The Material Culture of Drinking and the Construction of Social Identities in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic

Volume I

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"…drinking alcohol is an extremely important feature in the production and reproduction of ethnic, national, class, gender and local community identities, not only today but also historically, with little prospect for this importance and the situation to change."

Wilson 2005:3-4

"[T]he Dutchman preferred visual symbols of his own prosperity - the good things in life were there about him, and he apparently desired to please his eye with little else."

Buechner 1952:13

"…the first little glass is for health, the second for taste, the third for a nightcap – and the rest can only be for pleasure."

Huweliksluiter 1685, in Schama 1997:199

Abstract

After gaining their independence, the seventeenth-century Northern Netherlands experienced a Golden Age of wealth and prosperity. However, there was not yet a sense of national unity, and changes in society, politics, wealth and world view all created flux in identity. Drinking was both a fundamental and yet also highly charged activity, taking place in the home, taverns, and at events such as weddings. Playing a vital role in hospitality and community bonding, drinking became an important activity in the communication of developing identities, affiliations and Dutch national feeling.

This thesis examines material culture gathered from domestic cesspits dating between 1500 and 1800 from across the Dutch Republic, to determine which aspects of identity may have been communicated through drinking vessels.

Archaeological assemblages of vessels were used to create status profiles, a method of comparing artefact groups to identify the status of the household. The quantities of high quality glassware proved to be the most diagnostic feature of status until the eighteenth century when ceramics became more highly sought. Different types of sites, like hospitals and taverns, also presented a distinct profile of material. Regional differences in drinking practice, however, were not found to be distinct, with wealth, status and era having more effect.

Vessels and drinks were tied up in a system of conspicuous consumption, status and display, which could be both desirable and dangerous. Vessels and drinking were used to create ceremonies of hospitality and inclusion, or to promote regional pride, or make politico-religious criticism. Vessels were personalised for gift giving, or to display status and belonging through heraldry, names or symbology. Vessels, including glass, earthenware and porcelain, also held a didactic function, warning of the dangers of excess and luxury, and promoting moral decency and domestic harmony, particularly for women. These behaviours, combined with the use of Dutch imagery, helped to confirm a new sense of national unity.

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Table of Contents - Volume I

This volume contains the main body of text, including the results, discussion, conclusion and references. The second volume contains the illustrations for the primary results chapters (chapters four to ten), and four appendices. The chapter numbering has been retained to allow direct comparison between the volumes. The table of contents for volume II can be found at the beginning of that volume.

Chapter One. Introduction 1

1. 1. Consumerism and Material Culture 2

1. 2. The Dutch Republic: Trade, the *overvloed* and an "embarrassment of riches" 6

