category *ib*, which is used for all the Iberian wares. Because of this overarching category and their seldomness in the Netherlands, it is easy to overlook how diverse all of the different objects actually are. The question might therefore be raised if a revision of this part of the Deventer System would be beneficial to add more precision to ceramic studies? As it is now the category for Iberian wares (*ib*), sums up: red coarse wares, delicate fine redwares (which can even be subdivided in plain wares (with or without burnished surface treatment), impressed wares, incised wares with or without white slip, Montemor-o-novo ware which is grey and has large inclusions, greywares and blackwares (which both are often decorated with combined techniques including stone inlays and clay applications). Whether in the future all of these different wares will be addressed individually in the Deventer System or not does probably not really matter. The most important point is that there is the awareness that an assemblage of foreign ceramics might be of a complex character and that this could easily lead to misinterpretations, as is evidenced by the Iberian storage jar that turned out to be a Portuguese chamber pot and by the Mesoamerican fragments that were almost included in the diversity of Portuguese wares.

Another fascinating element of the ceramic research that was brought to light by the Portuguese and Mesoamerican ceramics is the inclusion of the sensory aspects of smell and taste. The fact that the

*púcaros* and *búcaros* shapes in the past were appreciated for their smell and taste, provided for an additional level to the research and potentially enables us to actively engage the ceramic finds. In this research the option of actually tasting ceramic finds or similar clays was omitted, however, wetting some of the sherds did indeed reveal the smell of “*sunburnt earth exhaling after rainfall*” as it had been described by Magalotti in 1695.

### **7.3 Suggestions for future research**

#### ***Material Driven Research***

When it comes to the material studies, there are a number of suggestions for future research. In the first place there is the case of the Mesoamerican, potentially Mexican connection based on the ceramic research that was a part of this dissertation. At this point there still are no known archaeological parallels that can help with the identification of the origin of the exceptional sherds from the four different cesspit contexts. A search for more parallels and eventually a comparison of thin sections or chemical compositions might be of added value in this matter. In line with this a more in dept study of what are considered the Iberian copies of Mexican shapes and decorations could be beneficial.

Likewise it is evident that the textile finds from the Vlooienburg site are in desperate need of a further exploration. The quantity and quality of the material are very promising and moreover the finds can be embedded in an extensive framework of archaeological and historical knowledge. Fortunately, at this point I can already state that the textile finds will be part of a new research project that was set up recently and is called ‘Textiles from Dutch Soils’.

#### ***Demand Driven Research***

When it comes to the element of ethnicity and migration, there still is a lot to gain when it comes to the archaeological study of the early modern period in Amsterdam. This research has illustrated that a demand-driven research forces us to look out for the unknown and to combine the archaeological analysis with a historical framework in

order to explore other elements of past societies. On the other hand the study of the material expressions of Portuguese migrants brought to light a number of significant notes when it comes to their archaeological study. In the first place the most clear material evidence seemed to be present in the household of the first generation(s) of migrants, at least in this specific case. In the second place we can conclude that - as for the ceramics - most of the objects are to be related to the private customs within the household, most often in regard to dining, drinking and sanitary practices. Thirdly, and most important we might conclude that based on research tradition there is only a selective historical narrative, which almost unnoticed drives us down the same road. For this dissertation it was principally chosen to archaeologically follow the lines that were already known from written sources about the Portuguese and Jewish history, and even though the results were promising, in retrospect it would have been great to be able to go beyond these beaten tracks and come with even more advanced additions. Of course the research results of this dissertation are evident, however, instead of highlighting the Portuguese and Jewish elements of the Vlooienburg society, it would have been interesting to further explore other parts of its mingled community as well. There still is a lot of ground to gain regarding the small black community of 17<sup>th</sup> century Amsterdam or the position of the Scandinavian migrant poor for that matter. Hopefully this study has contributed to the development of identity studies through an integrated archaeological and historical research, which will be followed by more studies of the multicultural daily life in early modern Amsterdam.

## **Summary:**

### **The Archaeology of Vlooienburg. Materiality and Daily Life in Multicultural Amsterdam, 1600-1800.**

In the 1980s, large-scale excavations took place in the centre of Amsterdam, on the location of today's Waterlooplein. The excavations were carried out in advance of the construction of the new town hall and music theater in the former historic residential area of Vlooienburg. The Vlooienburg neighbourhood had grown to be the heart of Jewish Amsterdam, but fell into disrepair after the Second World War, since many of the Jewish residents did not survive the war and the houses were uninhabited afterwards. It is, however, less well known that Vlooienburg was once a newly built residential area where migrants and local residents - from an enormous variety of cultural backgrounds - lived together. The archaeological finds that were uncovered in the 1980s provide a wealth of information about daily life and diversity in Vlooienburg in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The investigation of the archaeological finds that was conducted for this thesis therefore contributes to a more nuanced picture of the so-called Dutch 'golden age' in an attempt to move beyond traditional narratives of prosperity and spices.

For the history of Vlooienburg we have to go back to the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The city of Amsterdam was growing rapidly and needed a new urban expansion, because of the need for new shipyards and warehouses, and due to the demand for more living space. To meet these needs, artificial islands were created, including Vlooienburg, which was situated in the bend of the river Amstel. And where an empty island had been developed around 1600, a complete residential area, consisting of four city blocks - crossed by two main streets, the Lange and the Korte Houtstraat - had been realized by 1625. Between the houses there were some small alleys or passages, there were workshops, bars and in some periods also places of worship. Houses were sometimes rented out partly or as a whole and all of the residential plots had access to a cesspit, which served as a precursor to the sewer and was also used for dumping household waste. The finds from these cesspits provide the perfect insight into daily life at that



time. Household waste included the remains of meals, sherds of cooking pots, plates for eating and cups for drinking, but also personal belongings such as children's toys or religious objects and in some cases even fragments of the clothes.

The analyses of the many thousands of objects from the cesspits of Vlooienburg lead to stories about the identity of the residents of the neighbourhood. However, identity of course is a complex concept. For a long time it has been regarded as something static, or as a concept that means more or less the same as ethnicity. In that case, for example, pottery from a certain region was linked one-to-one with the people who lived in that region and their identity was linked to this, as it were. Today, however, identity is approached as a multifaceted and hybrid concept. Within one person, in fact, several identities exist; for example the ethnic identity based on one's origin, but also a religious identity because of one's beliefs, or a social identity determined on the basis of belonging to another culturally distinct group in society. In addition, all of these aspects of a person's overall identity are sometimes subject to change over time or in a different environment. In depth research in this thesis has attempted to focus on different elements of identity and the ways in which they are present in and perceived through material culture – and thus are to be recognized in the various archaeological objects. In order to be able to make such distinctions, first an overview of the more or less average the household waste assemblage was formed through the study of pottery assemblages, in order to be able to find eventual differences among the ceramic assemblages and eventually among other specific find categories and varying compositions of artefacts.

An important cultural and religious factor in the formation of daily life at Vlooienburg is the Jewish inhabitation of the district. In the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, many migrants settled in the area, including Portuguese who were expelled by the Spanish Inquisition on the basis of their religious beliefs. Many of these Portuguese had been forced to convert to Christianity for generations or had secretly adhered to the Jewish faith, but with their arrival in the relatively tolerant city of Amsterdam, they found their way back to Judaism. Thanks to the archaeological remains from cesspits of Portuguese-Jewish (Sephardic)

households, it was possible to investigate how this transition manifested itself in material terms. On the basis of the discovery of (fragments of) red-fired Portuguese cooking wares and Portuguese chamber pots, it can be concluded that the first generation of migrants still seems to have held on to customs and Portuguese cooking traditions to a certain extent. In addition, special Portuguese drinking cups made of fine earthenware have been found, which are typical of drinking habits that were popular and know many parallels in for example Lisbon. In contrast to the Portuguese blue and white faience pottery - which is found in excavations in many Dutch cities that had a clear connection with the Iberian trade network - such drinking cups, cooking pots and chamber pots are only found in Portugal or in Portuguese colonies. Outside of Vlooienburg, the Netherlands has no known parallels for Portuguese cooking pots or chamber pots. The continued use of these cooking, drinking and sanitation wares apparently kept the memory of their Portuguese homeland alive within the private part of the households. This gives the meaning of everyday objects such as cooking pots an extra meaning and at the same time they played an active role in the formation of the ethnic identity of the migrants. However, it should be noted that this will have differed per household or per person. Where complete Portuguese pots and pans with minimal signs of use were discarded in an early 17<sup>th</sup> century cesspit, an inventory from 1718 describes that someone kept both whole and broken Portuguese pottery in a crate in the attic.

The case study of these Portuguese ceramics and their relationship to the inhabitants of Vlooienburg is just one example to illustrate the diversity of migrants in 17<sup>th</sup> century Amsterdam. The archaeological visibility of migrants is not self-evident and the research method used in this case tuned out to not always be applicable. A comparable study that was carried out to potentially localize the historically known Scandinavian labour migrants at Vlooienburg was not nearly so easy. Fragments of Danish cooking pots indeed were found, but, unlike the Portuguese variants, these pot were traded. The so-called 'Jydepots' were widely used in other Scandinavian countries, such as Sweden and Norway and they are relatively often found during excavations in the Netherlands or other European countries. It

therefore is questionable whether the cooking pots were brought to Vlooienburg by migrants, and, if this indeed would have been the case, it could point not only to Danish migrants, but potentially also to Swedish or Norwegian migrants.

From a methodological point of view, cooking traditions and associated utensils are therefore just an example of research into the formation of migrant identities. At a household level, for example, one can also think of furniture or at a personal level of clothing and jewelry. Such objects, however, are much less frequently uncovered in archeological contexts. In addition, the motivation for migration and the route taken have a major influence on the archaeological record of migrants. Wealthy Portuguese merchants could have their entire family and household shipped with their belongings, but migrant workers who worked in the shipping industry will have taken considerably less of their belongings with them. They may have seen their stay in Amsterdam as temporary, so that there was perhaps less need to bring a 'feeling of home' with them. Or take the High German Jewish (Ashkenazi) migrants, they are fleeing persecution, poverty and war in Eastern Europe and were probably barely even able to bring any possessions with them. However, such case studies deserve more attention within archaeological research, because they make us realize that not all population groups are equally represented in the find material.

In addition to ethnic identity, Jewish identity also played an important role in this PhD research, investigating the materiality of the earliest Jewish community in Amsterdam. The tricky part here was of course the question to what extent the Jews in Amsterdam initially wanted to be recognizable as belonging to the Jewish community, bearing in mind the persecution they had undergone, both on the Iberian Peninsula and in Eastern Europe. Historical sources indicate that the construction of a synagogue in a nearby residential house was soon started and research into the animal bone material also shows that kosher food preparation was observed quite strictly in some of the households. Yet it takes a while before the Jewish identity really becomes visible in material culture as well. It is only in the last quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century that objects appear to have been put into use that are

recognizable to outsiders as being related to Jewish customs. For example, more than 400 kosher leads have been found, bearing the Hebrew word for kosher on one side and sometimes providing information about the Jewish butcher or the corresponding Portuguese or High German community on the other side. Such seals were used to certify the kosher quality of meat. Other than that, two rare Dutch faience plates have been found in the cesspits of Vlooienburg. First of all, there is one plate with the text "seven days you shall eat matzos" and the words "meat" and "kosher" scripted in Hebrew. This example - referring to the celebration of Passover, the separation of meat and dairy products, and kosher customs - is the most clear form of material expression found at Vlooienburg with regard to the Jewish presence. The other faience plate, is decorated with a six-pointed star surrounded by floral motifs and with an Asian-inspired image painted in the centre. The depiction of a six-pointed star on faience plates is rather rare and that, in combination with the fact that it has been found in a Jewish context, lead to the idea that this is a deliberate symbolic use of the star as an element of Jewish identity. At the same time, this specific plate reflects the more eclectic nature of the identity of its user(s); the plate combines elements of religious origin, but also shows parts of the social and fashionable aspects, opting to use faience plates for dining or for decorating the home. In addition, it also refers to the Asian world and the colonial connection that played a crucial role in the lives of many Amsterdam people at the time. Other intriguing objects specifically related to the propagation and implementation of Jewish identity are the (fragments of) Shabbat lamps, a funeral medal and the discovery of a gilded cup that may have served as a kiddush cup, which was used for drinking wine at certain Jewish ceremonies or occasions. Based on these forementioned examples, the presence of Jewish components may seem strongly present within the find assemblages, however, it should be noted that no intensive analysis has yet taken place when it comes to the material connection of other objects and religions. The find of a majolica plate with the image of Madonna with child, however, illustrates that these were present as well.

This brings us to another element from this PhD research, which specifically looked at the identity and living conditions of babies and

children in Vlooienburg households. It was decided to conduct specific research into this, because this category often remains underexposed, while it can be assumed that cultural beliefs and the feeling of belonging to certain social groups are largely learned in childhood. Since parents will have largely influenced the formation of their children's identities, there is the possibility to find aspects related to elements of identity in child-related material culture. The research has shown that there are no visible connections with regard to religious identity from an archaeological point of view when it comes to child-related objects. In terms of ethnic background, there is only one clear connection. Fragments of a miniature children's toy version of a Portuguese drinking cup have been found in one of the cesspits. Apparently whoever bought it for the child, must have wanted to commemorate their original homeland or maybe aimed to keep the memory of their homeland alive. In addition to the more common games with balls, cones and marbles, the children had access to several miniature versions of adult utensils. With cooking utensils, teapots and drinking cups or small weapons, adulthood was imitated in play, almost as a kind of preparation for adult life, in order to become familiar with the daily customs, norms and values. A distinction can be made with regard to social stratigraphy if one looks at the implementation of children's toys. While some had finely crafted glass or metal miniatures, others had more simple toys, sometimes made of recycled materials. All in all, there must have been quite some playing activity in the district, as is witnessed by the more than 170 children's toy miniatures and many hundreds of other fragments of toys.

It is not surprising that the daily ins and outs of Vlooienburg brought forth a large variety of objects, given the international and multicultural character of the neighbourhood. Therefore, to conclude the research, a study was carried out to a number of eccentric finds that know no parallels are in Dutch archaeology so far. In the first place, there turned out to be some fragments of extremely rare Mesoamerican - presumably Mexican - cups. Even though these pieces consist of only five sherds of a total of four different cups, on a total of many thousands of finds, they tell an interesting story and actually raise many new questions. At the time, the cups were better known as *búcaros* and were

highly valued among the Iberian (and also Italian) elite, because of their special taste, smell and, according to some, also medicinal properties. They are depicted in Iberian still life paintings from the 17<sup>th</sup> century and are in some cases described in estate inventories, but are rarely known from an archaeological context. After discovering these cups, it turned out that even more Mexican influences could be discovered among the Iberian pottery in Amsterdam, since clearly some Mexican shapes and decoration techniques had been imitated. Further study into this is necessary in order to be able to make more concrete statements about this, but in any case it gives the find material of Vlooienburg an extra dimension. For the time being, the hypothesis is that the material found its way to Amsterdam via the trade network of the Portuguese Jews in the Americas. A very different but equally intriguing find is that of a considerable amount of textiles from various cesspits, among which there are indications of the textile industry in the district, but also fragments of luxurious fabrics, such as silk with embroidered decoration in silver thread and a fragment of an Indian silk fabric that is dyed according to the typical Indian tie-dye technique. Further research is also needed in this area and this will also be realized within the recently established research project 'Textile from Dutch Soils'.

All in all, this research has shown how and to what extent aspects of identity are archaeologically observable and traceable. In the case of Vlooienburg, it turned out that differences in social, religious and ethnic diversity are to be detected within the material life in household contexts, but that individual choices certainly have had a role in this too. It has been found that examining migrant groups on the basis of material culture in some cases is very well possible - as in the case of the Portuguese Jews - certainly when it concerns the first generation(s), but that the motivation and circumstances of migration are of large influence on the archaeological visibility and detectability - as is the case with the Scandinavian migrants and the Ashkenazim, for example. Despite the many new perspectives and previously unknown archaeological finds that have come to light and have been published through this research, it also raises many new questions regarding the groups and materials within society on Vlooienburg that have not yet been addressed.

## **Samenvatting:**

### **De Archeologie van Vlooienburg. Materialiteit en Dagelijks Leven in Multicultureel Amsterdam, 1600-1800**

In de jaren '80 van de vorige eeuw vonden er grootschalige opgravingen plaats in het stadscentrum van Amsterdam, op de locatie van het huidige Waterlooplein. De aanleiding hiervoor was de bouw van het nieuwe stadhuis en muziektheater op de plek, waar ooit de woonwijk Vlooienburg floreerde. Deze wijk was uitgegroeid tot het hart van Joods Amsterdam, maar na de Tweede Wereld oorlog in verval geraakt, doordat vele van de Joodse bewoners deze oorlog niet overleefden en de huizen leeg kwamen te staan. Het is echter minder algemeen bekend dat Vlooienburg ooit ontstaan is als een nieuwbouwwijk waar migranten en lokale bewoners - met een enorme verscheidenheid aan culturele achtergronden - samen woonden en leefden. De archeologische vondsten die in de jaren '80 zijn gedaan, bieden echter een schat aan informatie over het dagelijks leven en de diversiteit op Vlooienburg in de 17<sup>de</sup> en 18<sup>de</sup> eeuw. Het onderzoek naar deze archeologische vondsten voor dit proefschrift draagt op die manier dan ook bij aan een genuanceerder beeld van de zogenoemde 'gouden eeuw' vol welvaart en specerijen.

Voor de ontstaansgeschiedenis van Vlooienburg moeten we terug naar het eind van de 16<sup>de</sup> eeuw. De stad Amsterdam groeide in rap tempo en was toe aan een nieuwe stadsuitbreiding, zowel vanwege de behoefte aan nieuwe scheepswerven en pakhuizen als de vraag naar meer woonruimte. Om in deze behoeften te voorzien werden er artificiële eilanden aangeplempt, waaronder dus ook Vlooienburg, in de bocht van de rivier de Amstel. En waar rond 1600 een leeg eiland gerealiseerd was, stond in 1625 een volledige woonwijk, bestaande uit vier huizenblokken, doorkruist door twee hoofdstraten, de Lange en de Korte Houtstraat. Tussen de huizenblokken in bevonden zich soms nog kleine steegjes of doorgangen en naast woningen bevonden zich er werkplaatsen, kroegen en in sommige perioden ook gebedshuizen. Huizen werden soms in zijn geheel of soms gedeeltelijk verhuurd en waren allen voorzien van een beerput, die dienst deed als voorloper van het riool en tevens gebruikt werd voor het dumpen van huishoudelijk

afval. De vondsten afkomstig uit deze beerputten geven dus het perfecte inkijkje in het dagelijks leven in die tijd. Onder het huishoudelijk afval bevinden zich resten van de bereide maaltijden, de scherven van de kookpotten, de borden waar van gegeten werd en de kopjes waar uit gedronken werd, maar ook persoonlijke bezittingen, zoals kinderspeelgoed of religieuze objecten en in sommige gevallen zelfs fragmenten van de kleding die werd gedragen.

Het onderzoek naar de vele duizenden objecten uit de beerputten van Vlooienburg leidt naar verhalen over de identiteit van de bewoners van de wijk. Identiteit is echter een complex begrip. Lange tijd is het beschouwd als iets heel statisch of als een begrip dat min of meer hetzelfde betekend als etniciteit. In dat geval werd bijvoorbeeld aardewerk uit een bepaalde regio één op één gelinkt met de mensen die in die regio woonden en werd hun identiteit hier als het ware aan gekoppeld. Tegenwoordig wordt identiteit echter beschouwd als juist een meerzijdig en veranderlijk concept. Binnen één persoon bestaan in feite meerdere identiteiten; inderdaad de etnische identiteit op basis van iemands herkomst, maar ook een religieuze identiteit vanwege iemands geloofsovertuigingen, of een sociale identiteit die bepaald wordt op basis van het behoren tot een andere cultureel onderscheidde groep in de samenleving. Bovendien zijn al deze aspecten van iemands totale identiteit soms onderhevig aan verandering in de loop der tijd of in een andere omgeving. Diepgaand onderzoek in dit proefschrift heeft zich geprobeerd te richten op verschillende elementen met betrekking tot identiteit en de manieren waarop dit in de materiële cultuur – en dus in de verschillende archeologische objecten – tot uiting is gekomen. Om een dergelijk onderscheid te kunnen maken is eerste een overzicht gevormd van hoe het huishoudelijk afval van een gemiddeld of doorsnee huishouden zich ongeveer aftekent wat betreft aardewerk assemblages, om vanuit daar verder te speuren naar meer specifieke vondstcategorieën en samenstellingen.

Een belangrijke culturele en religieuze factor binnen de vorming van en het dagelijks leven op Vlooienburg is dat van de Joodse bewoners van de wijk. In het begin van de 17de eeuw vestigden zich veel migranten in de buurt, waaronder Portugezen die verdreven werden door de Spaanse Inquisitie op basis van hun geloofsovertuiging.



Een groot deel van deze Portugezen had zich generaties lang onder dwang moeten bekeren tot het Christendom of in had in het geheim nog het Joodse geloof aangehouden, maar hun aankomst in het relatief vrije Amsterdam, hervonden zij hun weg naar het Jodendom. Dankzij de archeologische resten uit beerputten van Portugees-Joodse (Sefardische) huishoudens kon onderzocht worden hoe deze transitie zich op materieel gebied toonde. Op basis van de ontdekking van (fragmenten van) roodbakkend Portugees kookaardewerk en Portugese pispotten kon vast gesteld worden dat de eerste generatie migranten nog in zekere mate vast lijkt te hebben gehouden aan gebruiken en Portugese kooktradities. Daarnaast zijn er speciale Portugese drinkkopjes van fijn aardewerk gevonden, die typisch zijn voor drinkgewoonten die populair waren en onder andere veel zijn teruggevonden in bijvoorbeeld Lissabon. In tegenstelling tot het Portugese blauw-witte faience aardewerk - wat archeologisch teruggevonden wordt in vele Nederlandse steden die een duidelijke connectie hadden met het Iberisch handelnetwerk - worden dergelijke drinkkopjes, kookpotten en pispotten enkel in Portugal of in Portugese koloniën gevonden en buiten Vlooienburg zijn er in Nederland geen parallellen voor de Portugese kookpotten en pispotten bekend. Het aanhoudend gebruik van deze materialen, droeg dus binnen het private deel van de huishoudens blijkbaar de herinnering aan hun thuisland in leven. De betekenis van alledaagse objecten als kookpotten krijgen daarmee een extra betekenis en tegelijkertijd speelden zij een actieve rol in de vorming van de etnische identiteit van de migranten. Hierbij moet echter wel opgemerkt worden dat dit per huishouden of per persoon verschilt zal hebben. Waar in de een beerput uit de vroege 17<sup>de</sup> eeuw complete Portugese potten en pannen zijn weggegooid met minimale gebruikssporen, beschrijft een boedelinventaris uit 1718 dat iemand op zolder zowel heel als gebroken Portugees aardewerk bewaarde in een krat.

De case studie naar deze Portugese objecten en hun relatie tot de bewoners van Vlooienburg verbeeldt slechts een voorbeeld binnen de diversiteit aan migranten in 17<sup>de</sup> eeuws Amsterdam. De archeologische zichtbaarheid van migranten is niet vanzelfsprekend en de onderzoeksmethode die in dit geval is gebruikt is niet altijd

toepasbaar. Een vergelijkbare steekproef die werd uitgevoerd om de Scandinavische arbeidsmigranten op Vlooienburg – die we kennen op basis van historische bronnen – zichtbaar te maken verliep lang niet zo makkelijk. Weliswaar werden fragmenten van Deense kookpotten teruggevonden, maar in tegenstelling tot de Portugese varianten, werden deze wél verhandeld. De zogenaamde Jydepotten werden dan ook veel gebruikt in andere Scandinavische landen, zoals Zweden en Noorwegen en ze worden relatief vaak aangetroffen bij opgravingen in Nederland of in andere Europese landen. Het is dus enerzijds maar de vraag of de kookpotten per se meebracht werden door migranten en mocht dit het geval zijn, dan zou het niet enkel kunnen wijzen op Deense migranten, maar potentieel ook op Zweedse of Noorse migranten.

Methodologisch gezien zijn kooktradities en bijbehorende gebruiksvoorwerpen dus slechts één voorbeeld van onderzoek naar de vormgeving en uiting van identiteit. Op huishoudelijk niveau kan bijvoorbeeld ook gedacht worden aan meubilair of op persoonlijk niveau aan kleding en sierraden. Al worden dergelijke objecten archeologisch gezien significant minder vaak teruggevonden. Daarnaast zijn de motivatie voor migratie en de route die afgelegd werd van grote invloed op de archeologische neerslag van migranten. Rijke Portugese kooplui konden hun hele gezin en huishouden met inboedel laten verschepen, maar arbeidsmigranten die in de scheepvaart werkten zullen aanzienlijk minder mee hebben genomen. Wellicht hebben zij hun verblijf in Amsterdam als tijdelijk hebben gezien, waardoor er misschien minder behoefte was aan het meebrengen van een 'gevoel van thuis'. Of neem de Hoogduitse Joodse (Ashkenazische) migranten, zij ontvluchten vervolgingen, armoede en oorlog in Oost Europa en waren wellicht amper überhaupt amper in de gelegenheid om iets van bezittingen mee te brengen. Dergelijke case studies verdienen echter juist meer aandacht binnen de archeologie, want het doet ons beseffen dat niet alle bevolkingsgroepen evenwaardig gerepresenteerd zijn in het vondstmateriaal.

Naast de etnische identiteit heeft ook de Joodse identiteit een belangrijk aandeel gehad in dit promotieonderzoek, om de materiële afspiegeling van de vroegste Joodse gemeenschap in Amsterdam te onderzoeken. Het lastige hierbij was natuurlijk de vraag in hoeverre de

Joden in Amsterdam in eerste instantie herkenbaar wilden zijn als behorende tot de Joodse gemeenschap, met in gedachten de vervolgingen die zijn hebben ondergaan, zowel op het Iberisch schiereiland als in Oost-Europa. Op basis van historische bronnen blijkt dat er al vrij snel over werd gegaan tot de bouw van een synagoge in een woonhuis in de buurt en uit het onderzoek naar het dierlijk botmateriaal blijkt ook dat de koosjere voedselbereiding in sommige gevallen al vrij strikt werd nageleefd. Toch duurt het even voordat ook in de materiële cultuur de Joodse identiteit echt zichtbaar wordt. Het is eigenlijk pas in het laatste kwart van de 17<sup>de</sup> eeuw dat er structureel objecten in gebruik lijken te zijn genomen die voor buitenstaanders herkenbaar zijn als te relateren aan Joodse gebruiken. Zo zijn er meer dan 400 koosjer loodjes gevonden, waarop aan de ene kant in het Hebreeuws het woord voor koosjer te lezen valt en aan de andere zijde informatie over de slacht en of de slager tot de Portugese of Hoogduitse gemeente behoorde. Dergelijke loodjes werden gebruikt om de koosjere kwaliteit van vlees te waarmerken. Wat betreft voedselconsumptie, zijn er ook twee opvallende Nederlandse faience borden teruggevonden in de beerputten van Vlooienburg. Zo is er in de eerste plaats een bord met daarop in Hebreeuws de tekst 'zeven dagen zul je matzes eten' en de woorden 'vlees' en 'koosjer'. Dit bordt - dat dus refereert aan de viering van Pesach, de scheiding van vlees en zuivelproducten, en de koosjere gebruiken - is met betrekking tot de Joodse aanwezigheid dan ook de meest duidelijke vorm van materiële expressie die op Vlooienburg is teruggevonden. Het andere faience bord, dat gedecoreerd is met een zes-puntige ster die omgeven is door florale motieven en waarbij in het midden een Aziatisch geïnspireerde afbeelding is geschilderd. Het feit dat de afbeelding van zo'n zes-puntige ster zeldzaam is en dat deze in Joodse context gevonden is kan haast geen toeval zijn en lijkt dan ook een verwijzing naar een vroeg symbolisch gebruik ervan binnen het Jodendom. Tegelijkertijd weerspiegelt dit bordt het meer eclectische karakter van de identiteit van zijn gebruiker(s); het bord combineert elementen van religieuze aard, maar eveneens de sociale en modieuze aspecten waarbij gekozen werd om faience borden te gebruiken om van te dineren of decoratief in huis op te stellen. Daarnaast verwijst het ook naar de Aziatische

wereld en de koloniale connectie die destijds een cruciale rol speelde in het leven van menig Amsterdammer. Andere intrigerende objecten die specifiek betrekking hebben op het uitdragen en uitvoeren van de Joodse identiteit zijn de (fragmenten van) sabbat lampen, een begrafenispenning en de vondst van een vergulde beker die vermoedelijk dienst gedaan kan hebben als een kiddoesj-beker, welke gebruikt werd voor het drinken van wijn bij bepaalde Joodse ceremonies of gelegenheden. Aan de hand van deze voorbeelden lijkt de aanwezigheid van Joodse componenten wellicht sterk aanwezig binnen de vondstassemblages, echter hierbij moet opgemerkt worden dat er nog geen intensieve analyse heeft plaatsgevonden met betrekking tot de materiële verbondenheid van andere objecten. Dat deze er wel degelijk waren blijkt bijvoorbeeld uit de vondst van een majolica bord met de afbeelding van madonna met kind.

Dit brengt ons gelijk op een ander element uit dit promotieonderzoek, waarbij juist gekeken is naar de identiteit en levensomstandigheden van baby's en kinderen in Vlooienburgse huishoudens. Er is besloten om hier specifiek onderzoek naar te doen, omdat deze categorie vaak onderbelicht blijft, terwijl men er vanuit kan gaan dat culturele overtuigingen en het gevoel deel uit te maken van bepaalde sociale groepen voor een groot deel aangeleerd wordt in de kindertijd. Althans in ieder geval zullen ouders hun kinderen hier voor een groot deel in beïnvloed hebben en zodoende is er de mogelijkheid om aspecten met betrekking tot aspecten van identiteit ook terug te vinden in materiële cultuur die direct aan kinderen te relateren is. Uit het onderzoek is gebleken dat er wat betreft religieuze identiteit archeologische gezien geen verbanden waarneembaar zijn. Wat betreft etnische achtergrond is er één enkele duidelijke verbinding te leggen. In één van de beerputten zijn namelijk de fragmenten van een miniatuur kinderspeelgoed versie van een Portugees drinkkopje teruggevonden. Blijkbaar wilde degene die het ooit voor het kind kocht op deze manier de gedachte aan hun oorspronkelijke thuisland levendig houden. Het valt verder op dat de kinderen naast de meer algemene bal of kegel spelen, beschikten over veel miniatuur versies van gebruikswerpen van volwassenen. Met kookgerei, theepotjes en drinkkopjes of klein wapentuig werd het volwassen in spelvorm

nagebootst als een soort voorbereiding op het volwassen leven, om bekend te raken met de dagelijkse gebruiken, normen en waarden. Er valt overigens wel onderscheid te maken wat betreft sociale stratigrafie als men kijkt naar de uitvoering van het kinderspeelgoed. Waar sommigen over fijn vervaardigde glazen of metalen miniaturen beschikten, hadden anderen simpeler speelgoed al dan niet van hergebruikte materialen. Desalniettemin zal er heel wat afgespeeld zijn in de wijk, getuige de meer dan 170 kinderspeelgoed miniaturen en vele honderden andere fragmenten van speelgoed.

Gezien het internationale en multiculturele karakter van de wijk Vlooienburg, is het niet verwonderlijk dat er ook een grote variatie aan objecten is die een rol hebben gespeeld in het dagelijks reilen en zeilen aldaar. Als afsluiter van het onderzoek is dan ook aandacht besteed aan een aantal van de meer excentrieke vondsten die bij de opgravingen gedaan zijn en waar tot op heden geen parallellen van bekend zijn in de Nederlandse archeologie. In de eerste plaats gaat het hier om fragmenten van uiterst zeldzame Meso-Amerikaanse - vermoedelijk Mexicaanse - kopjes. Ookal gaat het hier slechts om 5 scherven van in totaal 4 verschillende kopjes op een totaal van vele duizenden vondsten, ze vertellen een interessant verhaal en roepen eigenlijk vooral veel nieuwe vragen op. De kopjes stonden destijds beter bekend als *búcaros* en werden zeer gewaardeerd onder de Iberische (en ook Italiaanse) elite, vanwege een bijzonder smaak, geur en volgens sommigen ook geneeskrachtige werking. Ze zijn afgebeeld op Iberische stillevens uit de 17<sup>de</sup> eeuw en worden in enkele gevallen beschreven in boedelinventarissen, maar zijn uit archeologische context zelden bekend. Na het ontdekken van deze kopjes bleken er nog meer Mexicaanse invloeden te ontdekken binnen het Iberisch aardewerk in Amsterdam, waarbij duidelijk Mexicaanse vormen en decoratie technieken nagemaakt zijn. Verdere studie hiernaar is nodig om hier meer concrete uitspraken over te kunnen doen, maar het geeft het vondstmateriaal van Vlooienburg in ieder geval een extra dimensie. Voorlopig is de hypothese dat het materiaal meegekomen zal zijn vanuit het handelsnetwerk van de Portugese Joden in de Amerikaanse regio. Een heel andere maar eveneens intrigerende vondst is dat van een aanzienlijke hoeveelheid textiel uit verschillende beerputten,

waaronder aanwijzingen zijn voor de textielindustrie in de wijk, maar ook voor de aanwezigheid van luxe stoffen, zoals zijde met geborduurde decoratie in zilverdraad en een fragment van een Indiase zijden stof die volgens de typisch Indiase tie-dye techniek geverfd is. Ook op dit gebied is vervolg onderzoek nodig en dit zal ook gerealiseerd worden binnen het recent opgezette onderzoeksproject 'Textiel uit Hollandse Bodem'.

Al met al is uit dit onderzoek gebleken hoe en in hoeverre onderdelen van identiteit archeologisch waarneembaar en traceerbaar zijn. In het geval van Vlooienburg is gebleken dat op huishoudelijk niveau verschillen in sociale, religieuze en etnische diversiteit materieel terug te vinden zijn, maar dat individuele keuzes hier ook zeker een rol in spelen. Er is gebleken dat het onderzoeken van migrantengroepen op basis van materiële cultuur in sommige gevallen goed mogelijk is – zoals in het geval van de Portugese Joden - zeker wanneer het de eerste generatie(s) betreft, maar dat de motivatie en omstandigheden van migratie van grote invloed zijn op de archeologische zichtbaarheid – zoals bijvoorbeeld bij de Scandinavische migranten en de Asjkenazische Joden. Ondanks de vele nieuwe invalshoeken en eerder onbekende archeologische vondsten die middels dit onderzoek aan het licht zijn gekomen en gepubliceerd zijn, roept het onderzoek ook veel nieuwe vragen op wat betreft de tot nu toe nog niet aan bod gekomen groepen en materialen binnen de samenleving op Vlooienburg. Wie weet wat vervolgonderzoek nog allemaal aan het licht kan brengen.