1. 2. 1. The Dutch Revolt 7

1. 2. 2. Trade and expansion 8

1. 2. 3. The Golden Age: the "Saturnalia and the Sermon" 10

1. 3. An 'identity crisis' in the seventeenth-century Netherlands 11

1. 4. Structure and Objectives 15

Chapter Two. Previous Research and Methodology 17

2. 1. Examining Consumption 17

2. 1. 1. Primary documents and Probate inventories 17

2. 1. 2. Paintings 19

2. 2. Cesspits 23

2. 2. 1. Historical waste management systems 24

2. 2. 2. Cesspits: full and empty 25

2. 2. 3. Cesspits and the home 27

2. 2. 4. The material 28

2. 3. History of urban archaeology 29

2. 3. 1. Previous cesspit research 31

2. 4. Forming the datasets 34

2. 4. 1. Primary dataset 35

2. 4. 2. Secondary dataset 36

2. 5. Material for analysis 37

2. 5. 1. The 'Deventer Code' 39

2. 5. 2. Format of the database 43

2. 5. 3. Dating 45

2. 6. Identifying potential problems - conclusions 46

Chapter Three. Drinkingware of the seventeenth century 49

3. 1. Ceramics 49

3. 1. 1. Earthenware 49

3. 1. 2. Stoneware 51

3. 1. 3. Tin-glazed earthenware 53

3. 1. 4. Porcelain 54

3. 1. 5. Industrial Ceramics 55

3. 2. Glass 56

3. 2. 1. Forest glass, *waldglas* 56

3. 2. 2. Soda glass and glass *a la façon de Venise* 57

3. 2. 3. Lead and Lime glass 58

3. 3. Pewter and metals 59

3. 4. Wood and organics 60

Chapter Four. Holland 61

4. 1. Delft 61

4. 1. 1. Ursulaklooster (DURS05) 63

4. 1. 2. Voorstraat Kinesis (DVKS81) 75

4. 1. 3. Oude en Nieuwe Gasthuis (DONG86) 77

4. 1. 4. Conclusion 80

4. 2. Hoorn 83

4. 2. 1. Winston 130 (HOWIN04) 85

4. 2. 2. Bruintje 78 (HOBRU90) 88

4. 2. 3. Kleine Havensteeg 7-9 (HOKHS09) 90

4. 2. 4. Karperkuil 86 (HOKKL95 93

4. 2. 5. Conclusion 95

4. 3. Enkhuizen 97

4. 3. 1. Van Bleiswijkstraat (ENEBF94) 98

4. 3. 2. Torenstraat Baansteeg 748 (ENTS08) 101

4. 3. 3. Conclusion 104

Chapter Five. Gelderland 107

5. 1. Arnhem 107

5. 1. 1. The Musiskwartier (AHMUS03) 109

5. 1. 2. Oeverstraat 110 (AHOV85) 114

5. 1. 3. Wever-Bakkerstraat (AHWB78) 115

5. 1. 4. Weverstraat (AHWE85) 117

5. 1. 5. Bakkerstraat (AHBA87) 118

5. 1. 6. Bentinckstraat (AHBT82) 119

5. 1. 7. Koningstraat (AHKON18) 121

5. 1. 8. Conclusion 122

Chapter Six. Friesland 127

6. 1. Leeuwarden 127

6. 1. 1. Speelmanstraat (LWSM82) 129

6. 1. 2. Provinciehuis (LWPH84) 131

6. 1. 3. Auckamastraatje (LWAK02) 132

6. 1. 4. Conclusion 133

Chapter Seven. Utrecht 135

7. 1. Utrecht 135

7. 1. 1. Achter Clarenburg 11-15 (UACB75) 137

7. 1. 2. Jan Meijenstraat (UJMS79) 139

7. 1. 3. Walsteeg (UWAL94) 141

7. 1. 4. Nieuwe Kamp (UNIE03) 146

7. 1. 5. Geertebolwerk (UGBW98) 149

7. 1. 6. Conclusion 152

Chapter Eight. Drenthe 155

8. 1. Coevarden 155

8. 1. 1. Landschrijvershuis (DRCE91) 157

8. 1. 2. Conclusion 158

Chapter Nine. Groningen. 161

9. 1. Groningen 161

9. 1. 1. Schoolholm (GRSH91) 163

9. 1. 2. Schoolstraat (GRSS84) 164

9. 1. 3. Singelstraat (GRST93) 169

9. 1. 4. Sint Janstraat (GRSJ10) 170

9. 1. 5. Wolters-Noordhoff Complex (GRWNC90) 171

9. 1. 6. Conclusion 174

Chapter Ten. The Generality Lands 179

10. 1. ‘s-Hertogenbosch 179

10. 1. 1. In Den Boerenmouw (DBBM89) 182

10. 1. 2. Volderstraatje (DBVO93) 186

10. 1. 3. Keizershof (DBHTK00) 189

10. 1. 4. Postelstraat (DBPO78) 196

10. 1. 5. Conclusion 199

10. 2. Maastricht 201

10. 2. 1. Witmakkerstraat (MAWT89) 203

10. 2. 2. Hondstraat (MAHD87) 205

10. 2. 3. Conclusion 206

Chapter Eleven. Signalling Identity through the Material Culture of drinking **209**
11. 1. Introduction **209**
11. 2. The audience of drinking **210**
11. 2. 1. Weddings, funerals, christenings and carnivals **211**
11. 2. 2. The Tavern **215**
11. 2. 3. The Home **219**
11. 3. Vessels as symbols **225**
11. 3. 1. The meaning of materials, and the status of drinks **225**
11. 3. 2. Vessels as morality symbols **235**
11. 4. Identity construction **243**
11. 4. 1. Drinking as part of social ritual: tea parties and drinking games **243**
11. 4. 2. Personalisation **255**
11. 4. 3. Political and regional identity **258**
11. 4. 4. Gift giving **269**
11. 4. 5. Wedding gifts and love tokens **271**
11. 4. 6. Religion and morality **274**
11. 4. 7. Sinners and Saints: Women and gendered material culture **280**
11. 4. 8. Recognising children **291**
11. 5. Age, repair and value **296**
11. 6. Conclusion **299**

Chapter Twelve. Trends, Patterns and Status Profiles **301**
12. 1. Introduction **301**
12. 2. Determining value **301**
12. 3. Revealing status **505**
12. 3. 1. Status profiles – High status **307**
12. 3. 2. Status profiles – Mid-status **310**
12. 3. 3. Status profiles – Low status **312**
12. 3. 4. Eighteenth-century high status profiles **316**
12. 3. 5. Eighteenth century mid status profiles **318**
12. 3. 6. Status profiles - summary **319**
12. 4. Identifying different types of site from their consumption patterns **322**
12. 5. A sense of place: charting change across the republic **331**
12. 5. 1. Summary **341**
12. 6. Growth and decline: change in vessel use over time **342**
12. 6. 1. Diversity and uniformity **343**
12. 6. 2. Changes in drinking practice **346**

12. 7. Conclusions 351

Chapter Thirteen. Conclusion. 355

13. 1. Identity construction and drinking 355

3. 1. 1. Determining status 357

3. 1. 2. Change over time and region 358

3. 1. 3. National Identity 359

13. 2. Suggestions for further research 360

Bibliography. 365

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used to refer to various museums whose collections contain artefacts or images referred to in this work:

RM – Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

BM –British Museum, London

V&A – Victoria and Albert Museum, London

BvB – Boijmans van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam

CMOG – Corning Museum of Glass, New York

NGA – National Gallery of Art, Washington

HMA – Historische Museum Arnhem, Arnhem

FMC – Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

MMA – Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

The Illustrations

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Chapter One

Introduction

Drinking is a ubiquitous activity. As a necessity, essential to human life, the drinks chosen and the methods of consuming them are hugely diverse, each activity a fundamental reflection of the society that produced it. Drinking, Wilson tells us "is the veritable stuff of any, and perhaps every level and type of culture, and is implicated in the behaviours, values, ideologies and histories of these cultures" (2005:3-4). The culture in question here is the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, a unique and remarkable union of provinces which sprang into existence in 1581 and had become a world empire in two short generations (Schama 1997:8). The position of the 'Golden Age' Netherlanders was a unique one. Religious upheaval, revolt, and war crystallised in a few decades into the wealthiest and most powerful commonwealth in the world. Suddenly adrift from their monarchical neighbours, the Dutch were left to make themselves anew. The aim of this thesis is to examine the construction of identity within the Republic through the remnants of its quotidian habits. How did such a new nation come to invent itself at ground level, and how was this identity expressed through the material culture of its citizens? This study will discover how the republic's new-found wealth affected the consumption patterns of its citizens, and the impact of the treasures of international trade or domestic production had on the household. Did the means, status and social ambition of the household affect their consumption habits or drinking behaviour?

The quote that begins this thesis, again from Wilson, emphasises this link between drinking and identity. "…[D]rinking alcohol is an extremely important feature in the production and reproduction of ethnic, national, class, gender and local community identities, not only today but also historically, with little prospect for this importance and the situation to change." (Wilson 2005:3-4). The drinking material of the seventeenth century included stoneware and pewter jugs, cups of earthenware, delftware or porcelain, and glass vessels in huge variety. These all played a part in the communication of identity, through their use, symbolism and decoration. What is not yet known is which of the above aspects of identity were being constructed and reinforced through material culture, and how this subtext of meaning might be recognised though surviving artefacts and assemblages.

To answer these questions, this thesis will examine the material culture of drinking as excavated from sixteenth- to eighteenth-century cesspits and septic tanks. This introduction will give a brief overview of consumption and material culture research, followed by a more in-depth discussion of the historical background of the Dutch Republic, its people and their use of material culture. The following two chapters will examine the current scholarship of cesspit studies and give an overview of how the dataset was constructed, and the artefact groups. The main body of the study will be formed from discussions of unpublished cesspit assemblages from ten Dutch cities, supported by a larger base of data gathered from published excavations from across the Republic and Generality Lands. Individual artefacts and types of material will be examined to determine their role in

drinking activities, social display and identity construction. The final part of the study will examine complete assemblages to determine if status can be inferred from artefact groups, and how the consumption of drinking vessels and materials changed across the country over the course of the these centuries.

1. 1. Consumerism and Material Culture

Until recently, the consumption patterns of the seventeenth century have seldom been studied in their own right. Too often the century has been used merely as comparative tool to highlight the more dramatic and notable innovations of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, its own developments and patterns seen as just the first roots of the impending industrialisation, capitalism and modern mass consumption (Weatherill 1996:18). The place of the century at the nomenclative threshold between 'late medieval' and 'early modern' has, no doubt, done little to counter this view. Although the processes of the century are, of course, the result of preceding change and innovation (summarised by Verhaeghe 1997), it is nevertheless true that the period heralded an upheaval in conspicuous consumption, social practice and material use. The role of fashion becomes a driving force for the first time amongst those other than the elite, for whom it started to exert an influence as early as the twelfth century (Verhaeghe 1997:3). Simultaneously, the demand for quantities of goods grew higher, even as their value gradually decreased in a "remorselessly creeping demand for more and better consumer goods of all kinds" (de Vries 1994b:101).

The search for the origins of the industrial revolution and modern consumer behaviour is one which has crossed multiple disciplines and several decades (Agnew 1994). Much of the complexity of debate has revolved around the balance of economic and social processes, or 'dimensions' driving the accelerating need for consumer goods (Weatherill 1996:16, de Vries 1994a:254). Economic studies have been held guilty of promoting supply and technological change as the only driving force of consumerism (Campbell 2005:17), and it is only more recently that the influence of consumer demand has begun to be felt, although the balance between these forces has as yet no widely accepted answer (Agnew 1994:23; de Vries 1994b:85).