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## **Abbreviations**

<i>DS</i>	Deventer Systeem / Deventer System
<i>EVE</i>	Estimated Vessel Equivalent
<i>JHM</i>	Joods Historisch Museum / Jewish Historical Museum
<i>MenA</i>	Monumenten en Archeologie / Bureau for Monuments and Archaeology
<i>MNI</i>	Minimum Number of Individuals
<i>NOaA</i>	Nationale Onderzoeksagenda Archeologie / National Research Agenda for Archaeology
<i>SAA</i>	Stadsarchief Amsterdam / Amsterdam City Archives
<i>VOC</i>	Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie / Dutch East India Company
<i>WIC</i>	West-Indische Compagnie / Dutch West India Company
<i>WLO</i>	Project code to refer to the 1980s Waterlooplein/ Vlooienburg excavations

## Glossary

<i>Ashkenazim</i>	A Jewish diaspora population, also known as Ashkenazi Jews, originating from central and eastern Europe.
<i>Búcaro</i>	Clay jug or vessel, in some cultures specifically used as drinking cup.
<i>Cesspit</i>	Underground tank or container which was used for the collection and (temporary) storage of feces and household waste. Their appearance might be cylindrical or angular, several meters deep and the construction could be made of wood, bricks or reused building materials.
<i>Conversos</i>	Jewish people, or their descendants, who converted to Catholicism in Spain or Portugal, particularly during the 14 <sup>th</sup> and 15 <sup>th</sup> centuries.
<i>Deventer System</i>	Standardized cataloguing system to categorize medieval and postmedieval ceramics that is used in the Netherlands.
<i>Hanukkah</i>	This is Jewish eight day festival – which is also known as the Festival of Lights – commemorates the recovery of Jerusalem and the rededication of the Second Temple in the 2 <sup>nd</sup> century BCE.
<i>Kashrut</i>	Set of Jewish dietary laws that prescribe the way in which foods should be prepared and that indicate which (combinations of) foods are permitted or forbidden for consumption.
<i>Kiddush</i>	The blessing that is said over a cup of wine before a Shabbat meal and or the meal that is shared during an other holiday or event.
<i>Kosher / Kasher</i>	Food that is allowed for consumption according to the Jewish dietary laws.

<i>Mahamad</i>	The ruling council of the Spanish-Portuguese Jewish congregation.
<i>Mikvah</i>	A mikvah - also spelled mikveh – is a Jewish ritual bath that is used for ceremonial cleansing.
<i>Mishna</i>	Written collection of the early Jewish oral traditions.
<i>Pesach / Passover</i>	One of the most important celebrations in Judaism, commemorating the exodus from Egypt and the liberation of the Jewish people.
<i>Púcaro</i>	Alternative term for <i>búcaro</i> . Portuguese term to refer to a drinking cup.
<i>Shabbat</i>	The day of rest on the seventh day of the week according to the Jewish religion, which takes place from just before sunset of Friday evening until Saturday night. The Shabbath is associated with the lighting of candles, reciting blessings and festive meals.
<i>Sephardim</i>	A Jewish diaspora population, also known as Sephardic Jews (or referred to as Hispanic or Portuguese Jew), mainly originating from the Iberian Peninsula.
<i>Shochet</i>	A person who slaughters animals according to the prescribed Jewish laws.
<i>Tosefta</i>	A collection of writings about the Jewish oral traditions that is considered as a supplement to the Mishna.

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## **Appendices**

- Appendix 1. Ceramic overviews per cesspit. Including pie charts of the different ceramic wares and tables of the typologies according to the Deventer System.
- Appendix 2. Map of the City of Amsterdam indicating the find locations of Portuguese faience.
- Appendix 3. Table overview of the hometowns of Dutch skippers departing from Portuguese harbours between 1568 and 1700.
- Appendix 4. Table of the finds of Portuguese faience in the Netherlands.
- Appendix 5. Table of the finds of Portuguese fine and coarse wares in Amsterdam.
- Appendix 6. Table of Danish Jydepotter finds in Amsterdam.

## Appendix 1. Ceramic overviews per cesspit

Per cesspit a summarized table of the Deventer System types will be presented, together with pie charts representing the minimum number of individuals (MNI) and the estimated vessel equivalent (EVE – when available) of the different ceramic wares. The colours that are used to indicate the different wares are applied according to the standardized colour scheme that is related to the Deventer System.<sup>492</sup> The table below shows the different colours and accessory ware descriptions.

s1	Stoneware without glaze/engobe
s2	Stoneware with glaze/engobe
s3	Stoneware industrial
S5	
g	Greyware ( mainly Dutch)
jy	Jydepotter
r	Redware (mainly Dutch)
wa	Werra ware
ib	Iberian wares
w	Whiteware ( mainly Dutch or German)
ha	Hafner ware
we	Weser ware
m	Majolica (Dutch)
f	Faience (Dutch)
i	Tin-glazed from Italy
sp	Tin-glazed from Spain
po	Tin-glazed from Portugal
fr	Tin-glazed from France
p	Porcelain from Azia
ep	Porcelain from Europe
iw	Industrial whiteware
ir	Industrial redware

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<sup>492</sup> Deventer Systeem 2016: *Het Classificatiesysteem voor Laat- en Postmiddeleeuws Aardewerk en Glas*, version May 2016, Stichting Promotie Archaeologisch Onderzoek. See also: Jaspers 2011.

### Cesspit 1. WLO-8: Deventer System Counting list

material	shape	type	mni	object
<i>stoneware with glaze or engobe (s2)</i>				
s2	fle	-	1	bottle
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>1</b>	
<i>redware (r)</i>				
r	-	-	9	
r	bak	-	2	frying pan
r	bor	-	24	plate/dish
r	dek	-	9	lid
r	gra	-	28	cooking pot
r	kan	-	2	jug
r	kom	-	1	bowl
r	kop	-	2	cup
r	lek	-	1	colander
r	pis	-	8	chamber pot
r	pot		1	pot
r	stk	-	1	frying pan
r	tes	-	32	brazier
r	vog	-	1	bird's drinking bowl
r	zal	-	2	ointment jar
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>123</b>	
<i>Iberian wares (ib)</i>				
ib	amf	-	1	amphora
ib	pot	-	1	pot
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>2</b>	
<i>whiteware (w)</i>				
w	-	-	12	
w	gra	-	4	cooking pot
w	kan	-	3	jug
w	kdl	-	10	candlestick

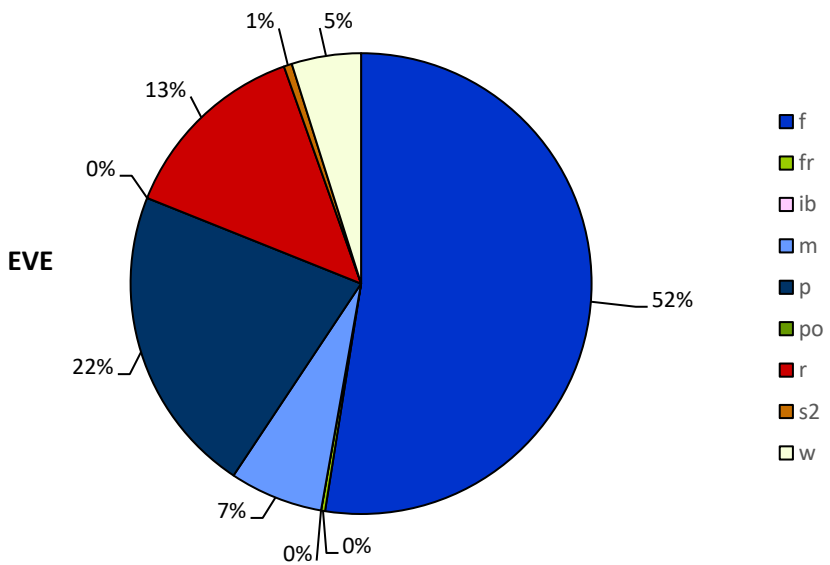
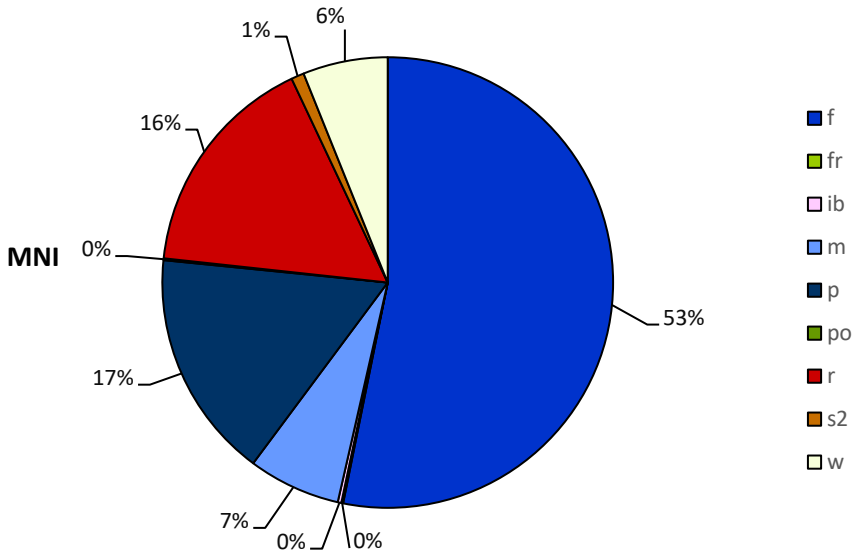
w	kop	-	8	cup
w	pis	-	5	chamber pot
w	stk	-	1	skillet
w	the	-	1	tea pot
w	zal	-	3	ointment jar
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>47</b>	
<i>majolica (m)</i>				
m	-	-	1	
m	bor	-	49	plate/dish
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>50</b>	
<i>faience (f)</i>				
f	-	-	32	
f	bor	-	141	plate/dish
f	bor	-	46	saucer
f	fle	-	2	bottle
f	kom	-	34	bowl
f	kop	-	120	cup
f	kwi	-	3	spittoon
f	plo	-	2	lobbed dish
f	pis	-	8	chamber pot
f	vaa	-	3	vase
f	voe	-	1	stem cup
f	zal	-	10	ointment jar
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>402</b>	
<i>Portuguese tin-glazed (po)</i>				
po	kom	-	1	bowl
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>1</b>	
<i>French tin-glazed (fr)</i>				
fr	kom	-	1	cooking pot
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>1</b>	
<i>porcelain (p)</i>				



p	-	-	2	
p	bok	-	1	goblet
p	bor	-	2	plate/dish
p	bor	-	32	saucer
p	dek	-	4	lid
p	kop	-	82	cup
p	vaa	-	1	vase
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>124</b>	

\* this list was based on the results of : Lovegrove Pereira, Sofia, 2015. *Finding meaning in rubbish: historical archaeology of the cesspit of a Jewish household in Amsterdam (1675-1725)*, Unpublished Master Thesis, York: Department of Archaeology, University of York

**Cesspit 1. WLO-8: Composition of wares in MNI and EVE (MNI=751)**



**Cesspit 23. WLO-95: Deventer System counting list**

material	shape	type	mni	object
<i>redware (r)</i>				
r			10	
r	bak		17	frying pan
r	bak	31	1	frying pan
r	bak	4	1	frying pan
r	bak	48	1	frying pan
r	bak	5	5	frying pan
r	bak	6	1	frying pan
r	blo		2	flowerpot
r	bor		53	plate/dish
r	bor	1	1	plate/dish
r	bor	10	5	plate/dish
r	bor	18	8	plate/dish
r	bor	25	1	plate/dish
r	bor	32	4	plate/dish
r	bor	38	2	plate/dish
r	bor	50	3	plate/dish
r	bor	6	7	plate/dish
r	bor	7	1	plate/dish
r	dek		13	lid
r	dek	19	3	lid
r	gra		33	cooking pot
r	gra	10	2	cooking pot
r	gra	107	1	cooking pot
r	gra	11	9	cooking pot
r	gra	117	1	cooking pot
r	gra	143	2	cooking pot
r	gra	18	1	cooking pot
r	gra	30	3	cooking pot
r	gra	31	1	cooking pot
r	gra	33	5	cooking pot
r	gra	34	1	cooking pot

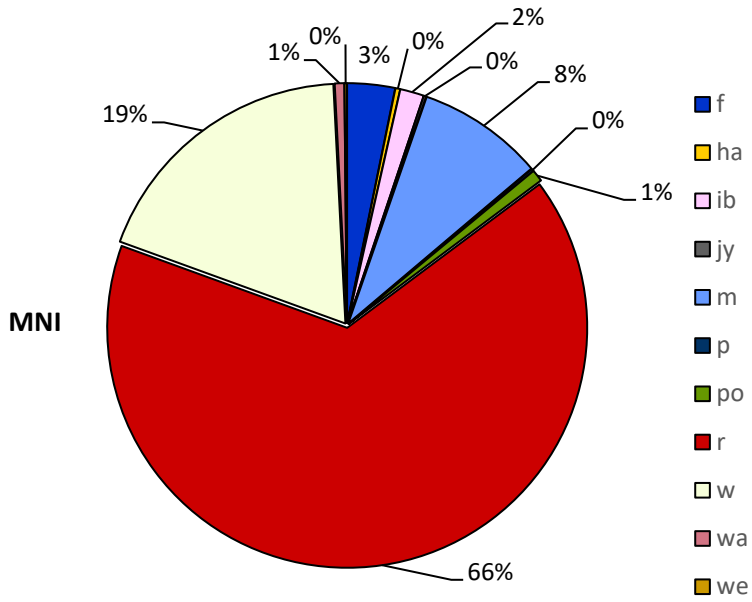
r	gra	35	1	cooking pot
r	gra	38	1	cooking pot
r	gra	41	1	cooking pot
r	gra	52	2	cooking pot
r	gra	54	2	cooking pot
r	gra	7/149b	2	cooking pot
r	gra	70	1	cooking pot
r	gra	91	4	cooking pot
r	kan		9	jug
r	kan	15	1	jug
r	kan	29	1	jug
r	kan	33	1	jug
r	kan	74	1	jug
r	kmf		1	chafing dish
r	kom		8	bowl
r	kom	100	1	bowl
r	kom	25	1	bowl
r	kom	55	1	bowl
r	kom	8	1	bowl
r	kop		25	cup
r	kop	11	21	cup
r	kop	2	6	cup
r	kop	36	1	cup
r	kru		4	jug
r	min		16	miniature
r	oli		2	oil lamp
r	oli	2	1	oil lamp
r	pis		44	chamber pot
r	pis	5	14	chamber pot
r	pot	11	2	pot
r	spa		4	money-box
r	stk		3	skillet
r	stk	11	1	skillet
r	stk	19	1	skillet
r	stk	2	3	skillet
r	stk	5	1	skillet

r	tes		14	brazier
r	tes	4	1	brazier
r	tes	5	3	brazier
r	vfl		1	flask
r	vst		1	bird whistle
r	zal		2	ointment jar
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>409</b>	
<i>whiteware (w)</i>				
w			81	
w	bor		5	plate/dish
w	bor	18	3	plate/dish
w	dek		2	lid
w	dek	8	1	lid
w	gra	10	1	cooking pot
w	gra	13	2	cooking pot
w	kan		3	jug
w	kan	12	2	jug
w	kan	15	2	jug
w	kan	26	1	jug
w	kop	24	2	cup
w	kop	3	5	cup
w	kop	33	1	cup
w	min		4	miniature
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>115</b>	
<i>Werra ware (wa)</i>				
wa	bor	1	3	plate/dish
wa	kom	2	1	bowl
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>4</b>	
<i>Weser ware (we)</i>				
we	bor	1	1	plate/dish
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>1</b>	

<i>Jydepotter ware (jy)</i>			
jy	gra		1 cooking pot
<b>subtotal</b>		<b>1</b>	
<i>majolica (m)</i>			
m	bor		35 plate/dish
m	bor	20	1 plate/dish
m	bor	5	10 plate/dish
m	bor	9	1 plate/dish
m	kom		1 bowl
m	kom	12	1 bowl
m	kom	4	4 bowl
<b>subtotal</b>		<b>53</b>	
<i>faience (f)</i>			
f	bor		4 plate/dish
f	bor	2	1 plate/dish
f	kom		5 bowl
f	kop		1 cup
f	kop	1	1 cup
f	plo		2 lobbed dish
f	plo	2	1 lobbed dish
f	sbe		1 shaving basin
f			4 remaining sherds
<b>subtotal</b>		<b>20</b>	
<i>Portuguese tin-glazed (po)</i>			
po	bor		5 plate/dish
po	kom		1 bowl
<b>subtotal</b>		<b>6</b>	
<i>porcelain (p)</i>			
p	bor		1 plate/dish
<b>subtotal</b>		<b>1</b>	

<i>Hafner ware (ha)</i>			
ha	gra		2 cooking pot
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>2</b>
<i>Iberian wares (ib)</i>			
ib	kom		2 bowl
ib	kop		3 cup
ib	kru	2	1 jug
ib	vfl	2	1 jug
ib			3 flask
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>10</b>

**Cesspit 23. WLO-95: Composition of wares in MNI (MNI=622)**





## Cesspit 24. WLO-98: Deventer System counting list

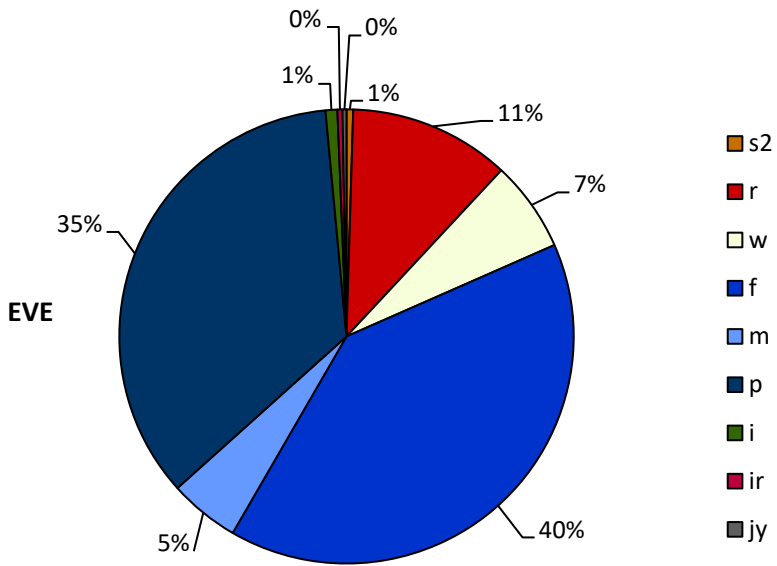
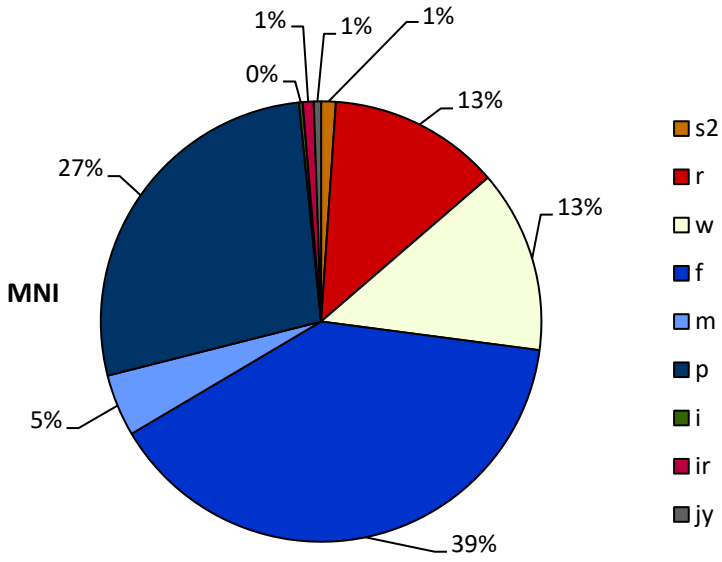
material	shape	type	mni	object
<i>stoneware with glaze or engobe (s2)</i>				
s2	kan		1	jug
s2	pis	3	1	chamber pot
s2	pot		2	pot
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>4</b>	
<i>redware (r)</i>				
r	bor		17	plate/dish/saucer
r	bor	10	3	plate/dish/saucer
r	bor	21	2	plate/dish/saucer
r	gra		15	cooking pot
r	gra	17	2	cooking pot
r	gra	30	2	cooking pot
r	gra	34	1	cooking pot
r	gra	64	2	cooking pot
r	kop	11	1	cup
r	zal	1	3	ointment jar
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>48</b>	
<i>whiteware (w)</i>				
w	bla	3	1	candle holder
w	dek		1	lid
w	dek	12	1	lid
w	dek	5	1	lid
w	gra		1	cooking pot
w	kan		2	jug
w	kan	2	1	jug
w	kom	14	1	bowl

w	kop		1	cup
w	lek		2	drip tray
w	oli	2	1	oil lamp
w	pis		1	chamber pot
w	zal	1	2	ointment jar
w	zal	2	2	ointment jar
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>18</b>	
<i>Werra ware (wa)</i>				
wa	bor	1	1	plate/dish
wa	kom		1	bowl
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>2</b>	
<i>Weser ware (we)</i>				
we	kan		1	jug
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>1</b>	
<i>Jydepotter ware (jy)</i>				
Jy	gra		2	cooking pot
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>2</b>	
<i>majolica (m)</i>				
m	bor		13	plate/dish
m	bor	11	3	plate/dish
m	bor	12	3	plate/dish
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>19</b>	
<i>faience (f)</i>				
f	bor		43	plate/dish/saucer

f	bor	2	3	plate/dish/saucer
f	bor	3	9	plate/dish/saucer
f	bor	4	3	plate/dish/saucer
f	bor	5	1	plate/dish/saucer
f	bor	7	6	plate/dish/saucer
f	bor	8	1	plate/dish/saucer
f	bor	10	2	plate/dish/saucer
f	bor	11	24	plate/dish/saucer
f	bor	15	2	plate/dish/saucer
f	bor	17	1	plate/dish/saucer
f	bor	19	1	plate/dish/saucer
f	kom		8	bowl
f	kom	1	2	bowl
f	kom	3	1	bowl
f	kom	9	2	bowl
f	kom	10	2	bowl
f	kom	new	1	bowl
f	kop		11	cup
f	kop	1	10	cup
f	kop	2	1	cup
f	kop	5	2	cup
f	kop	10	2	cup
f	kop	11	2	cup
f	kop	new	1	cup
f	plo	2	1	lobbed dish
f	sbe	1	2	shaving dish
f	ver		1	colander
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>145</b>	
<i>Italian tin-glazed (i)</i>				
i	bor	1	1	plate/dish
i	bor		2	plate/dish

<b>subtotal</b>			<b>3</b>	
<i>Portuguese tin-glazed (po)</i>				
po	bor	3	1	plate/dish
po	bor	new	1	plate/dish
po	zou	new	1	salt cellar
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>3</b>	
<i>porcelain (p)</i>				
p	bor		16	plate/dish/saucer
p	bor	1	19	plate/dish/saucer
p	bor	5	4	plate/dish/saucer
p	bor	6	4	plate/dish/saucer
p	bor	10	1	plate/dish/saucer
p	bor	11	1	plate/dish/saucer
p	dek		2	lid
p	kom	1	1	bowl
p	kom	8	6	bowl
p	kop		18	cup
p	kop	1	20	cup
p	kop	3	1	cup
p	kop	4	3	cup
p	kop	5	4	cup
p	kop	9	3	cup
p	kop	new	2	cup
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>105</b>	
<i>industrial redware (ir)</i>				
ir	bor	2	1	saucer
ir	kop	1	1	cup
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>2</b>	

**Cesspit 24. WLO-98: Composition of wares in MNI and EVE (MNI=350)**



### Cesspit 29. WLO-114: Deventer System counting list

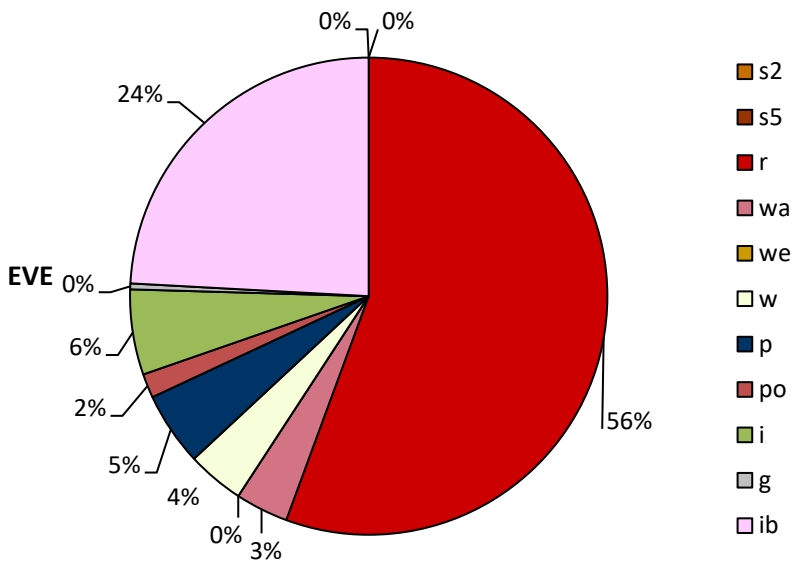
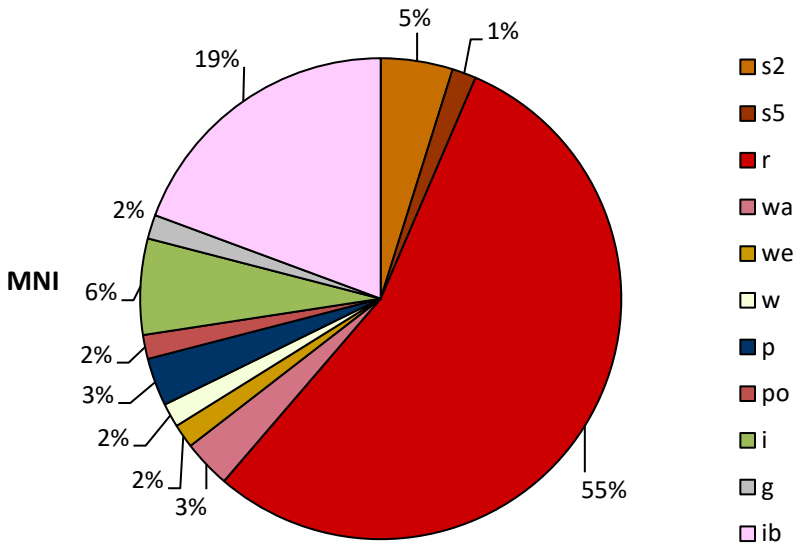
material	shape	type	mni	object
<i>proto-stoneware (s5)</i>				
s5			1	-
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>1</b>	
<i>stoneware with glaze or engobe (s2)</i>				
s2	kan	55	1	jug
s2	kan		1	jug
s2			1	-
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>3</b>	
<i>greyware (g)</i>				
g			1	-
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>1</b>	
<i>redware (r)</i>				
r	bak	4	1	frying pan
r	bak		1	frying pan
r	bor	6	2	dish
r	dek	19	1	lid
r	dek		1	lid
r	gra	8	1	cooking pot
r	gra	10	3	cooking pot
r	gra	33	1	cooking pot
r	gra	65/66	1	cooking pot
r	gra	91	1	cooking pot
r	gra		5	cooking pot
r	kan		1	jug
r	kom		1	bowl
r	kop	1	1	cup

r	kop	2	1	cup
r	kop		1	cup
r	lek		1	colander
r	pis	5	1	chamber pot
r	pis		1	chamber pot
r	stk	2	1	skillet
r	tes		1	brazier
r	tes	5	2	brazier
r	zal	3	1	ointment jar
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>31</b>	
<i>Werra ware (wa)</i>				
wa	bor	1	1	dish
wa	kom		1	bowl
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>2</b>	
<i>Weser ware (we)</i>				
we	Kan		1	jug
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>1</b>	
<i>whiteware (w)</i>				
w	bor	5	1	dish
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>1</b>	
<i>Italian tin-glazed (i)</i>				
i	bor	1	1	plate/dish
i	bor		2	plate/dish
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>3</b>	
<i>Portuguese tin-glazed (po)</i>				
po	bor	3	1	plate/dish

po	bor	new	1	plate/dish
po	zou	new	1	salt cellar
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>3</b>	
<i>porcelain (p)</i>				
p	bor		1	plate/dish
p	kom	1	1	bowl
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>2</b>	
<i>Iberian wares (ib)</i>				
ib	amf	1	1	amphora
ib	kom	2	5	bowl
ib	kom	3	3	cooking pot
ib	kom	new	1	frying pan
ib	kom	new	1	frying pan
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>3</b>	



**Cesspit 29. WLO-114: Composition of wares in MNI and EVE (MNI=51)**



**Cesspit 37. WLO-138/139/140: Deventer System counting list**

<b>material</b>	<b>shape</b>	<b>type</b>	<b>mni</b>	<b>object</b>
<i>stoneware with glaze or engobe (s2)</i>				
s2	kan		1	jug
s2	kan	55	1	jug
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>2</b>	
<i>Hafner ware (ha)</i>				
ha	gra	5	1	cooking pot
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>1</b>	
<i>redware (r)</i>				
r	bak		2	frying pan
r	bor	1	1	plate/dish
r	bor	18	1	plate/dish
r	bor	25	1	plate/dish
r	bor	31	1	plate/dish
r	dek		9	lid
r	dek	13	1	lid
r	dek	16	1	lid
r	dek	19	3	lid
r	gra		20	cooking pot
r	gra	8	2	cooking pot
r	gra	10	1	cooking pot
r	gra	18	4	cooking pot
r	gra	30	1	cooking pot
r	gra	33	6	cooking pot
r	gra	34	1	cooking pot
r	gra	45	1	cooking pot
r	gra	52	2	cooking pot
r	gra	54	1	cooking pot

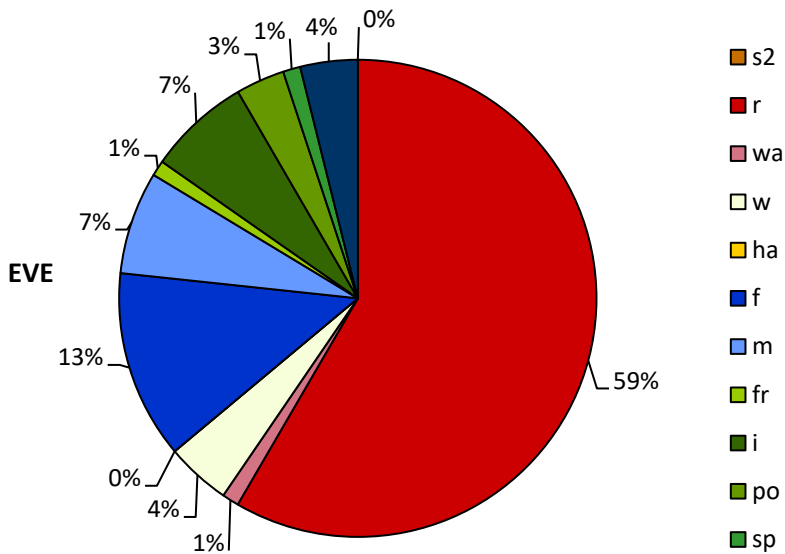
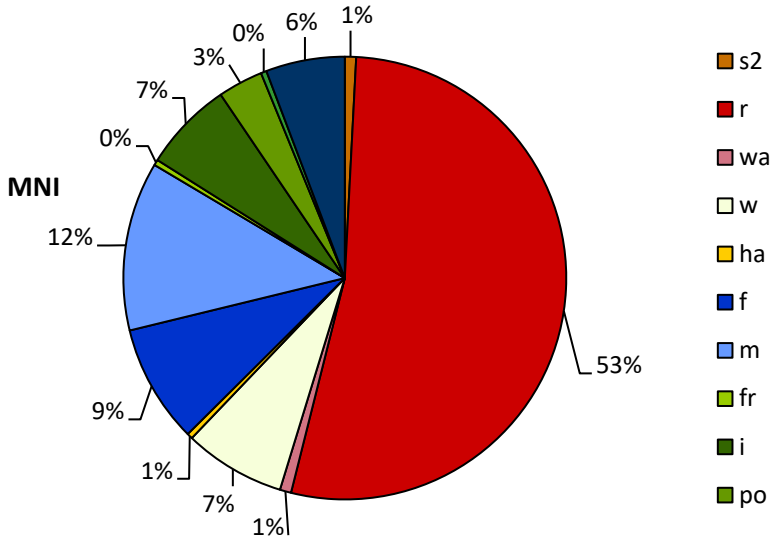
r	gra	58	1	cooking pot
r	gra	91	1	cooking pot
r	kan	33	1	jug
r	kom		1	bowl
r	kom	36	1	bowl
r	kom	88	1	bowl
r	kop		1	cup
r	kop	2	13	cup
r	kop	11	2	Cup
r	lek	2	2	colander
r	min		1	miniature
r	oli		4	oil lamp
r	oli	2	2	oil lamp
r	pis		2	chamber pot
r	pis	5	3	chamber pot
r	stk	2	1	skillet
r	stk	11	2	skillet
r	tes	1	5	brazier
r	tes	4	1	brazier
r	tes	5	4	brazier
r	tes	23	1	brazier
r	ver	1	1	colander
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>110</b>	
<i>whiteware (w)</i>				
w	bee		1	figurine
w	gra		2	cooking pot
w	kan		1	jug
w	kop		2	cup
w	kop	3	1	cup
w	min		1	miniatuer
w	pis		1	chamber pot
w	ver		2	colander
w			12	

<b>subtotal</b>		<b>23</b>	
<i>Werra ware (wa)</i>			
wa	bor	2	1 plate/dish
wa	kop	11	1 Cup
<b>subtotal</b>		<b>2</b>	
<i>majolica (m)</i>			
m	bor		18 plate/dish
m	bor	2	1 plate/dish
m	bor	3	2 plate/dish
m	bor	5	1 plate/dish
m	bor	6	1 plate/dish
m	bor	12	1 plate/dish
m	bor	15	1 plate/dish
m	kom	4	2 bowl
m	zal	1	1 ointment jar
m			2
<b>subtotal</b>		<b>30</b>	
<i>faience (f)</i>			
f	bor		2 plate/dish
f	bor	2	4 plate/dish
f	bor	10	1 plate/dish
f	kom	1	3 bowl
f	kom	1/18	1 bowl
f	kom	3	1 bowl
f	kom	6	1 bowl
f	kom	14	1 bowl
f	kom	14/17	1 bowl
f	kop		1 cup
f	zal	3	1 ointment jar

f			1	
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>18</b>	
<i>French tin-glazed (fr)</i>				
fr	plo	1	1	lobbed dish
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>1</b>	
<i>Italian tin-glazed (i)</i>				
i	bor		6	plate/dish
i	bor	1	1	plate/dish
i	bor	2	4	plate/dish
i	bor	3	1	plate/dish
i	kan	2	1	jug
i	kom	4	1	bowl
i	kom	5	1	bowl
i	plo		1	lobbed dish
i			1	
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>17</b>	
<i>Spanish tin-glazed (sp)</i>				
sp	kom	3	1	bowl
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>1</b>	
<i>Portuguese tin-glazed (po)</i>				
po	bor		1	plate/dish
po	bor	1/3	1	plate/dish
po	bor	3	1	plate/dish
po	kom	1	2	bowl
po	kom	new	1	bowl
po	kom/plo	new	1	bowl
po			2	
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>9</b>	