Moving away from the problem of the force behind consumption, other work has attempted to recognise the footprints of consumer culture in different groups; such as the first signs of a middle-class consumer culture, or when consumption could truly be said to become a 'mass' phenomenon (Agnew 1994:27). From an archaeological perspective, more interesting are studies which investigate how new choices in consumerism and purchasing were permitted, motivated, and realised within the sphere of household consumption and reflected material culture (Weatherill 1996:16). This study unashamedly gives bias to the 'social dimension' of consumption (de Vries 1994a:254); how fashion and status affected the choices of artefacts and drive for possession by the consumer, and the social meanings that were given to and derived from artefacts.

In order to appreciate the nature of seventeenth-century consumption as its own unique process, it is necessary to provide a brief view of the artefact use patterns of previous centuries. The patterns of medieval consumption have been considered by some to be essentially static, constrained as they were by the relatively unchanging nature of political and social systems (Mukerji 1997:126), although the mechanisms for change seemed to be in place from the fourteenth century or earlier (Verhaeghe 1997:38). Individuals at all levels of society were, of course, significant producers and consumers of goods and services, (Courtney 1997a:98). However, with a few exceptions, there was little distinction between the material of the socially elite and that of the common folk, and both the variety and the quality of material culture, especially outside ecclesiastical contexts, was generally low (Mukerji 1997:126). Over time, gradual changes to international trade, growing literacy, improved living conditions and the increase of personal wealth all began to affect the availability and demand for material culture, and spread into many different kinds of artefacts (Verhaeghe 1997:). A greater differentiation began to appear between objects that were produced in bulk and those which were specifically intended for elite consumption (Mukerji 1997:127). More interestingly, this effect began to be seen across different levels of society, with a 'symbiotic' demand for goods developing between elite and lower class consumers (Courtney 1997b:17).

While the variety of goods increased, a larger proportion were being produced at a lower price and of reduced durability, prompting a faster turnover of goods (de Vries 1994b:104, 101). Advances in trade and manufacturing technology are considered to be the primary economic factors in the increase of consumption during this 'age of transition'. When combined with significant changes to the established social structures of the medieval world: the collapse of the Medieval feudal system (Courtney 1997a:99), and the development of the new 'middle' classes (de Vries 1994b:101), a boom in material culture consumption was unleashed across northern Europe in a way that can be recognised as the seeds of nascent capitalism (Verhaeghe 1997:39-30). Material culture, and the architecture of domestic and vernacular houses, played a key role in establishing new forms of behaviour which eroded former practices and ushered in a modern 'way of life' (Johnson 1996:157).

In terms of the material culture of the fifteenth and sixteenth-century Netherlands, this change was realised in the prevalence of glazed red earthenware over the formerly ubiquitous greyware, the increasingly common use of Rhenish stoneware, and the rising popularity of luxury items like maiolica and glass (Verhaeghe 1997:29, 33). These changes in material type were emblematic of larger more dynamic changes: regional locally produced ceramics began to take on a more uniform appearance and fabric; ceramics were produced to perform a greater variety of more specialized functions; the overall quantity of ceramics within the household assemblage grew; and imported and luxury items began to take on a wider importance (Verhaeghe 1997:29). While some of these processes certainly had their roots in earlier centuries, even back to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, there is no question that the economic and cultural changes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries led to an even greater acceleration. This can be seen in functional specialism, increased commodification, and large collections of domestic material goods; these almost capitalist urges were fully realised in the seventeenth century with the availability of highly

desirable traded items, technological advancements in glass and ceramic manufacture, and relative social and economic freedom (Verhaeghe 1997:38-39). These freedoms primarily developed as a result of the death of feudalism and the degradation of class boundaries. In the Netherlands this coincided with a period of dramatic economic growth with increasing colonialism and international trade, the emergence of a middle class, relative freedom from sumptuary laws, increasing urbanisation, and a growing belief in self-governance (Courtney 1997a:99, Kamen 2000:111, Klein 1982:85).

It is particularly during these periods of cultural upheaval that the importance of material culture as a social signifier comes into its own. Miller summarises that "[w]hen the strictness of social boundaries breaks down, objects may change from being relatively static symbols to being directly constitutive of social status"(Miller 1987:135-6). Social instability was also the cause of the growth of fashion as a significant force. Knowledge and access to 'up-to-date' information about current prestige goods is just one method of social competition under conditions of 'ambiguity' between social boundaries (Miller 1987:136). What exactly constituted a 'fashionable' item altered significantly through the century and across the region, and was subject to numerous economic and social processes. The drive for status may have led to the adoption of new materials to perform the same function as the old, such as the replacement of pewter vessels with cheaper 'mass-produced' imported German stoneware which occurred in late seventeenth-century rural England (Overton *et al* 2004:103). In the city of Delft in the same period, stoneware had already lost its fashionable status, and was being replaced by more desirable faience and porcelain (Bult 1992:84). This latter group brought with it an inherent exotic desirability which began to disseminate its influence in the design and decoration of all kinds of material culture (Erkelens 1996). Innovations in technology produced objects of higher quality or craftsmanship to emulate highly expensive desirables such as glass made *à la façon de Venise,* and white and blue tin-glazed delftware painted with Chinese designs. Conversely, fashionable items were also linked with reduced durability, due to the increased demand for faster turnover of new styles (de Vries 1994b: 104).

Courtney tells us that "[i]n the context of the increasing dislocation of European societies by industrialisation and urbanisation, goods may also have strengthened a sense of identity" (1997:98). This, of course, is one of the fundamental tenets of material culture as a discipline; to dispel the notion that objects are passive and purely functional, and instead to recognise the powerful role they play in shaping human behaviour and perceptions (Verhaeghe 1997:26). In this instance we are concerned with the ability of artefacts to carry interpersonal communications, including identity, status, ethnicity, relationships, gender and belief. These messages may be conscious or entirely subliminal on the part of the objects' users and observers, and is likely to be understood and interpreted differently by different people. The non-static nature of material culture results in constant renegotiation in these meanings throughout the use-life of the object. The expanding use of new and changing material culture during the seventeenth century therefore reflects changes to social processes and interactions to which artefacts were key. Active and purposeful choices were being made about the type and quantity of artefacts by consumers. These artefacts were used, consciously or unknowingly, to express some aspect of social identity or ambition (Cook, Yamin and McCarthy 1996:50, Weatherill 1996:xix). The symbolism

which underlies all consumption activities "is a crucial element in a process that converts time and labor into a medium of exchange, which is then itself converted into material things, into personal and group identity, into self and community" (Cook, Yamin and McCarthy 1996:53). It is the very communicative nature of the material culture which is the fundamental drive of this thesis.

The density of population and high quantity of urban areas in the Netherlands make this region particularly useful in examining consumerism and aspects of Early Modern consumption (Courtney 2009:177). The 'consumer' of objects in the home during this period did not often represent the purchasing power and interests of a single person. The household may have represented the smallest cell of consumer choice and action, as well as being a key unit of both supply and demand (de Vries 1994a:255). Members of the household may have been unable to make consumption choices in an independent manner during this period, while the purchasing power of the household as a unit became increasingly dependent upon financial contributions from several of its members, including women and children (de Vries 1994a:257). As such, the resulting consumption patterns of the household are likely to reflect the age, gender, occupation, trading contacts and socioeconomic makeup of the group as a whole, as well as the location in which they lived (Courtney 1997:100).