<i>porcelain (p)</i>				
p	bor		3	saucer
p	bor	1	2	saucer
p	bor	8	2	plate/dish
p	kom	8	1	bowl
p	kom	8	3	bowl
p	kop	8	2	cup
p			2	
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>15</b>	

**Cesspit 37. WLO-138/139/140: Composition of wares in MNI and EVE (MNI=229)**



**Cesspit 48. WLO-185: Deventer System counting list**

<b>material</b>	<b>shape</b>	<b>type</b>	<b>mni</b>	<b>object</b>
<i>stoneware without glaze or engobe (s1)</i>				
s1		-	5	
s1	kru	-	1	jug
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>6</b>	
<i>stoneware with glaze or engobe (s2)</i>				
s2	kan	32	1	jug
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>1</b>	
<i>redware (r)</i>				
r	bak	4	2	frying pan
r	bak	16	1	plate/dish
r	bak	23	1	plate/dish
r	bor		2	plate/dish
r	bor	1	5	plate/dish
r	bor	6	1	plate/dish
r	bor	7	1	plate/dish
r	bor	11	2	plate/dish
r	bor	18	1	plate/dish
r	bor	21	7	plate/dish
r	bor	29	1	plate/dish
r	dek		6	lid
r	dek	4	1	lid
r	dek	7	2	lid
r	dek	8	4	lid
r	dek	19	1	lid
r	dek	24	1	lid
r	dek	26	21	lid



r	dek	37	1	lid
r	fru	4	1	fruit bowl
r	gra		18	cooking pot
r	gra	8	2	cooking pot
r	gra	10	2	cooking pot
r	gra	11	28	cooking pot
r	gra	30	5	cooking pot
r	gra	33	1	cooking pot
r	gra	43	1	cooking pot
r	gra	52	2	cooking pot
r	gra	58	1	cooking pot
r	gra	62	1	cooking pot
r	gra	70	1	cooking pot
r	gra	71	1	cooking pot
r	gra	91	5	cooking pot
r	gra	101	1	cooking pot
r	gra	151	1	cooking pot
r	kan	68	1	jug
r	kan	72	1	jug
r	kan	74	5	jug
r	kom	51	1	bowl
r	kop	1	1	cup
r	kop	2	5	cup
r	kop	4	1	cup
r	kop	11	19	cup
r	kop	51	1	cup
r	lek	10	1	colander
r	oli	2	2	oil lamp
r	pis	5	5	chamber pot
r	pis	12	1	chamber pot
r	pis	48	2	chamber pot
r	spb	3	1	beaker
r	stk	2	5	skillet
r	tes	2	1	brazier

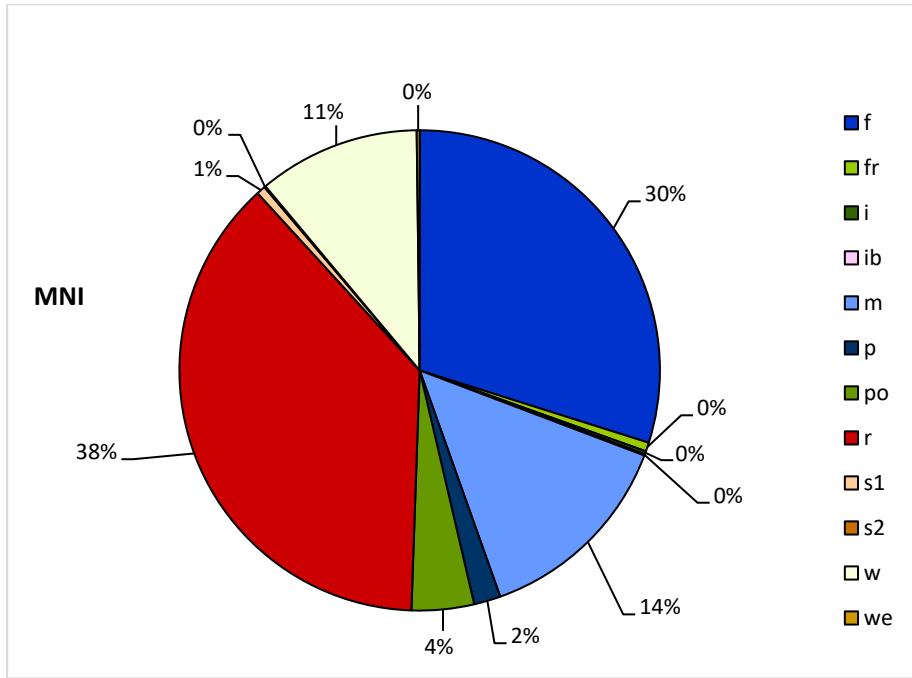
r	tes	3	1	brazier
r	tes	5	1	brazier
r	tes	6	1	brazier
r	tes	7	1	brazier
r	tes	18	2	brazier
r	tes	33	1	brazier
r	ver		4	colander
r	zal	1	1	ointment jar
r			198	
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>395</b>	
<i>whiteware (w)</i>				
w	bor	3	2	plate/dish
w	bor	5	3	plate/dish
w	bor	7	2	plate/dish
w	bor	8	1	plate/dish
w	bor	12	1	plate/dish
w	bor	17	1	plate/dish
w	bor	18	3	plate/dish
w	dek	8	1	lid
w	dek	18	3	lid
w	gra		9	cooking pot
w	gra	7	3	cooking pot
w	gra	8	1	cooking pot
w	gra	9	1	cooking pot
w	gra	10	1	cooking pot
w	gra	11	1	cooking pot
w	gra	13	1	cooking pot
w	gra	15	4	cooking pot
w	gra	19	3	cooking pot
w	gra	20	1	cooking pot
w	gra	28	1	cooking pot
w	gra	31	1	cooking pot
w	gra	32	2	cooking pot

w	gra	35	1	cooking pot
w	gra	37	2	cooking pot
w	gra	44	3	cooking pot
w	gra	48	1	cooking pot
w	gra	57	2	cooking pot
w	kan	15	1	jug
w	kdl	1	1	candle holder
w	kom	16	2	bowl
w	kop	3	2	cup
w	kop	30	1	cup
w	kop	31	1	cup
w	ond	2	2	chamber pot
w	pis	2	3	chamber pot
w	pis	8	1	chamber pot
w	stk	5	1	skillet
w	zal	2	2	ointment jar
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>72</b>	
<i>majolica (m)</i>				
m	bor		101	plate/dish
m	bor	1	2	plate/dish
m	bor	3	22	plate/dish
m	bor	5	7	plate/dish
m	bor	6	1	plate/dish
m	bor	7	2	plate/dish
m	zal	1	1	ointment jar
m	zal	2	1	ointment jar
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>137</b>	
<i>faience (f)</i>				
f	bor		120	cup/bowl
f	bor	1	59	plate/dish
f	bor	2	13	plate/dish

f	bor	8	5	plate/dish
f	bor	10	5	plate/dish
f	bor	11	31	plate/dish
f	bor	19	5	plate/dish
f	kan		1	jug
f	kom		31	bowl
f	kom	1	11	bowl
f	kom	2	3	bowl
f	kom	3	1	bowl
f	kom	10	1	bowl
f	kom	13	1	bowl
f	kom	18	2	bowl
f	kop		4	cup
f	kop	1	2	cup
f	kop	2	1	cup
f	kop	8	4	cup
f	zal	3	1	ointment jar
f			9	
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>310</b>	
<i>French tin-glazed (fr)</i>				
fr	mos	1	1	mustard pot
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>1</b>	
<i>Italian tin-glazed (i)</i>				
i	bor	3	1	plate/dish
i	bor	6	1	plate/dish
i			2	
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>4</b>	
<i>Portuguese tin-glazed (po)</i>				
po	bor		5	plate/dish

po	bor	3	14	plate/dish
po	bor	4	1	plate/dish
po	kom		4	bowl
po	kom	1	1	bowl
po	kom	2	2	bowl
po	kom	4	1	bowl
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>28</b>	
<i>porcelain (p)</i>				
p	bor		3	saucer/ plate/dish
p	bor	4	3	saucer/ plate/dish
p	bor	5	3	saucer/ plate/dish
p	bor	14	1	saucer/ plate/dish
p	kom		1	bowl
p	kom	3	1	bowl
p	kop	1	1	cup
p	kop	2	2	cup
p	kop	9	1	cup
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>16</b>	

Cesspit 48. WLO-185: Composition of wares in MNI (MNI=970)



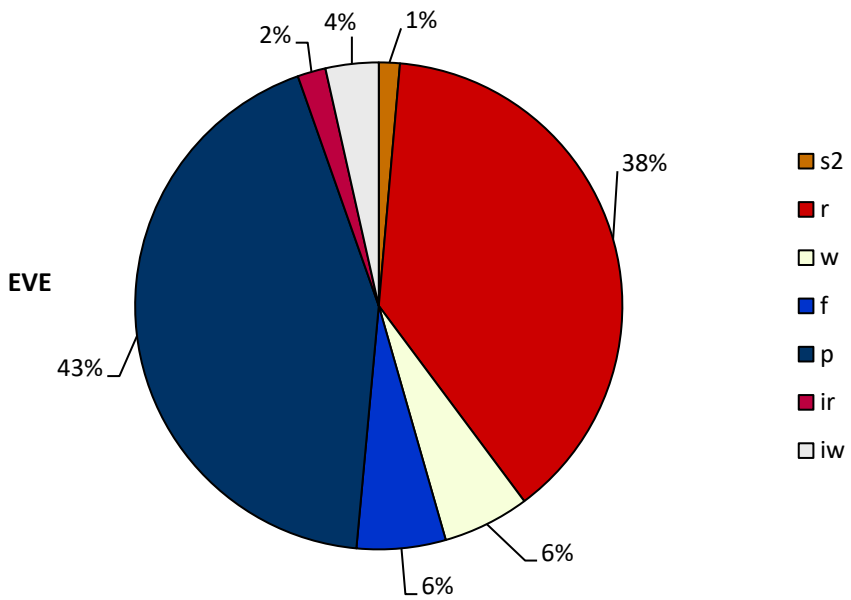
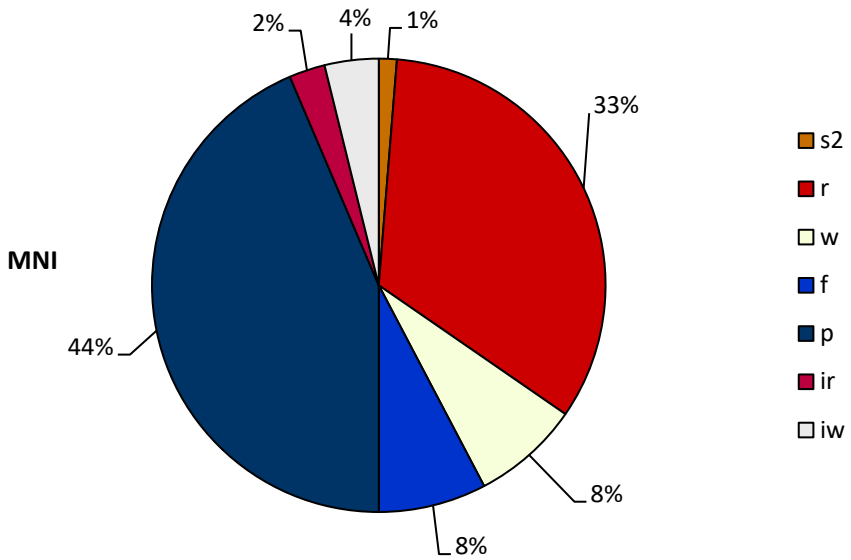
**Cesspit 62. WLO-235: Deventer System counting list**

<b>material</b>	<b>shape</b>	<b>type</b>	<b>mni</b>	<b>object</b>
<i>stoneware with glaze or engobe (s2)</i>				
s2	fle		1	bottle
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>1</b>	
<i>redware (r)</i>				
r	bak	6	1	frying pan
r	bor		2	dish
r	bor	3	7	dish
r	bor	4	2	dish
r	bor	7	1	dish
r	bor	10	1	dish
r	dek		1	lid
r	gra		2	cooking pot
r	gra	49	1	cooking pot
r	kan	27	1	jug
r	kop		1	cup
r	pis		1	chamber pot
r	pis	36	1	chamber pot
r	tes	1	3	brazier
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>25</b>	
<i>whiteware (w)</i>				
w			1	
w	bor	17	1	plate/dish
w	pis		2	dish
w	bor	5	1	dish
w	bor	5	1	dish
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>1</b>	

<i>faience (f)</i>				
f			1	
f	bor	8	1	plate/dish
f	kop	1	2	plate/dish
f	kwi	New	1	spittoon
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>5</b>	
<i>porcelain (p)</i>				
p			1	
p	bor		4	saucer/plate/dish
p	bor	1	7	saucer/plate/dish
p	bor	5	2	saucer/plate/dish
p	bor	6	1	saucer/plate/dish
p	bor	18	1	saucer/plate/dish
p	kom		2	bowl
p	kom	8	4	bowl
p	kop		1	cup
p	kop	1	9	cup
p	kop	6	1	cup
p	kop	19	1	cup
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>34</b>	
<i>Industrial redware (ir)</i>				
ir		1	1	
ir	lid	1	1	lid of tea pot
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>2</b>	
<i>industrial whiteware (iw)</i>				
ir	kop	1	2	cup (mocha ware)
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>2</b>	



**Cesspit 62. WLO-235: Composition of wares in MNI and EVE (MNI=70)**



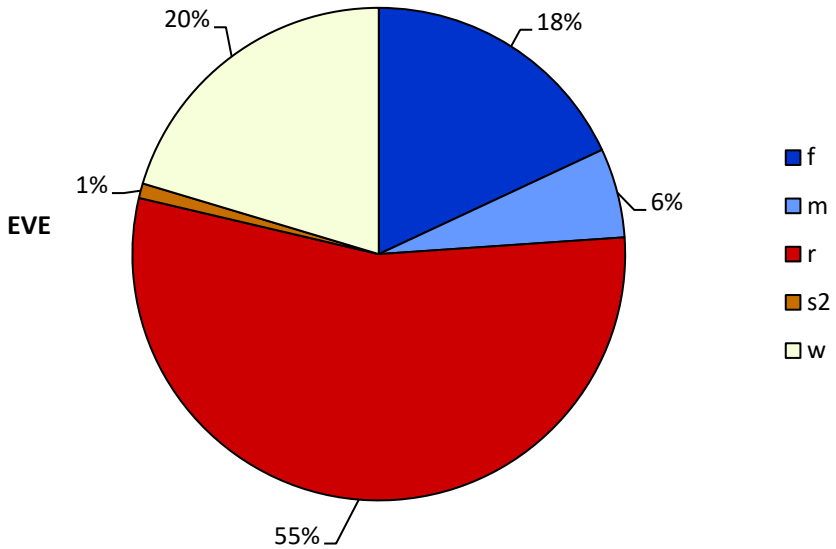
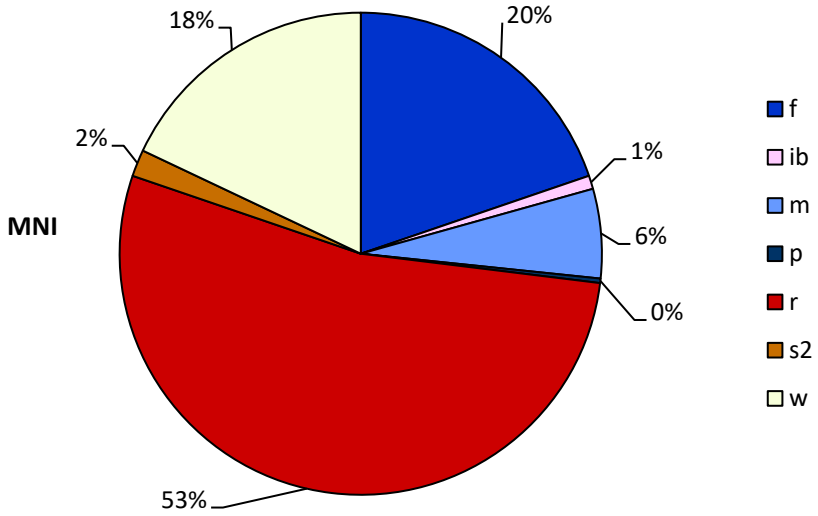
**Cesspit 63. WLO-237: Deventer System counting list**

material	shape	type	mni	object
<i>stoneware with glaze or engobe (s2)</i>				
s2			3	
s2	kan		3	jug
s2	zal		1	ointment jar
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>7</b>	
<i>redware (r)</i>				
r			16	
r	bak		6	frying pan
r	bak	5	1	frying pan
r	bak	6	4	frying pan
r	bor		4	plate/dish
r	bor	3	1	plate/dish
r	bor	4	4	plate/dish
r	bor	9	1	plate/dish
r	bor	11	1	plate/dish
r	bor	18	2	plate/dish
r	bor	32	1	plate/dish
r	dek		5	lid
r	dek	19	1	lid
r	gra		27	cooking pot
r	gra	11	19	cooking pot
r	gra	30	2	cooking pot
r	gra	91	5	cooking pot
r	kan	74	1	jug
r	kom		1	bowl
r	kop		17	cup
r	kop	2	4	cup
r	pis		9	chamber pot
r	pis	5	11	chamber pot

r	pot		1	pot
r	pot	71	2	pot
r	stk		2	skillet
r	stk	2	2	skillet
r	tes		6	brazier
r	tes	1	9	brazier
r	tes	4	2	brazier
r	tes	18	2	brazier
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>169</b>	
<i>whiteware (w)</i>				
w			9	
w	bor	12	2	plate/dish
w	dek		1	lid
w	dek	10	1	lid
w	gra		10	cooking pot
w	gra	10	2	cooking pot
w	gra	31	3	cooking pot
w	gra	37	3	cooking pot
w	kom		1	bowl
w	kom	15	2	bowl
w	kom	17	1	bowl
w	kop		4	cup
w	kop	14	1	cup
w	ond		1	chamber pot
w	pis		1	chamber pot
w	pis	2	1	chamber pot
w	pis	4	1	chamber pot
w	ver		1	colander
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>45</b>	
<i>majolica (m)</i>				
m			6	

m	bor		12	plate/dish
m	bor	1	2	plate/dish
m	bor	6	2	plate/dish
m	kom		2	bowl
m	kom	2	2	bowl
m	kom	3	1	bowl
m	kom	4	1	bowl
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>28</b>	
<i>faience (f)</i>				
f			2	
f	bor		23	plate/dish
f	bor	1	12	plate/dish
f	bor	2	3	plate/dish
f	bor	10	2	plate/dish
f	bor	11	4	plate/dish
f	kom		3	bowl
f	kom	1	2	bowl
f	kom	10	1	bowl
f	kop		7	cup
f	kop	1	7	cup
f	kop	10	4	cup
f	plo	3	1	lobbed dish
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>71</b>	
<i>porcelain (p)</i>				
p			1	
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>1</b>	
<i>Iberian wares (ib)</i>				
ib	amf	1	1	amphora
ib	pot		2	pot
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>3</b>	

**Cesspit 63. WLO-237: Composition of wares in MNI and EVE (MNI=324)**



### Cesspit 71. WLO-250/251: Deventer System counting list

material	shape	type	mni	object
<i>stoneware with glaze or engobe (s2)</i>				
s2			8	
s2	fle	5	1	bottle
s2	kan		8	jug
s2	kan	5	1	jug
s2	kan	58	1	jug
s2	pis	2	2	chamber pot
s2	pot	7	1	pot
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>22</b>	
<i>stoneware industrial (s3)</i>				
s3	kop	1	2	cup
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>2</b>	
<i>redware (r)</i>				
r			167	
r	bak		16	frying pan
r	bak	4	2	frying pan
r	bak	5	1	frying pan
r	bak	12	2	frying pan
r	bak	13	1	frying pan
r	bak	new ?	1	frying pan
r	bek		1	beaker
r	blo		3	flower pot
r	blo	3	1	flower pot
r	bor		27	plate/dish
r	bor	4	1	plate/dish
r	bor	6	4	plate/dish
r	bor	7	7	plate/dish

r	bor	10	26	plate/dish
r	bor	11	1	plate/dish
r	bor	17	3	plate/dish
r	bor	21	2	plate/dish
r	bor	38	14	plate/dish
r	bor	43	1	plate/dish
r	bor	44	1	plate/dish
r	bor	47	1	plate/dish
r	bor	65	1	plate/dish
r	dek		4	lid
r	dek	7	4	lid
r	dek	31	2	lid
r	gra		84	cooking pot
r	gra	8	5	cooking pot
r	gra	30	3	cooking pot
r	gra	33	3	cooking pot
r	gra	34	5	cooking pot
r	gra	45	1	cooking pot
r	gra	46	1	cooking pot
r	gra	49	1	cooking pot
r	gra	53	1	cooking pot
r	gra	98	1	cooking pot
r	gra/kan	new	1	pot/jug
r	kan		7	jug
r	kan	2	2	jug
r	kan	12	2	jug
r	kan	25	1	jug
r	kom		27	bowl
r	kom	1	1	bowl
r	kom	30	2	bowl
r	kop		19	cup
r	kop	2	3	cup
r	kop	4	1	cup
r	kop	11	2	cup

r	lek	3	1	colander
r	lek	7/8	1	colander
r	lek	8	1	colander
r	lek	10	1	colander
r	min		8	miniature shapes
r	oli		2	oil lamp
r	pis		27	chamber pot
r	pis	5	2	chamber pot
r	pis	34	1	chamber pot
r	pis	35	3	chamber pot
r	pot	4	1	pot
r	pot	66	1	pot
r	pot	88	1	pot
r	pot	88b	1	pot
r	pot	91	1	pot
r	spa		1	money-box
r	stk		1	skillet
r	stk	2	1	skillet
r	stk	3	7	skillet
r	stk	14	1	skillet
r	suk		1	sugar mold
r	tes		16	brazier
r	tes	1	7	brazier
r	tes	2	2	brazier
r	tes	5	2	brazier
r	vet		1	fat pan / drip tray
r	vog		1	whistle (bird shaped)
r	zal	1	1	ointment jar
r	zal	3	2	ointment jar
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>563</b>	
<i>whiteware (w)</i>				
w			28	
w	bak	5	2	frying pan



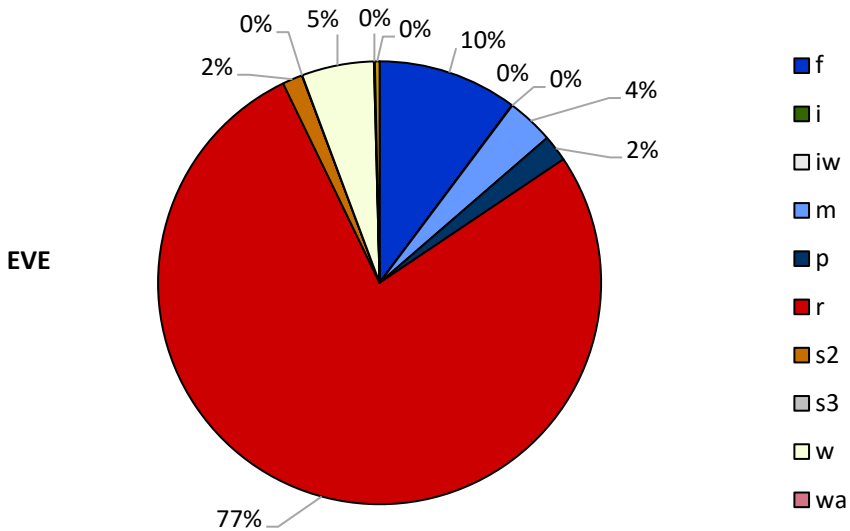
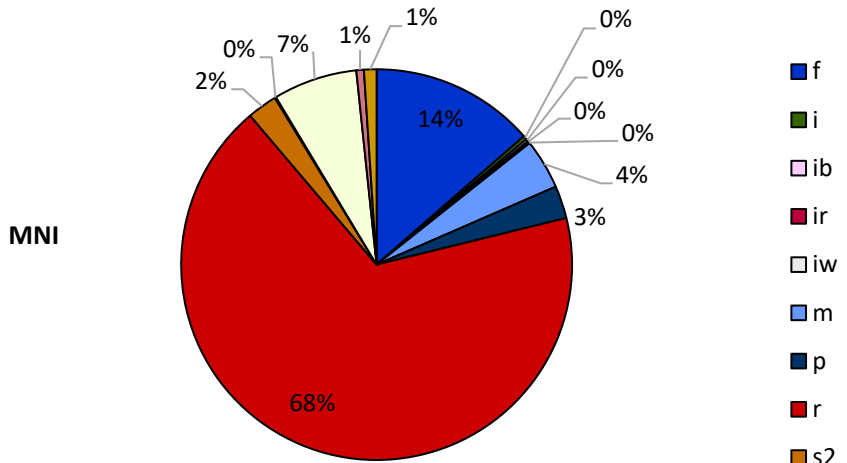
w	bla	12	3	candle holder
w	bor		1	plate/dish
w	bor	5	1	plate/dish
w	bor	18	1	plate/dish
w	dek	14	1	lid
w	gra		9	cooking pot
w	gra	6	1	cooking pot
w	gra	7	2	cooking pot
w	gra	12	2	cooking pot
w	gra	23	2	cooking pot
w	gra	36	1	cooking pot
w	gra	42	2	cooking pot
w	gra	43	1	cooking pot
w	kan		1	jug
w	kan	2	2	jug
w	kdl	1	1	candle holder
w	kom		5	bowl
w	kom	8	2	bowl
w	kom	30	2	bowl
w	kop		2	cup
w	kop	30	2	cup
w	min		1	miniature shape
w	oli		1	oil lamp
w	oli	2	2	oil lamp
w	ond		1	chamber pot
w	pot		1	pot
w	pot	16	2	pot
w	ver		1	colander
w	ver	1	2	colander
w	ver	2	2	colander
w	vlo		1	candle stick
w	vst		1	fire-cover
w	zal	1	1	ointment jar
w	zal	1	2	ointment jar

<b>subtotal</b>		<b>92</b>	
<i>Werra ware (wa)</i>			
wa	bor	1	1 plate/dish
<b>subtotal</b>		<b>1</b>	
<i>Weser ware (we)</i>			
we			3 plate/dish
we	bor		5 plate/dish
we	kan		1 jug
we	pot		1 pot
<b>subtotal</b>		<b>10</b>	
<i>Iberian wares (ib)</i>			
lb	Pot		2 pot
<b>subtotal</b>		<b>2</b>	
<i>majolica (m)</i>			
m			1
m	bor		19 plate/dish
m	bor	5	2 plate/dish
m	bor	7	1 plate/dish
m	bor	11	17 plate/dish
m	bor	13	4 plate/dish
m	bor	22	2 plate/dish
m	kom		6 bowl
m	kom	3	1 bowl
m	kom	6	2 bowl
<b>subtotal</b>		<b>55</b>	
<i>faience (f)</i>			

f			6	
f	bor		39	plate/dish
f	bor	2	9	plate/dish
f	bor	3	3	plate/dish
f	bor	4	7	plate/dish
f	bor	6	1	plate/dish
f	bor	8	7	plate/dish
f	bor	10	2	plate/dish
f	bor	11	8	plate/dish
f	bor	12	1	plate/dish
f	bor	17	2	plate/dish
f	dek	3	1	lid
f	kan	4	1	jug
f	kom		13	bowl
f	kom	1	3	bowl
f	kom	13	1	bowl
f	kom	14	1	bowl
f	kop		6	cup
f	kop	1	13	cup
f	kop	2	3	cup
f	kop	12	1	cup
f	sbe		1	barber's bowl
f	the	1	2	lobbed dish
f	zou	new	1	lobbed dish
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>132</b>	
<i>Italian tin-glazed (i)</i>				
i	bor	3/6	1	plate/dish
i	bor	6	2	plate/dish
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>3</b>	
<i>porcelain (p)</i>				
p			3	
p	bor		7	plate/dish/saucer

p	bor	1	12	saucer
p	bor	9	1	saucer
p	kop		1	cup
p	Kop	1	4	cup
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>28</b>	
<i>Industrial redware (ir)</i>				
ir			1	fragment
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>1</b>	
<i>industrial whiteware (iw)</i>				
iw			1	fragment
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>1</b>	

**Cesspit 71. WLO-250/251: Composition of wares in MNI and EVE (MNI= 1019)**



## Cesspit 82. WLO-283: Deventer System counting list

material	shape	type	mni	object
<i>stoneware with glaze or engobe (s2)</i>				
s2	kan		4	jug
s2	zal		1	ointment jar
s2	zal	4	1	ointment jar
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>6</b>	
<i>greyware (g)</i>				
g			1	
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>1</b>	
<i>redware (r)</i>				
r			78	
r	bak		1	frying pan
r	bak	4	1	frying pan
r	bak	23	1	frying pan
r	bak	48/4	1	frying pan
r	bor		2	plate/dish
r	dek		1	lid
r	dek	8/9	1	lid
r	gra		39	cooking pot
r	gra	11	1	cooking pot
r	gra	18	1	cooking pot
r	gra	22	1	cooking pot
r	gra	30	2	cooking pot
r	gra	33	2	cooking pot
r	gra	43	1	cooking pot
r	gra	54	1	cooking pot
r	gra	59	2	cooking pot
r	gra	64	1	cooking pot

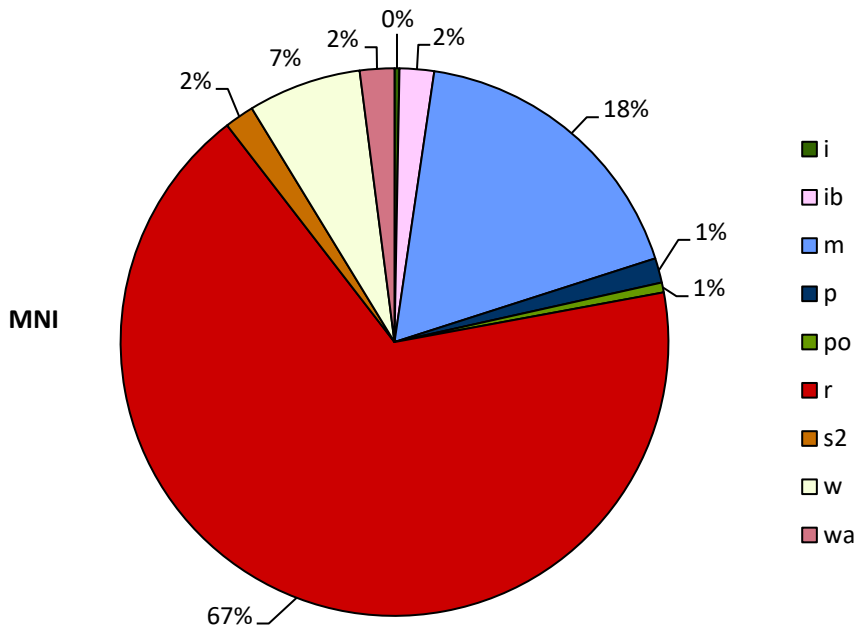
r	gra	71	1	cooking pot
r	gra	91	1	cooking pot
r	gra	151	1	cooking pot
r	kan	33	2	jug
r	kom		1	bowl
r	kom	42	1	bowl
r	kop		5	cup
r	kop	2	4	cup
r	kop	11	1	cup
r	kop	11	2	cup
r	lek/ver		1	colander
r	lek	10	1	colander
r	min		1	miniature shapes
r	oli		1	oil lamp
r	pis		2	chamber pot
r	pis	5	2	chamber pot
r	pot	94	1	pot
r	tes		8	brazier
r	tes	1	1	brazier
r	tes	2	1	brazier
r	tes	4	3	brazier
r	vst	3/6	3	fire-cover
r	zal		3	ointment jar
r	zal	1	3	ointment jar
r	zal	3	4	ointment jar
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>191</b>	
<i>whiteware (w)</i>				
w			9	
w	gra		2	cooking pot
w	gra	10	1	cooking pot
w	gra	37	1	cooking pot
w	kan		1	jug
w	kop		1	cup

w	kop	49	1	cup
w	pis		1	chamber pot
w	pis	2	1	chamber pot
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>18</b>	
<i>Werra ware (wa)</i>				
wa			2	plate/dish
wa	bor		2	plate/dish
wa	kom	1	2	plate/dish
wa	kom	2	1	plate/dish
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>7</b>	
<i>Iberian wares (ib)</i>				
l			4	cup/pot
i	bak	new	3	frying pan
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>7</b>	
<i>majolica (m)</i>				
m	bor		24	plate/dish
m	bor	5	7	plate/dish
m	bor	5/7	1	plate/dish
m	bor	7	1	plate/dish
m	bor	14	2	plate/dish
m	bor	20	1	plate/dish
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>36</b>	
<i>faience (f)</i>				
f			2	plate/dish
f	bor		1	cup
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>3</b>	



<i>Italian tin-glazed (i)</i>				
i	bor	1	1	plate/dish
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>1</b>	
<i>Portuguese tin-glazed (po)</i>				
po	bor		1	plate/dish
po	bor	1	1	plate/dish
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>2</b>	
<i>porcelain (p)</i>				
p			1	
p	bor		2	plate/dish/saucer
p	bor	4	1	plate/dish
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>4</b>	

Cesspit 82. WLO-283: Composition of wares in MNI (MNI= 276)