Limits on consumption were not just dependent upon the purchasing power, formed from wage income and other financial commitments, of the household. Moral and cultural concerns played an important part in controlling the aspirations of the household and curbing consumption (Courtney 1997:100). To a large extent the condemnation or acceptance of objects was tied into the cultural understanding of them as necessities or luxuries. With the very term 'luxury' comes an implication of moral judgement and condemnation, as it is often used to describe objects of a high quality or cost that have replaced functional simpler items, or which have no clear practical function at all (Weatherill 1996:15). However, the conspicuous consumption of 'luxury' goods has long been held as a vital method of accessing and maintaining a certain social status, particularly during periods of fluid social hierarchy and a lack of class division, in order to enforce cultural differentials (Miller 1987:136). Luxury could also be seen as a celebration of success, as a symbol of freedom from economic hardship and a distancing from 'servile' labour and industry (Miller 1987:148). 'Necessities' are those items needed to survive, but as Weatherill (1996:15) notes, by the seventeenth century, the range of items expected to be available meant a higher level of material possession was considered necessity. She suggests the addition of the term 'decencies' to describe those objects which, while not essential to the maintenance of human life, would be unthinkable to live without. Again this is a somewhat loaded term which brings its own qualitative judgement, the inverse of that applied to 'luxury' which is implicated in a cultural disapproval of hubris and extravagance. Both the condemnation and praise of the luxurious and the simple could be present simultaneously within a society, and this dichotomous view of wealth and consumption can certainly be identified within the seventeenth-century Netherlands. In the following section, these dichotomous attitudes to consumption, alcohol and wealth will be examined, to find the cause of the "anguished spiritual reflection on the comforts of

commerce" which so engulfed the seventeenth-century consuming Dutch (Agnew 1994:19).

1. 2. The Dutch Republic: Trade, the *overvloed* and an "embarrassment of riches"

The Dutch Republic, or more correctly the 'Republic of the Seven United Netherlands' occupied a unique position in the history of Europe. Despite its natural disadvantages in both size and agricultural conditions, the newly formed commonwealth managed to amass a level of power and wealth greater than that of all the long established monarchies of Europe (Prak 2005:1). The citizens of its Golden Age enjoyed unprecedented levels of financial and social freedom and the country became the centre of world commerce, and "one of the greatest city-empires known in history" (Gutkind 1971:18). The idiosyncrasies which led to this unparalleled level of success have their roots in the country's location, its medieval development, and the culture and ideals of its people.

Fig. 1. 2. (1). The Provinces of the Northern Netherlands and Generality Lands during the seventeenth century

Despite several attempts at drainage and water management during the medieval period, the Low Countries were essentially unsuitable for arable agriculture. The waterlogged low-lying coastal and central regions were bordered to the east by an area of barely fertile sand. While some eastern areas were able to be more self-sufficient, the majority of the country relied on the "Mother Trade" of essential grains- wheat, rye, oats and barley. These were imported from the Baltic and North Sea areas, a trading region to which power slowly began to shift, drawing trade away from the Hanseatic League (Barnes and Rose 2002: 10, Barbour 1950:14, de Vries and van der Woude 1997:351-352). The importation of essential grains and the need to exploit other food sources had the knock-on effects of freeing up large amounts of labour not tied to the land, and the ability to invest in other commercial arenas. The result of this was the world famous herring trade (Prak 2005:91-94), as well as the full development of the country's waterways into an arterial network of trade and transportation between the important commercial regions of Europe; the Southern Netherlands, England, and the Rhineland (Prak 2005:90, 92, de Vries and van der Woude 1997:351). The ports in the Northern Netherlands were not large, but had developed 'vigorous' commercial activity by 1500 (de Vries and van der Woude 1997:351). The importance of trade led to other advancements, like the 1590s development of the *fluitschip*, a cheaper and more efficient design of cargo ship which required a smaller crew but had a greater hold capacity (de Vries and van der Woude 1997:375, Barbour 1950:19). However none of these advantages would have resulted in the world-wide impact without the successful conclusion of the Dutch Revolt, and the establishment of the Republic as an independent political unit.

1. 2. 1. The Dutch Revolt

The impetus behind the revolt against Spain was long and complex. Religion is often heralded as the major driving point behind the revolt, particularly sparked by the violent suppression of Dutch protestants by Spanish regents during the sixteenth century. For the Spanish, the war with the Netherlands, which would continue for eighty years, had the flavour of a crusade about it, and they pursued it with the same religious fervour as their conflicts in the Iberian Peninsula and the New World; "champions of Catholic Christendom against heathens" (van Deursen 1991:201). By 1566, the dissatisfaction of the Calvinist elements in the Netherlands with Spanish rule had

Fig. 1. 2. (2). Figure in the Cathedral of St Martin (Utrecht) damaged in the iconoclastic fury of 1566

turned to active insurrection, which took the form of sudden iconoclastic revolts (**Fig. 1. 2. (1)**). The Spanish incursion of troops under the leadership of the governor-general, the Duke of Alva, began the following year, and the Eighty Years War began (Koenigsberger 2001:217).

The Prince of Orange, William the Silent, took control of Holland and Zeeland in 1572 with the aid of the Sea Beggars and general popular support, and initiated the major part of the revolt from these provinces (Koenigsberger 2001:241). Devastating attacks by Spanish forces, mercenaries and unpaid mutineers on Dutch towns and cities left many extensively looted and plundered, and the countryside essentially depopulated; by 1585 most Brabant villages were reduced to a half or a quarter of their former populations (van Deursen 1991:203. Kamen 2000:32). The sack of Antwerp in 1576 prompted the general ratification of the 'Pacification of Ghent'. If the destructive forces of the Catholic Army would withdraw (or be driven out) of the country, then all regions would concede control back to the Spanish (Koenigsberger 2001:272). For a short time, the Pacification did indeed seem to have brought peace to the country, as military action subsided in all areas but for the border sieges (van Deursen 1991:208, Koenigsberger 2001:273-274). However, the States-General, the rebel government of Zeeland and Holland refused to submit, and it only took a few more years for the south to lose faith in the States-General and support for the revolt to fade (Koenigsberger 2001:274, 288-289). The appointment of the Duke of Parma as Governor-General in 1579 lead to capitulation of the southern Walloon and Catholic nobles, and with the Union of Arras, the southern provinces were once more under the authority of the Spanish king (Koenigsberger 2001:290). Feeling abandoned by the southern states, the northern provinces claimed their own independence in 1581 with the Union of Utrecht, which unified the provinces of Holland, Zeeland, Overijssel, Gelderland, Utrecht, Friesland, and Groningen (Koenigsberger 2001:293). Neither side desired a permanent split between the states of the Hapsburg Netherlands, and it could not truly be said that the Union was a culmination of 'pro-Dutch feeling' so much as a reaction to the oppressions of Spanish rule and the capitulation of the south (Haley 1972:12). A sense of united 'Dutchness' only developed as a later result of the revolt (Pollman and Spicer: 2007:7). After unsuccessful attempts by the States-General to offer the sovereignty of the northern provinces to both France's Duke of Anjou and Elizabeth I of England, the Dutch were eventually forced to the conclusion that "salvation must be achieved largely through their own efforts" Haley 1972:13.

1. 2. 2. Trade and expansion

The war between the Netherlands and Spain continued until 1648 and the Treaty of Westphalia, which finally recognised the Republic as an independent country, with control over northern Flanders, Brabant and Maastricht. This essentially confirmed the authority of Amsterdam and Holland as the premier regions of the country (Gutkind 1971:19), a process which had begun back in 1585 when the Duke of Parma captured Antwerp and closed the harbour. Other efforts to blockade the border between the north and south had essentially secured the superiority of the northern cities Middelburg and particularly Amsterdam, which could expand without competition (de Vries and van der Woude 1997:366). This also

resulted in a large-scale migration into the northern provinces of Protestants, merchants, philosophers and artisans from the southern Netherlands, as well as Poland, Germany, Spain, Portugal, France and England, who bought fresh ideas, labour and expertise with them (Liefkes 2004:227, Barbour 1950:15). This provided both the labour and capital to invest in trade in a significant way.

Despite the war, the Dutch continued to be a major producer of numerous items, including dairy goods, preserved herring and cod, textiles and manufactured goods. The complexity of their trade networks meant no journey was ever made with an empty hold (Schaefer 1998:1). Part of the incoming Baltic grain was traded to the Mediterranean for olive oil and salt for curing. Salted and smoked fish were traded for Swedish iron, copper and timber.

In 1499, Vasco de Gama had returned from South-East Asia and opened up the first trade route with Portugal. This later came under the control of Philip II in 1580 (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986:9). The conflict with Spain led to the enforcement of significant trade embargoes in 1585-90 and 1598-1608, which blocked Dutch access to trading routes around Portugal. Undeterred, Dutch merchants negotiated their own extensive trade routes in Asia, another trading region that they soon came to dominate (Price 2000:33). This region proved so valuable that by 1599, eight different companies were competing to trade with the east (Lucas 2004:21). In order to monopolise on this interest, the companies were combined into a chartered joint stock company which received the support and backing of the state. This company's initial purpose was to capture control of the Moluccan spice islands (Indonesia) from Portugal (de Vries and van der Woude 1997:385). The new *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) was licensed in 1602 with extraordinary authority, allowing it to conduct treaties and alliances; execute criminals; establish governance of new regions, as happened in Bantam, Batavia and later at the Cape of Good Hope; mint coinage, and even to keep its own military forces (Lucas 2004:21-22). The VOC remained in the Orient for decades without a significant rival, bringing in porcelain, paper, silk, spices, tea and coffee (Schaefer 1998:1, Barnes and Rose 2002:10). It was followed in 1621 after the end of the Twelve Years Truce by the less successful *Geoctroyeerde Westindische Compagnie,* West India Company (WIC), which did manage to wrest some control over the trade between West Africa, the West Indies and Brazil; trading sugar, tobacco, and slaves (de Vries and van der Woude 1997:398, 400). Trade within Europe was also as important as the glamorous international trade, bringing ceramics, glassware and silver, as well as brandy and wine in great varieties, from the Rhineland, Spain and France (van Uytven 2007:157). By the mid-seventeenth century, trading and colonial interests had expanded to the extent that Dutch merchants controlled a region stretching from Capetown to Spitzbergen, from Curaçao to Nagasaki (de Vries and van der Woude 1997:376-377).

These successes in trade, along with the not insignificant contribution of domestic industry and manufacture, produced an abundance of capital and financial security. The first exchange bank opened in Amsterdam in 1609, and thrived. Given this, it is no real surprise that the republic came to be at the core of the world economy and trade for nearly one hundred years (Schaefer 1998:1-2, Liefkes 2004:228).

It was not only in the world of commerce that the seventeenth-century Netherlands flourished. The country underwent a huge population rise in many areas; the population of Holland and Friesland, for example, tripled between 1520 and 1670. While the population in the eastern provinces continued at a stable low level of growth in the first half of the century, it too began to accelerate after about 1650 (de Vries and van der Woude 1997:51, 54). The Generality Lands, on the other hand, were greatly disrupted by the revolt, and it wasn't until two centuries later in many areas that the population recovered to the same level as in the early sixteenth century (de Vries and van der Woude 1997:56). Not only was the population of the republic growing in numbers, it was also growing both more urban and more diverse (see section 1. 3). A breeding ground for advances in art, philosophy, and literature was created, alongside scientific, technological and agricultural innovations (Schaefer 1998:2, Prak 2005:4). These advances, and the monopoly on trade discussed above, led to a dramatic upturn in fortunes for many of the country's citizens. The resistance these successes brought to the Europe-wide economic downturn of the seventeenth century meant that the households of the Netherlands were some of the few in Europe to maintain any significant purchasing power (de Vries 1994b:89, 95).

While the Golden Age brought with it great wealth and success for many, it could not be claimed that these advances benefitted everybody in society. The poor grew in number, and social mobility for many meant a downwards slide (Kamen 2000:180, van Deursen 1991:320). While praised by many of their contemporaries, the country's tolerant social policies, with correctional houses, orphanages and provision for poor relief, were often less than effective, and involved barbarous practices of brutal punishment and public display of the unfortunate (see Schama 1997:15-24). In politics too, despite being held as the precursor of the modern state, its many contradictions and mismanagements barely lifted the republic out of 'medieval chaos' while failing to centralise and consolidate power and legislation (Prak 2005:3).

1. 2. 3. The Golden Age: the "Saturnalia and the Sermon"

The Golden Age was one of contradictions. It brought great wealth and success for many, but also poverty, invasion and war. Trade and expansion were present but all tainted by a sense of what Schama describes as 'claustrophobia' in their endeavours (Schama 1997:8). The Dutch, it seems, 'longed for luxury' but were at the same time frightened by their own success (van Dongen 2004:192). This antithetical nature is particularly clear in all forms of consumption: of alcohol, feasting and of household wealth. The Dutch had a long history of unrestrained feasting and drinking at the wildly popular *kermissen* carnivals and fairs dating from the middle ages, which were echoed again in the lavish celebrations of wedding and funeral (Schama 1997:152) (see also Chapter 11. 2. 1). Contemporaries described the Dutch as "big-boned and gross-bodied", a nation of constant guzzlers, "torpid and phlegmatic" (Schama 1997:152). All of this food and celebration, however, was tempered by a deep-seated fear of success and of becoming victims of the *overvloed,* "a drowning surfeit" (Schama 1997:124). The extremes of their success would sweep the country away into a

ruinous hysteria of gluttony and hedonism, unless tempered by manners, self-control and domestic order. The Dutch home must be guarded against “the contamination of vice” (Schama 1979:103). These two extremes; ruinous wealth and pious simplicity, are constant underlying themes in Dutch literature and art, from the contrast between the humble ‘breakfast’ and the ‘banquet’ still-life, the theme of the Fat and Thin kitchens, and the Battle between Carnival and Lent. (Schama 1997:153) (see also Chapter 2. 1. 2).
By the seventeenth century, the loss of Catholic saints’ days which had occupied almost a third of the working year, combined with Calvinist condemnation of the ‘sin-inducing’ nature of idleness had done away with much of the leisure time the Dutch had previously enjoyed (Kamen 2000:39-40). The Sabbath suddenly became a rarity as a day of rest, and the inevitable result was a tense competition between the tavern and the church (Price 2000:111), and a sort of cultural alcoholism which could barely be restrained. Diet and moderation of behaviour with regards to food and drink, and the creation of social rituals such as table manners, became linked to a “morally wholesome and thriving family life” (Schama 1997:159; 150), and was the only way to temper the threat.