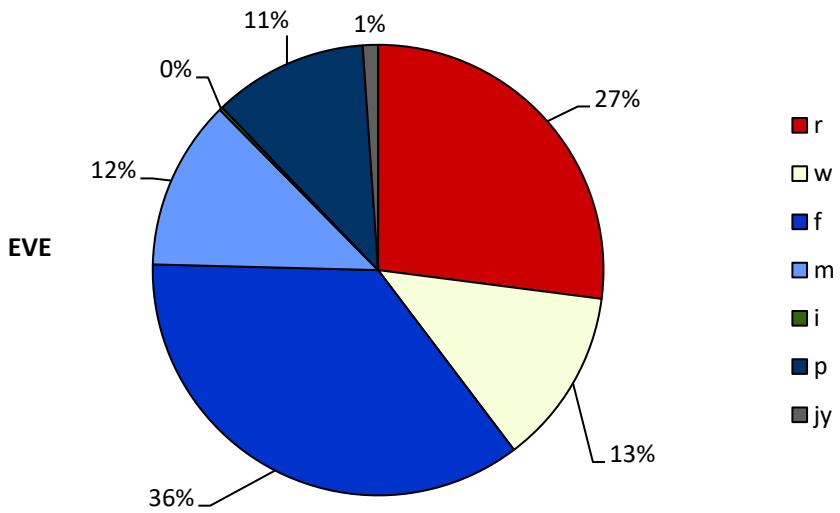
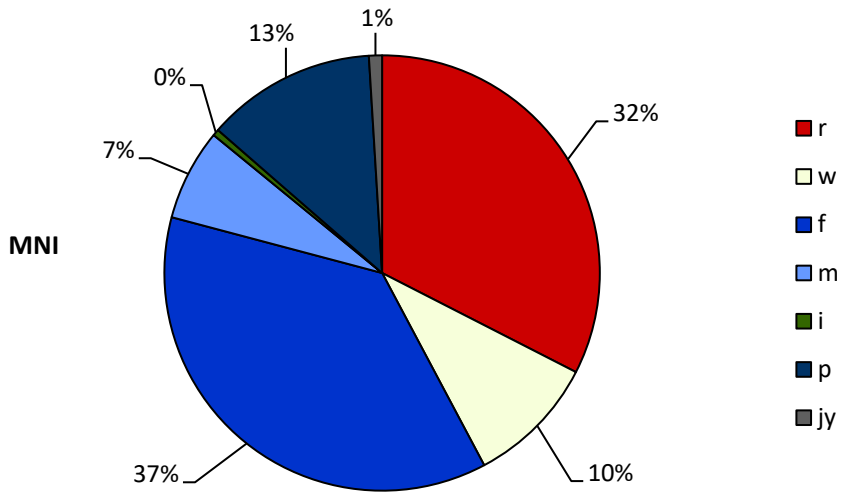
**Cesspit 90. WLO-301: Deventer System counting list**

<b>material</b>	<b>shape</b>	<b>type</b>	<b>mni</b>	<b>object</b>
<i>redware (r)</i>				
r	bak		2	frying pan
r	bak	12	1	frying pan
r	bor		3	plate/dish
r	bor	3	1	plate/dish
r	bor	7	6	plate/dish
r	bor	10	10	plate/dish
r	bor	43	1	plate/dish
r	dek		6	lid
r	gra		7	cooking pot
r	gra	58	1	cooking pot
r	gra	129	1	cooking pot
r	kom		1	bowl
r	kom	4	1	bowl
r	kop		1	cup
r	lek		1	colander
r	min		2	miniature
r	pis		1	chamber pot
r	pis	5	4	chamber pot
r	tes		2	brazier
r	tes	1	2	brazier
r	tes	2	3	brazier
r			12	
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>69</b>	
<i>whiteware (r)</i>				
w	kom	17	2	bowl
w	kom	29/30	10	bowl
w	kom	30	1	bowl
w	kop	new	2	cup

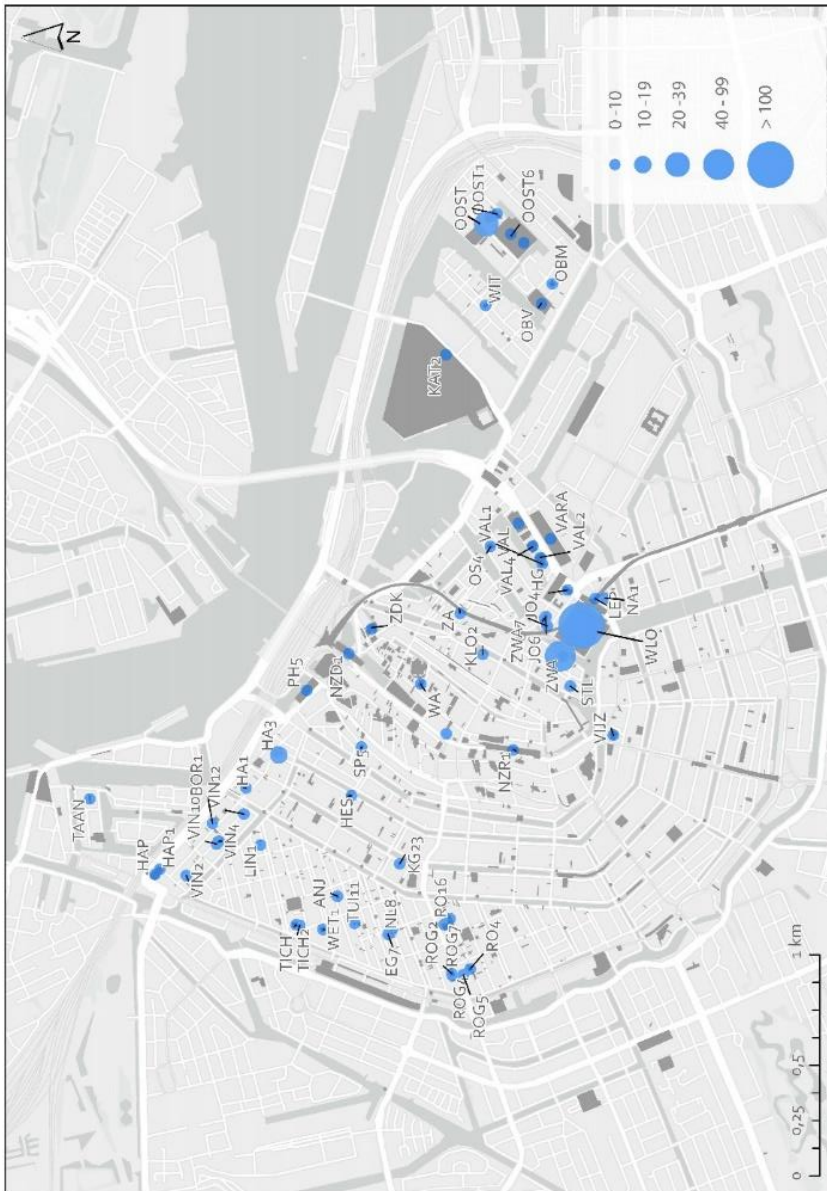
w	pis	4	1	chamber pot
w	zal		1	ointment jar
w	zal	1	1	ointment jar
w			6	
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>24</b>	
<i>Jydepotter ware (jy)</i>				
jy	gra		1	cooking pot
jy	gra	1	1	cooking pot
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>2</b>	
<i>majolica (m)</i>				
m	bor		6	plate/dish
m	bor	3	1	plate/dish
m	bor	11	10	plate/dish
<b>subtotal</b>			<b>17</b>	
<i>faience (f)</i>				
f	bor		11	plate/dish
f	bor	3	6	plate/dish
f	bor	5	1	plate/dish
f	bor	7	1	plate/dish
f	bor	8	5	saucer
f	bor	11	8	plate/dish
f	kom		7	bowl
f	kom	1	1	bowl
f	kom	3	1	bowl
f	kom	10	1	bowl
f	kop		18	cup
f	kop	2	6	cup
f	kop	10	6	cup
f			10	

<b>subtotal</b>		<b>82</b>	
<i>Italian tin-glazed (i)</i>			
i	kop		1 cup
<b>subtotal</b>		<b>1</b>	
<i>porcelain (p)</i>			
p	bee		1 figurine
p	bor		6 saucer
p	bor	1	3 saucer
p	bor	4	1 saucer
p	bor	5	1 saucer
p	bor	9	1 saucer
p	kom	3	1 bowl
p	kom	8	1 bowl
p	kop		3 cup
p	kop	1	3 cup
p	kop	4	2 cup
p	kop	5	1 cup
p	kop	9	1 cup
p			3
<b>subtotal</b>		<b>28</b>	

Cesspit 90. WLO-301: Composition of wares in MNI and EVE (N= 223)



**Appendix 2. City map of Amsterdam indicating the find locations of Portuguese faience.**



Source: Monuments and Archaeology, City of Amsterdam & Esri Community Maps Contributors, with a special thanks to T. Terhorst for the GIS work.

**Appendix 3. Hometowns of Dutch skippers departing from Portuguese harbours between 1568 and 1700<sup>493</sup>**

Skippers hometown	Mentions between: 1568-1633	Mentions between: 1634-1700	Mentions between: 1568-1700
Aartswoud	6	6	12
Abbekerk	8	1	9
Akersloot	41	22	63
Alkmaar	13	0	13
Ameland	9	6	15
Amsterdam	121	144	265
Assendelft	12	0	12
Avenhorn	2	0	2
Axwijk (gem. Edam- Volendam)	0	26	26
Beets	58	11	69
Binnenwijzend	2	0	2
Blokker	5	0	5
Bolsward	5	2	7
Bovenkarspel	0	1	1
Brielle	1	0	1
Broek in Waterland	24	10	34
Buiksloot	9	7	16
De Hoef	0	1	1
De Rijp	41	13	54
Delfshaven	20	2	22

<sup>493</sup> This table is based on data from the Sound Toll Register online databases - database 1 (years before 1634) and database 2 (years after 1633) – using the advanced search menu listing the records of Dutch skippers departing from Portuguese ports: <http://dietrich.soundtoll.nl/public/> consulted on December 6<sup>th</sup> 2019.



Delft	28	1	29
Den Helder	0	2	2
Den Hoorn (Texel)	1	0	1
Dordrecht	0	1	1
Durgerdam	10	6	16
Edam	154	38	192
Egmond-Binnen	0	3	3
Enkhuizen	253	65	318
Etersheim	1	1	2
Gouda	2	1	3
Graft	13	5	18
Grootebroek	65	3	68
Haarlem	7	0	7
Harlingen	26	33	59
Hauwert	0	6	6
Hem	14	13	27
Hensbroek	0	1	1
Hindeloopen	13	29	42
Hobrede	0	4	4
Holysloot	2	0	2
Hoogkarspel	0	1	1
Hoogwoud	18	3	21
Hoorn	492	416	908
Huisduinen	16	13	29
IJpendam	6	2	8
Jisp	5	0	5
Kampen	6	0	6
Katwijk aan Zee	3	0	3
Koppershorn	0	2	2
Koudum	6	8	14
Krommeniedijk	7	3	10
Kuinre	1	0	1
Kwadjik	2	2	4
Lambertschaag	0	2	2

Landsmeer	15	11	26
Lemmer	1	0	1
Marken	1	0	1
Medemblik	228	72	300
Middelburg	2	3	5
Middelie	7	19	26
Molkwerum	56	21	77
Monickendam	64	5	69
Nieuwe Niedorp	9	0	9
Nieuwendam	3	2	5
Noordwijk	1	0	1
Oost-Graftdijk	0	1	1
Oosterblokker	4	4	8
Oosterleek	13	9	22
Oosthuizen	52	9	61
Oostwoud	0	1	1
Oostzaan	13	21	34
Opmeer	6	3	9
Opperdoes	3	11	14
Oudendijk	6	1	7
Petten	1	0	1
Purmerend	21	0	21
Purmerland	0	14	14
Ransdorp	103	7	110
Rotterdam	47	33	80
Schagen	0	2	2
Schardam	2	3	5
Schellingwoude	36	1	37
Schellinkhout	34	21	55
Schermerhorn	10	10	20
Schiedam	64	45	109
Sijbekarspel	1	4	5
Sloterdijk	2	0	2
Spanbroek	4	1	5

Stavoren	217	20	<b>237</b>
Stierop	1	0	<b>1</b>
Terschelling	76	78	<b>154</b>
Texel	3	11	<b>14</b>
Twisk	9	7	<b>16</b>
Uitgeest	6	2	<b>8</b>
Veere	0	1	<b>1</b>
Venhuizen	55	70	<b>125</b>
Vlieland	32	64	<b>96</b>
Vlissingen	2	5	<b>7</b>
Warder	2	2	<b>4</b>
Warns	20	8	<b>28</b>
Watergang	1	0	<b>1</b>
Waterland	0	1	<b>1</b>
Westerblokker	5	0	<b>5</b>
Westkapelle	1	0	<b>1</b>
Westwoud	3	0	<b>3</b>
Westzaan	10	2	<b>12</b>
Wieringen	4	0	<b>4</b>
Wijdenes	6	0	<b>6</b>
Winkel	19	8	<b>27</b>
Woerden	0	1	<b>1</b>
Workum	7	9	<b>16</b>
Wormer	5	0	<b>5</b>
Zaandam	52	23	<b>75</b>
Zaanstad (Krommenie)	0	1	<b>1</b>
Zuiderwoude	19	6	<b>25</b>
Zunderdorp	21	2	<b>23</b>
Zwaag/Zwaagdijk	0	2	<b>2</b>
Zwartewaal	1	0	<b>1</b>
Zwolle	2	0	<b>2</b>

**Appendix 4. Finds of Portuguese faience in the Netherlands per province.<sup>494</sup>**

Place	Site	Find	MNI	Date	Reference
<i>Province of Noord Holland</i>					
Alkmaar	Wortelsteeg	potential Portuguese fragment	1	1625-1650	Bartels 2003 / Ostkamp et.al. 1998.
Amsterdam	ANJ	plate and bowls	3	-	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	AVW	plate	1	1650-1675	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	BOR1	plate	1	1620-1630	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	DUR	dish	2	1646-1700	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	EG7	bowl	2	-	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	HA1 / HA3	plates and dishes	11	1600-1650	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	HAP / HAP1	plates and fragments	5	1600-1675	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	HES	plates	3	1625-1650	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam

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<sup>494</sup> State of affairs, as far as known in December 2020. For references see most right column

Amsterdam	HG	plate and fragments	2	-	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	JO4 / JO6	bowls, plates and fragments	12	1600-1625	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	KAT	jug and plate fragments	2	-	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	KG9 / KG22 / KG23	2 jugs and 5 plates	7	1590-1630	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	KLO2	(small) jugs	3	1610-1620	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	LEP	2 plates and 1 bowl	3	1600-1625	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	LIN1	plate	1	1600-1625	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	NA1	bowl/container	1	-	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	NAS1	jug	1	1625-1650	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	NL8	plate	1	1615-1625	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	OBM	plate and fragments	2	-	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	OBV	pot with lid, plates, jug and bowl	6	1625-1675 (1630-1660)	Gawronski, J., R. Jayasena, T. Terhorst, 2017

Amsterdam	OOST / OOST1 / OOST6	plates, bowls, a jug and fragments	29	1600-1650	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	OS4	plates and bowls	4	1600-1650	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	OVD	plate	1	-	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	PH5	plate	1	1625-1650	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	RO4 / RO16	bowls, plate and a jug	4	-	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	ROG2 / ROG4 / ROG5 / ROG7	bowls and plates	5	-	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	SIN7 / SIN19	plates	2	1615-1650	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	SP5	plate	1	1625-1650	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	STL	bowl	1	-	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	TAAN	plates	5	1625-1650	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	TICH / TICH2	tazza, plate and fragments	9	1600-1675	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	TUI11	bottle	1	1625-1650	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam

Amsterdam	VAL / VAL1 / VAL2 / VAL4	plates, bowls, jug and salt dish	14	1600-1800	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	VARA	plates /dishes	4	-	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	VIJZ	plate	1	1600-1625	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	VIN2 / VIN4 / VIN10 / VIN12	plates, dish bowl, container and jugs	10	-	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	WA	plate	1	-	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	WE2	plate	1	-	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	WET1	plate and fragments	3	1600-1650	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	WLO / WLO1 / WLO3	plates, dishes, bowls, jugs, pots, chamber pot, shaving basin, cups, etc	320	1590-1675	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	WIT	plate	1	-	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	ZA	3 plates and 1 jug	4	-	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Amsterdam	ZDK	plate	1	-	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam

Amsterdam	ZWA / ZWA7	plates, dishes and bowls	41	1600-1700	Database, MenA, City of Amsterdam
Berkmeer	private collection	plate	1	1620-1640	N.L. Jaspers & S. Ostkamp 2014
Blokker	Bangerd 38n	lobbed fruit bowl	1	ca. 1625	Bartels 2014
Bovenkarspel	Besides Tavern the Red Deer	fragment of plate	1	1600-1650	Bartels 2014
De Rijp					Bartels 2003 / N.L. Jaspers & S. Ostkamp 2014
Edam	private collection	lobbed dish	1	16201-640	N.L. Jaspers & S. Ostkamp 2014
Edam	collection Boijmans van Beuningen	plate	1	1620-1640	N.L. Jaspers & S. Ostkamp 2014
Enkhuizen	Paktuinen	plate	1	1625-1650	Duijn, D. 2009
Enkhuizen	Raamstraat	1 plate, 1 lobbed dish, fragments of at least other 3 plates	5	1590-1650	Duijn, D. 2016
Enkhuizen	private collection	plate	1	1620-640	N.L. Jaspers & S. Ostkamp 2014
Enkhuizen	Fruittuinen	1 jug, fragment of plate	2	-	Bartels 2014
Enkhuizen	EBF-terrein	1 plate	1		Bartels 2014
Enkhuizen	De Baan (fase 2)	fragments of 3 plates and 1 bowl	4	1590-1650	Jaspers, N. & S. Ostkamp 2006
Enkhuizen	Vijzeltuin	fragments of plates and 1 jug	6	1630-1660	Schrickx 2012