This tension between pious simplicity and overindulgence was equally as strong in relation to goods, decorations and possessions. “How to be both rich and modest at the same time,” wrote van Dongen, “was a challenge that helped to shape seventeenth-century Dutch beliefs and practices” (2004:225). Luxury goods that carried with them all the dangers of the *overvloed* were still in high demand as items for conspicuous consumption, and as indicators of wealth and status; for after all, “their fear of drowning in destitution and terror was exactly counterbalanced by their fear of drowning in luxury and sin” (Schama 1997:47). Perhaps if the ownership of luxurious goods caused moral danger and anxiety, this could be tempered by the humility and thankfulness which went with their use. The unending conflict between the “Saturnalia and the Sermon” as Schama calls this phenomenon (1997:187) never found a victor and perhaps it didn’t need to, for in the well-ordered household, tempered by morality and cleanliness, the inhabitants could “slake their thirst for the good life” without the need to fear the *overvloed* at all (Schama 1979:118). This balance after all, proved vital, for luxury items were an essential part of the negotiation and communication of identity.

1. 3. An ‘identity crisis’ in the seventeenth-century Netherlands

Díaz-Andreu and Lucy tell us that “identity is inextricably linked to a sense of belonging. Through identity we perceive ourselves, and others see us, as belonging to certain groups and not others…Identity, therefore, is not a static thing but a continual process” (2005:1-2). Identity may be constructed on an individual or a group level, and multiple identities coexist within a person throughout their life. The seventeenth-century Netherlands as a country was going through a dramatic change of identity. From the oppression of its people under Catholic rule to its dramatic flourishing into a self-governing commonwealth, the

republic had to reinvent itself, and its people create a new sense of how their established identities could find a place within it (Schama 1997:4).

Many aspects of identity will have retained their importance within the new republic. The understanding of age and gender, marital status, and position in the household remained vital to the understanding of personal and family identity. The occupation of household members, and their collective wealth and status in the community were also of high importance. Religion and ethnicity are likely to have been a community affair, essential to the construction of neighbourhoods and regions.

However, a number of factors during this period may also have disrupted previously held notions of identity and personhood. Some aspects were far from unique to the republic, and were likely to be prevalent across Europe, including a new concentration on urban centres and gradual depopulation of rural areas (van Zanden 1993:36). Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton have noted that the pressure and anonymity of urban living frequently erodes social and personal identity in modern contexts. There is no reason to think the same processes were not already affecting the newly urban citizens of seventeenth-century Europe (1981:41). A phenomenon which was more unique to the Netherlands, although one which had already begun elsewhere in Europe, was the collapse of previous social structures. The seventeenth-century republic underwent what was essentially an inversion of medieval social order, a feudal system in crisis (Courtney 1997a:99). The church, while still powerful, held far less ability to control and dominate everyday life than a century previously, and held little authority to condemn behaviour, despite their efforts (Kamen 2000:178, van Deursen 1991:62, 233). The 'impoverished aristocracy' had lost the majority of their political clout through the revolt, and the bourgeoisie took over the main seats of authority, the towns (Kamen 2000:107). Merchants and bankers began to develop into a true middle class, becoming wealthier and more powerful on the back of trade and investments, and socially more exclusive with internal gradations formed through wealth and occupation (Kamen 2000:99, 101).

The influx of money and relative freedom within society created high levels of social mobility, and the need to define one's status became ever more important (Kamen 2000:107). While there were both beggars and princes in the republic, the difference between wealth and poverty was much narrower than elsewhere in Europe. The newly evolving middle class were large and well-off, and fully able to express this through the purchase of luxurious and conspicuous goods (van Dam 2004:28). Social status was almost entirely determined by wealth and occupation, not the position of one's birth; a society that could almost be said to be modern (Prak 2005: 1-2). This social freedom, combined with the proliferation of goods discussed above destroyed many of the traditional markers of class distinction, as described by Dirk Valcoogh. With such a lack of class division, as Valcoogh recalls, conspicuous consumption and competitive decoration become the most important social signifiers:

> "People see today, that as time goes by,
> Everyone wants to show off
> In his expenses, his clothing, and all manner of decorations,
> So that you don't know how to distinguish rightly
> A burgher from a farmer and a nobleman."
>
> (Dirk Adriaensz. Valcoogh *Regel der Duytsche schoolmeesters* 1875:107, in van Deursen 1991:190)

Throughout the Eighty Years War, the Netherlands took in a vast influx of refugees. This boosted the population as well as bringing in new talents and skills. The relatively tolerant social policies meant that the country became a haven for the dispossessed and persecuted. Anabaptists, Mennonites and Lutherans sought refuge in the country, in large numbers. These latter groups were even officially recognised (van Deursen 1991:62-63). Amsterdam's Jewish quarter was large, and public synagogues had been permitted since 1597 (Haley 1972:96). Even Catholics, native or immigrant, remained relatively unmolested. Anti-Catholic legislation banning the mass and making it illegal for Catholics to hold office was passed, but there were no areas where these were seriously enforced. 'Underground' Catholic churches were known in most cities, and on payment of a fine, were usually allowed to continue their practices without suppression (Haley 1972:91-95). Haley sees the Dutch acceptance of diverse groups not only as a practicality, but as representing "a genuine attitude of mind which hated persecution and found it unreasonable" (Haley 1972:95). In Amsterdam in 1622, citizenship (*poorterschap*) could be purchased for fourteen *guilders*. This allowed foreign craftsmen to join guilds, find housing and set up businesses and industries (Barbour 1950:16). By 1650 it was estimated that the population of Amsterdam was made up of around one-third first or second generation immigrants (Schaefer 1998:2). In the face of such a diverse population, declarations of religious or ethnic identity might also have been important, whether aligning with a new adopted nationality, or for the purposes of holding onto the customs and nationality of one's birth.

The Dutch Republic was not a naturally unified group, but what was considered at the time to be a temporary military alliance. The provinces themselves felt they had little in common with each other, and harboured "strongly separatist instincts" (Haley 1972:12). Individual towns and counties had their own strong identities, engendering belonging and pride, which predated the revolt and at first were little changed by it (Haley 1972:13). Inter- and intra-provincial rivalries were everywhere, and competition drove many of the country's advances (Prak 2005:4-5, Pollman and Spicer 2007:7). However, towns also used a complex 'gift' system to strengthen bonds of identity between them, as well as to emphasise their own generous superiority (Pollman and Spicer 2007:7). Alliances and cooperation between regions was also important, leading to a highly successful "interlocked urban system", although one which still retained its regional differences and prejudices (Frijhoff and Spies 2005:46).

While the understanding of these smaller identities of individual, family, or town were being formed, they did not preclude inclusion within larger identities (Kamen 2000:13), and

it is to a nascent sense of 'national' identity that we finally turn our attention. To progress beyond a "series of shared linkages", some form of cultural unity is needed to construct the concept of a nation (Kamen 2000:7). As stated above, the seven provinces of the Netherlands initially had little in common, but it was the war that forced them into political unity which also laid the seeds for a union of identity. Much of the justification for the revolt and continued war, through propaganda and public opinion, was given for the purposes of reuniting '*Ons Nederlant'*. The course of the revolt was "constantly shaping and reshaping definitions of what it was to be loyal and patriotic, what it was to be Netherlandish and un-Netherlandish" (Pollman and Spicer 2007:7). While initially this had more to do with religion than geography, a sense of nationhood gradually began to pervade into conscious thought.

Over the course of the seventeenth century, it has been estimated that around 100,000 southern Netherlanders moved to the republic (Kamen 2000:49), and this led to a concentration and exacerbation of formerly held prejudices and stereotypes. It was generally considered to be the fault of the southern provinces that they had been recaptured by Spain during the revolt. The Southerners, however, "refused to feel inferior"; they were haughty and too well dressed (van Deursen 1991:40). Brabanters were even considered to blame for the growing obsessions with luxury goods (E. van Reyd, *Historie der Nederlantsche oorlogen begin ende voortganck tot den jaere 1601* 1650:351, in van Deursen 1991:41). The people from Bremen were stupid, it was said, and the Westphalians were unclean (van Deursen 1991:37). The people of the southern Netherlands then, with whom those of the United Provinces should have had much in common, were "sometimes held in contempt, sometimes secretly admired, but still always experienced as not-Dutch,"(van Deursen 1991:43).

The growing sense of a national community can be seen in the change in use of the word 'foreigner', which now referred to those born outside the country, not from another town or province. There gradually came to be a feeling of unity, where individuals from the United Provinces were known together as 'Netherlanders' (van Deursen 1991:33). A sense of unifying Dutch identity even began to show itself in relation to architectural design and city planning. Several towns, like Willemstad, Coevorden, Deventer and Enkhuizen, while strengthening their fortifications, had a total of seven bastions built into the defensive walls to represent the seven united provinces (Gutkind 1971:32). It is a long step from here to a truly united sense of national identity and pride, but the first seeds had been sown. A sense of pride began to be attached to things considered essentially 'Dutch'; Maurice of Nassau, for instance, considered the herring to be "the humble slingshot stone with which the Dutch David bought down the Spanish Goliath" (van Deursen 1991:19), and soon, aspects of Dutch national pride, from the ceremonial celebration of military victories, to the creation of antiquarian origin myths were everywhere (for further discussion see Chapter 11. 4. 1 and 11. 4. 3).

To summarise, changes in the established social order and rapid wealth fluctuations at the beginning of the seventeenth century, along with the emergence of a middle class and a large immigrant population, all helped create an atmosphere in which the signalling of

social status through conspicuous consumption would have become very important. Within the household, objects can "create permanence in the intimate life of a person, and therefore are most involved in making up his or her identity." (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981:17). As drinking is "an integral social, political and economic practice, a manifestation of the institutions, actions and values of a culture" (Wilson 2005:3-4), drinking and dining were exceedingly important in social interaction. Because of this, cultural display and symbolic practices during this period, and the vessels and accoutrements of drinking, are likely to be of great importance to the process of inter-personal identity construction and communication.

1. 4. Structure and Objectives

This thesis aims to examine the use and decoration of aspects of material culture relating to domestic drinking in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. Conclusions will be drawn about aspects of identity which may have been communicated through vessels, as well as how material use and practice may have changed across the region and over time. The data will be gathered from domestic cesspits from cities across the northern provinces and Generality Lands. The decoration and vessel types will be examined to recognise indicators of identity and ritual drinking practice, and the material compared within each city and between provinces to recognise country wide patterns. The following chapter, Chapter Two, will present a background to previous studies of cesspits and other sources of data used for this study, as well as a brief history of urban archaeology in the Netherlands. This chapter will also include a methodology for the study, and an identification of potential problems with the datasets. Chapter Three will present a short discussion of seventeenth-century drinking vessels and material which will be examined in this study. Chapters Four through to Ten comprise the main body of the research and will each tackle material excavated from different provincial regions. The discussion of these results will take place in Chapters Eleven and Twelve, with the first of these chapters focussing on household drinking practise and identity construction, through the individual use and decoration of objects. Chapter Twelve takes a wider view point of assemblages and city groups as a whole, to survey the applicability of a method of identifying status, as well as examining regional patterns and change in object use over time. The conclusion will be found in Chapter Thirteen.

Chapter Two

Previous Research and Methodology

The undertaking of this study required the gathering of a dataset that would aid in the investigation of both drinking material culture and identity construction. The seventeenth century produced a huge quantity of information, and a number of different sources of data were consulted for this thesis. The boundaries and methods of the study were drawn from previous research, and the target cities were chosen based on various factors. Additionally, likely problems that would be encountered during the course of the study were highlighted, along with potential solutions.

2. 1. Examining Consumption

When forming the dataset for this study, a number of different methods were considered for examining vessel use and consumption patterns. In this section, historical documents and probate inventories will be discussed, along with the utility of contemporary paintings when examining consumption. These sources were used in conjunction with the primary source of cesspits to help illuminate the practice of drinking and vessel use. In the next section, part 2. 2, cesspits will be examined in more detail.

2. 1. 1. Primary documents and Probate inventories

Several different potential sources of data are available for the seventeenth-century Netherlands. The most immediate of these are contemporary historical sources. This could take the form of trades and sale transactions or records of imports, as well as personal letters, travelogues and diaries (de Vries 1994a:258, Weatherill 1988:4-5). The latter sources have proved vital for scholars examining, for example, gift exchange (Thoen 2007), identity construction (Pollman and Spicer 2007), social issues behind alcohol consumption (Brown 2004) or the dramatic rise and fall of the economy (van Zanden 1993). As de Vries notes however, contemporary authors often provide information about material culture which is “parenthetical and unintentional”, although for those to whom it is a key feature of discussion, their attitude towards material culture could be described as “intense if not compulsive” (de Vries 1994a:99).

One area in which the discussion of material culture takes a full and centre stage is in probate inventories. Inventories like these were drawn up upon the death of an adult to tally all their worldly goods, properties, debts and financial assets. In rare cases these were drawn up room by room and so can provide an extraordinary picture of house layout (de Vries 1994a:99). Inventories constructed an analysis of the estate’s wealth either for surviving heirs, particularly if these were children, or to process the estate to pay debts (Dibbits 2001:23). In the sixteenth century they were restricted mainly to the regents and upper classes, but by the seventeenth century onwards had become standard practice at all levels of society in the Netherlands, Northern Europe and the colonies (Bartels 2005:16-

17). Probates gathered from the same town or region can illuminate how goods may have changed in quality and quantity over time, as well as recognising the total economic value of household goods (de Vries 1994b:99).

A number of key studies have been undertaken in the past thirty to forty years to illuminate aspects of consumption and material culture use from probate inventories of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These include studies made of material from Delft (Wijsenbeek-Olthuis 1987), Maastricht (Blijham 1998), Groningen (Van Gangelen 1988), Doesburg and Maassluis (Dibbits 2001) and Friesland (de Vries 1975), as well as studies made in other areas of Europe, such as England (Weatherill 1996). Studies of inventories normally fall into two major fields; cultural-historical or economic-historical (Bartels 2005:16). The former often aims to investigate material culture use and change as related to region or social status, or the position of objects within the house, and the latter investigates the effect of the waged income on the household's purchasing habits (De Vries 1994b:101). Both methods have the potential to provide useful insights into material culture and consumption patterns. Extremely interesting research has aimed to combine excavated cesspits with probate inventories for the region and period, although such detailed study is not often possible (for an example see Laan 2003). Hupperetz was actually able to compare the excavated cesspit from a tavern at Breda with a slightly later probate inventory from the same building (2004:137). On other rare occasions it may be possible to link the contents of the cesspit to the inhabitants of the property, if the occupation data for the house is known, and if the excavation reveals particularly well datable material or events. The contributing household has been unearthed for both the excavation at Torenstraat in Enkhuizen (Duijn 2010c), and the Koornmarkt in Tiel (Bartels 2005). This linking between archaeological material and inventories is likely to have greater success in the eighteenth century (Bartels 2005:16). This type of scholarship may give us a great deal of knowledge about the way that specific social standing or personal histories affect consumption, as well as how the breakdown of age and gender in the house may have affected their purchasing and dining habits. However the rarity of all necessary sources means that these questions must be supplemented as much as possible with other sources.