Graft	Graft / Graft - De Rijp	plates, dishes and a pot.	3	-	Baart 1987 / Bartels 2003/ N.L. Jaspers & S. Ostkamp 2014
Grootebroek	private collection	plate	1	1620-1640	N.L. Jaspers & S. Ostkamp 2014
Hoorn	Karperkuil	1 plate, 1 unknown object and 1 pot	3	after 1624	Bartels 2003 / Bartels 2014
Hoorn	Kleine Havensteeg	fragments of 1 plate and 1 jug	2	1625-1675	Schrickx, C. 2011
Hoorn	Nieuwe Noord	plate	1	-	<a href="https://www.archeologiewestfriesland.nl/de-stage-van-owen-ooievaar-bij-restauratie-ter-heren-voet-2014-01-14/">https://www.archeologiewestfriesland.nl/de-stage-van-owen-ooievaar-bij-restauratie-ter-heren-voet-2014-01-14/</a>
Hoorn	Ooster- eiland	fragment of plate	1	-	Bartels 2014
Medemblik	-	vase	1	-	Bartels 2014
Medemblik	Bagijnhof 35-37	fragments of 4 plates	4	1600-1630	Schrickx, C. 2016
Purmerend	Wester- straat	-	-	-	Ostkamp, S. 2005
Schellinkhout	-	-	-	-	Bartels 2014
Zwaag	private collection	pot	1	1620-1640	N.L. Jaspers & S. Ostkamp 2014
Zwaag	-	plate	1	1600-1650	Bartels 2014
Brielle	Turfkade 35	dish	1	1650-1850	Archaeological Depot Zuid Holland; Inv.No: 39860

Den Haag	-	jug	1	1600-1620	Carmiggelt, A. & V.C.L. Kersing, 1991
Dordrecht	Groenmarkt (complex 168) - Huis Scharlaken	2 plates	2	1600-1640	Bartels, M. 1999
Lisse	Buitenplaats Roosendaal (excavation AWN 1996)	plate	1	1500-1650	Dijkstra, M. & S. Ostkamp 2006
Rotterdam	Hoogstraat	plate	1		A. Carmiggelt, A.J. Guiran & M.C. van Trierum (red.) 1997
<b><i>Province of Utrecht</i></b>					
Utrecht	Kasteel De Haar	bowl	1	1600-1620	N.L. Jaspers & S. Ostkamp 2014
<b><i>Province of Friesland</i></b>					
Harlingen	private collection	plate	1	1620-1640	N.L. Jaspers & S. Ostkamp 2014
Molkwerum	-	-	-	-	Pers. Comm. M. Bartels
<b><i>Province of Zeeland</i></b>					
Middelburg	Berhuys-kazerne	plate and bowl	2	1600-1625	S. Ostkamp 2006
Vlissingen	Collection Museum Boijmans van Beuningen	1 plate and 1 small bowl	2	1580-1610	Bartels 2003.
Vlissingen	Scheldekwartier – Dokkershaven	plates	5	1600-1650	Claes, J., N.L. Jaspers & S. Ostkamp 2010

**Appendix 5. Finds of Portuguese fine and coarse wares in Amsterdam.**<sup>495</sup>

Find number	MNI	object	ceramic ware	provenance	dating	description
<b>Amsterdam finds excluding the Vlooienburg finds.</b>						
HA3-20	2	cups	fine redware	Portugal, Coimbra	17th century	Fragments with décor of incisions and thin white slip.
HA3-22	1	bowl	coarse ware	Portugal?	17th century	Fragment with scalloped edge of the rim.
HG-11#1	1	cup	fine redware	Portugal	17th century	Fragment with incisions and stone inlay
J04-6	1	bowl / container ?	redware	Portugal?	1600-1625	Details unknown
J04-7	1	bowl	fine blackware	Portuguese ? Or Mexican?	1600-1625	Basket shaped bowl with incisions, mica concentrations and several appliques; lions head, floral motive and key.
J04-37	1	cup	fine redware	Portugal, Lisbon (?)	1600-1625	Undecorated cup

<sup>495</sup> Many thanks to Tania Casimiro for her help with the determination of these finds. State of affairs, as far as known in December 2020. When the provenance is not sure, this is indicated in the 'provenance' field.

J04-38	1	cup	fine redware	Portugal, Lisbon (?)	1600-1625	Drinking cup wit dented decorations and a clover shaped opening.
J05-5	1	bowl	fine redware	Portugal	1600-1650	Wide bowl with twisted handle.
J05-15	1	lid	course ware	Portugal	1575-1650	Lid of a cooking pot or jar.
J05-39	1	pot?	redware	Portugal?	-	Details unknown
J05-40	1	cup	fine redware	Portugal, Lisbon (?)	1575-1650	Drinking cup with dented decorations
J06-7	1	cup	fine redware	Portugal, Lisbon (?)	1575-1650	Drinking cup with dented decorations and two handles.
J06-8	1	cup	fine redware	Portugal, Lisbon (?)	1575-1650	Drinking cup with dented decorations and two handles.
J06-23	1	fragment	fine redware	Portugal, Coimbra	1575-1650	Fragment of a birds head with white slip.
J08-18	1	cup	fine greyware	Portugal ? Mexico?	1600-1650	Fragment with incisions and clear mica traces.
KG14-1	1	bowl	redware	Portugal?	-	Detais unknown
MAR6-5-T5	1	bowl	redware	Portugal?	1700-1800	Details unknown

OZA-30-25	1	fruit bowl	greyware	Portugal? Mexico?	1600-1625	Bowl on stemmed foot with scratched decoration on plate and cut out decoration in rim.
VAL2-8-18	1	bowl?	redware	Portugal?	1675-1725	Details unknown
<b>Vlooienburg finds</b>						
WLO-8-433	1	miniature cup	fine redware	Portugal	1600-1650	Dented decorations.
WLO-82-1	1	cooking pot (panela)	coarse redware	Portugal	1600-1650	Unglazed panela with horizontal twisted handles.
WLO-82#2	1	fragment	fine redware	Portugal, Coimbra	1600-1650	Finely thrown shape with incisions and white slip decoration.
WLO-95-19	1	cooking pot (tacho)	coarse redware	Portugal	1600-1650	Unglazed and without soot traces.
WLO-95-#1-1	1	cup	fine redware	Portugal	1600-1650	Small fragments, some dented decorations.
WLO-95-#2-1	1	costrel	fine redware	Portugal, Coimbra	1600-1650	Fragments with incisions, white slip and a winged angel head.
WLO-95-#2-2	1	cup/bowl	fine redware	Portugal, Coimbra	1600-1650	Fragment with incisions and white slip.

WLO-95-#2-3	1	fragment	fine redware	Portugal	1600-1650	Small undecorated fragment.
WLO-105-#1	1	cooking pot (panela)	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Handle fragment
WLO-105-#2	1	cup	fine redware	Portugal	1600-1650	Fragment of handle
WLO-110-6	1	cup	fine redware	Portugal, Lisbon (?)	1600-1625	Drinking cup with dented decoration and clover-shaped opening.
WLO-110-10	1	cooking pot (panela)	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Partly yellow glazed with vertical 'strap handle'.
WLO-110-11	1	cooking pot (panela)	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Partly yellow glazed with vertical 'strap handle'.
WLO-110-38	1	bowl	coarse ware	Portugal?	1600-1650	Flat base, upright rim, lead glaze on the inside.
WLO-110-41	1	bowl	coarse ware	Portugal?	1600-1650	Flat base, upright rim, lead glaze on the inside.
WLO-114-#6	1	bowl	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1625	Small bowl with clear soot traces.
WLO-114-#7	1	bowl	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1625	Fragments of small bowl.
WLO-114-2	1	bowl	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1625	Small bowl.
WLO-114-3	1	bowl	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1625	Small bowl.

WLO-114-5	1	bowl	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1625	Small bowl with light soot traces.
WLO-114-6	1	cooking pot (tacho)	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1625	Complete intact tacho with clear soot traces on the complete outside.
WLO-114-7	1	frying pan	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1625	Frigideira with soot traces on inside and outside.
WLO-116-21	1	frying pan	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Clear soot traces on the complete outside.
WLO-116-#2	1	cup	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Fragment of drinking cup.
WLO-116-#3	1	cup/bowl	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Fragments without decorations.
WLO-126-1	1	costrel	fine redware	Portugal, Coimbra	1600-1625	Decorated with incisions, white slip and applique.
WLO-129-4	1	jar	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Unglazed jar with flat base.
WLO-131	1	small jug	fine redware	Portugal	1575-1650	Finely shapes small jug with clearly burnished surface.
WLO-136- #19	1	cup	fine redware	Portugal	1600-1650	Fragments of undecorated drinking cup.

WLO-164-#1-1	1	cup	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Fragments of drinking cup with dented decorations.
WLO-164-#1-2	1	fragment	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Small rim fragment
WLO-164#2	1	cup	fine redware	Portugal	1600-1650	Fragments of drinking cup with dented decorations.
WLO-206-33	1	cooking pot (panela)	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1625	Green glazed fragments.
WLO-237-4	1	cup/jug	very coarse ware	Portugal, Montemor-O-Novo	1600-1625	Cups with small stones in fabric.
WLO-237-83	1	cup	fine redware	Portugal	1600-1650	Fragment of handle
WLO-237-84	1	fragment	fine redware	Portugal, Coimbra	1600-1650	Fragment with burnished surface, incisions and white slip.
WLO-240-#31-1	1	cup	fine redware	Portugal	1600-1650	Fragments of a cup with dented decorations.
WLO-240-#31-2	1	fragment	redware	Portugal	1600-1650	Small fragment of lid?
WLO-240-#31-3	1	fragment	redware	Portugal	1600-1650	Indet. fragment
WLO-240-#31-4	1	base fragment	redware	Portugal	1600-1650	Burnished fragment of open shape.
WLO-240-#31-5	1	base fragment	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Fragment.



WLO-240-#32	1	bowl	fine redware	Portugal, Coimbra	1600-1650	Fragment with incision and white slip.
WLO-241-#1	1	cup	fine ware	Portugal?	1600-1650	Small fragment of a púcaro.
WLO-251-6	1	chamber pot	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Green glazed with flat rim.
WLO-261#1-2	1	cup	fine ware	Portugal		
WLO-261-43	1	cooking pot (panela)	coarse ware	Portugal?	1600-1625	Yellow glaze and vertical handles.
WLO-264-#21	1	bowl/cup	fine redware	Portugal, Coimbra	1600-1625	Almost complete shape with decors of incisions and white slip. Also entangled clay strings inside.
WLO-265-#1	1	cup	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Fragment of cup.
WLO-267-8	1	cup	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1625	Undecorated cup
WLO-273-#1-1	1	fragment	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Fragment of stemmed foot
WLO-273-#1-2	1	fragment	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Small fragment of lid?
WLO-273-#1-3	1	cup	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Fragment of undecorated cup

WLO-273-#1-4	1	cup	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Fragment of dented cup.
WLO-273-#1-5	1	fragment	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Small fragment.
WLO-273-17	1	cup	fine redware	Portugal	1600-1625	Drinking cup with dented fragments.
WLO-274-1	1	cup	fine redware	Portugal	1600-1625	Wide undecorated cup with two small handles
WLO-274-2	1	cup	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1625	High model drinking cup with dented decoration and two handles.
WLO-274-3	1	cup	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1625	High model drinking cup with dented decoration and two handles.
WLO-274-4	1	cup	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1625	Drinking cup with dented decoration and two handles.
WLO-274-5	1	cup	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1625	Cup with dented decoration and two handles.
WLO-274-6	1	miniature (?) flask	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1625	Spouted bottle with clear Mexican influences concerning shape and decoration.

WLO-274-7	1	lid	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1625	Simple lid.
WLO-274-8	1	cup	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1625	Undecorated cup.
WLO-274-19	1	cup	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1625	Undecorated cup.
WLO-274-20	1	cup	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1625	Cup with dented decorations.
WLO-274- #1	1	fragment	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1625	-
WLO-274- #2	1	cup	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1625	Fragment with dented decorations.
WLO-274- #3	1	cup	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1625	Fragment with dented decorations and handle.
WLO-274- #4	1	cup	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1625	Fragment with diagonal dented decorations.
WLO-274- #5	1	cup/bowl	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1625	Rim fragment.
WLO-274- #5	1	fragment s	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1625	Two fragments.
WLO-279-1	1	bowl	coarse ware	Portugal?	1600-1625	Lead glaze on the inside, two flat handles.
WLO-280-#1	2	cooking pot (panela)	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Yellow glaze and vertical handles. Three handle fragments present.

WLO-280-#2	1	frying pan	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Clear soot traces on outside and inside.
WLO-280-#3	1	cup	fine redware	Portugal	1600-1650	Fragments of undecorated cup.
WLO-280-#4	1	cup	fine redware	Portugal	1600-1650	Fragments of cup with dented decorations.
WLO-280-#5	1	cup	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Fragments of cup with dented decorations.
WLO-280-#5	1	fragment	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Small fragment.
WLO-280-3	1	cooking pot (panela)	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Green glazed, horizontal turned handles, no soot traces.
WLO-280-4	1	cooking pot (panela)	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Green glazed, horizontally placed upstanding handles, no soot traces.
WLO-280-27	1	frying pan	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Unglazed, clear soot traces.
WLO-283a-48	1	frying pan	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Unglazed, barely any soot traces.
WLO-283a-#3	1	cup	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Small fragment with dented decorations.
WLO-294-#4	1	cup	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Fragments of undecorated cup.

WLO-295-#1-1	1	pot	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Fragments of pot with vertical handle.
WLO-295-#1-2	1	pot/jar?	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Fragment of base with applied slip layer.
WLO-295-#5	1	cup	greyware	Portugal? Mexico?	1600-1650	Fragments with stone inlay, scratched decoration, appliques and clear mica concentration s.
WLO-312-#1	1	frying pan	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Fragments of frying pan without clear soot traces.
WLO-312-#2	1	cup	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Fragment with dented decoration.
WLO-312-#3	1	cup	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Fragments with dented decoration.
WLO-312-#4	1	cup	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Fragments with dented decoration.
WLO-312-#5	1	cup	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Fragment of undecorated cup.
WLO-312-#6	1	fragment s	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Fragments without decoration of unknown shape
WLO-312-#7	3	cup	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Many small fragments of cups, with at least 3

						different base fragments.
WLO-312-#8	1	frying pan	coarse ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Fragments of frying pan without clear soot traces.
WLO-312-18	1	jug	fine ware	Portugal	1600-1650	Relatively large shape with decorations that is similar to some of the cups.

**Appendix 6. Overview of finds of Danish Jydepotter in Amsterdam.<sup>496</sup>**

Find number	N	MNI	EVE	object	dating
A-800		1		pot	1500-1600
A-1224		1		pot	
BG-5-1		1		jug	
HAP 53		1	1	pot	
KAR-23-#489		1		pot	
KAR-26-525		1		pot	
KAR-28-#560		1		pot	
KAT-3	1	1		pot	1700-1725
KLO12-8-#65	4	1		cooking pot	1600-1900
LIN1-134		1		cooking pot	
MW6-65		1		jug	
OBV-30-#20	1	1		cooking pot	1650-1800
OOST1-15	1	1		pot	
OOST1-38		1		pot	
OOST1-52	1	1		pot	
OS4-34-#219	1	1	0,05	cooking pot	1525-1575

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<sup>496</sup> Thanks to Ranjith Jayasena from the Office of Monuments and Archaeology for providing these data and to Jette Linaa for her assistance on the determination.

OS4-34-#220	2	1		cooking pot	1525-1575
OVD-9-1		1		cooking pot	
ROK1-114		1		jug	1500-1550
TAAN-1-10		1		cooking pot	
TICH-13		1			1600-1650
TICH-22		1			1625-1650
TICH-43	1	1		pot	
VAL1-4-#1	1	1		pot	1675-1700
VAL1-42		1		pot	1600-1650
VAL2-19-#5	15	1		cooking pot	1675-1750
VAL4-106-#1784	1	1	0,05	cooking pot	1575-1700
VAL4-106-#1785	8	1		cooking pot	1575-1700
VAL4-107-#22	9	1		cooking pot	1575-1700
VAL4-149-#25	1	1	0,15	cooking pot	1625-1675
VAL4-223-#282	4	1		cooking pot	1625-1675
VAL4-268-#27	1	1		cooking pot	1600-1700
VAL4-273-#1		1		pot	
WDW1-5	2	1		cooking pot	
WDW1-5	1	1		pot	
WLO-42-1		1		cooking pot	
WLO-60-3		1		cooking pot	



WLO-65-5		1		cooking pot	
WLO-80-1		1		cooking pot	
WLO-86-2		1		cooking pot	
WLO-88-1		1		vessel	
WLO-94-10		1		cooking pot	
WLO-94-11		1		cooking pot	
WLO-95-30		1		cooking pot	
WLO-97-2		1		cooking pot	
WLO-98-7		1		cooking pot	
WLO-98-8		1		cooking pot	
WLO-118-4		1		frying pan	
WLO-141-4		1		cooking pot	
WLO-155	1	1		cooking pot	1525-1600
WLO-155B-95		1		cooking pot with panhandle	
WLO-155B-96		1		cooking pot	
WLO-155B-97		1		cooking pot	
WLO-155B-98		1		cooking pot	
WLO-155B-99		1		cooking pot	
WLO-15BB-100		1		pan	
WLO-155B-102		1		cooking pot	
WLO-168-6		1		cooking pot	

WLO-168-6	1	1	0,25	cooking pot	1550-1650
WLO-168-39	1	1	0,2	cooking pot	1550-1650
WLO-169-14		1		cooking pot	
WLO-194-3		1		cooking pot	
WLO-201-1		1		cooking pot	
WLO-206-7		1		cooking pot	
WLO-230-4		1		cooking pot	
WLO-242-13		1		cooking pot	
WLO-243-2		1		cooking pot	
WLO-252-7		1		bowl	
WLO-255-11		1		cooking pot	
WLO-255-12		1		cooking pot	
WLO-301-6		1		cooking pot	
WLO-336-1		1		jug	
WLO-336-2		1		cooking pot	
WLO-347-28		1		jug	1525-1550
WLO-370-9	1	1	0,05	cooking pot	