The study of probate inventories can give us a good indicator of some of the items which are almost always absent in archaeological contexts, such as metals. For example, the 1666 inventory of an average household from Doesburg in Gelderland demonstrated a large quantity of pewter, including twenty-two dishes, nine plates, three bowls, two mustard pots and two salt cellars, as well as six silver spoons which are likely to have been a christening gift. This dramatically contrasts with the quantity of other vessels from the same household; only four ceramic dishes, a mustard pot and butter dish, as well as a single wooden plate, are recorded (Dibbits 2001:128). The record of low value items is rare, often these are recorded as "pots and pans", or even "rubbish" (Bitter 2011:35-56). In inventories from Maastricht, utilitarian vessels were entirely absent in probate inventories. No ordinary kitchen utensils or vessels were recorded from any of the nine craft and merchant households studied (Blijham 1998). This study also highlights another issue with probate inventories. Silver and gilded spoons and beakers were noted for several individuals; a pharmacist owned six silver spoons and two silver goblets at the time of his

death, and the inventory of a pewter worker showed a silver cup and thirteen silver spoons. The inventory is not able to identify which of these objects were in ownership and use by the household as opposed to items for sale (Blijham 1998:4).

Both archaeological survey and inventories have their own disadvantages. Items of low value and 'reduced durability' are infrequently recorded in the latter (de Vries 1994b:102), while such items make up the majority of cesspit assemblages. Precious metals and pewter, which are likely to have been significant proportions some household material, are rarely found in cesspit groups, due to greater durability and the possibilities of resale or recycling (Bitter 2008:160). In contrast these economically valuable household items, also including jewellery, porcelain, and clocks, might appear to be overly conspicuous in probate inventories. Family heirlooms will only be included in inventories if they are of financial value, and other items with a personal or symbolic value might not be accounted for (de Vries 1994b:102). In addition, probate inventories rely on the accuracy of the writer and discussions of various object types are not always easy to interpret (Dijkstra, Roedema and Duco 1997:101). A comparison of both sources is likely to give the most accurate view of early-modern furniture and goods.

De Vries argues that material culture, as a static concept, is well suited to examination through inventories, which capture it at the moment of a death. Dynamic consumer demand, however, cannot be examined in this way due to its constant state of change and flux (de Vries 1994b:102). However, it is the very non-static process of consumer demand which shapes the appropriation and relevance of material culture. Items of material culture themselves are in a constant state of flux within their own lifecycle, of which record in an inventory is just one part.

2. 1. 2. Paintings

Material culture also features in a prominent position in many contemporary artworks. The secularisation of art during the late sixteenth century, mainly as a result of losing ecclesiastical patronage, created a "free art market" (Frijhoff and Spies 2005:52). This neatly coincided with a rise in literacy and education and the increase in disposable wealth, meaning that art suddenly became available to burghers, merchants and tradesmen, and was no longer restricted to the regent classes (Barnes and Rose 2002:11). Paintings in themselves provide evidence for the changing consumerism of the 'middling sort'. These groups now had the income and the desire to decorate their homes, and production quickly went into action to meet this demand, sacrificing quality for quantity and making paintings and artworks affordable for nearly everyone (Prak 2005:238). By the mid seventeenth century, hundreds of artists, now in specialist guilds, produced paintings, etchings, decorated tiles, sculptures, and engravings, numbering into the thousands (*ibid*); some estimate millions (Frijhoff and Spies 2005:52). The Montias Database, an analysis of artworks, furniture and sculpture from seventeenth-century Amsterdam, found that 35,839 paintings were recorded in just 1,280 inventories (Montias 1998, The Frick Collection). The

total value of the paintings was in excess of *f* 234,000, with individual pieces costing, on average, around *f* 13 (the cost for many items was not known).

This mass market led to an intense degree of specialism, not just in the artistic medium, but also in subject. In describing the content of Dutch paintings, Buechner suggests the impetus came from the celebration of abundance: “the Dutchman preferred visual symbols of his own prosperity - the good things in life were there about him, and he apparently desired to please his eye with little else” (1952:13). This prosperity came in many forms; landscapes and seascapes, the boats which had brought the Dutch victory and financial security, portraits of militia groups or guilds who defended the Dutch way of life, and still life paintings, which celebrated both the simplicity and modesty of Dutch food and the extravagance of their new wealth (Barnes and Rose 2002). Several specific styles of painting are particularly useful for the examination of material culture; different kinds of still life, domestic and tavern interiors, and banquet scenes. Of the 35,839 paintings recognised by Montias, about 2,098 of these paintings were of still life, and 255 were kitchen scenes or interiors (Montias 1998, The Frick Collection). While this is not a large proportion, their importance in material culture research is significant. Banquet scenes usually depict guild or militia groups, and often these include extravagant drinking vessels, particularly guild beakers engraved with the names of group members (see Chapter 11. 4. 3). Here, material culture takes on its most symbolic and ostentatious form.

Interiors depicting home life, tavern or wedding scenes are particularly interesting as they ostensibly depict material culture in the process of use. The still life came into its own as an artistic theme in the Golden Age Flemish and Dutch school. Popular types included the *ontbijtje* (‘breakfast’) scenes, depicting the typical simple meal the was the ubiquitous breakfast food for all, usually herring or ham, cheese, bread and a lemon, with a *roemer* of wine or a stoneware jug of beer (Schama 1997:159) (Barnes and Rose 2002:12). These paintings were produced in their hundreds by artists who made them their speciality. Examples of this kind of painting include Willem Claesz. Heda’s *Stilleven* (1651), Floris Gerritsz van Schooten’s *Stilleven met glas* (*c.* 1590-1655) and *Stilleven met een zoutvat* by Pieter Claesz. (*c.* 1640 – 1645) (RM Inv. SK-A-4839, **Fig. 2. 1. (1)**).

The contrast to these simple and modest images of ‘honest’ food comes in the form of the *pronkstilleven*, the luxury still life, with silver and crystal glassware tumbling across the table. The *banketje* (little banquet) scene created an even more chaotic tableau, with a precarious balance of half-eaten foods: lobsters, decorated pies, fruit and oysters. Nestled within the untidy folds of tablecloth or carpet are elegant *façon de Venise* glasses, dishes of porcelain and gilded silver *tazze* (Barnes and Rose 2002:12) (**Fig. 2. 1. (2)**).

Fig. 2. 1. (1). *Stilleven met een zoutvat* (detail) by Pieter Claesz. (*c.*1640 – 1645). RM Inv. SK-A-4839. www.rijksmuseum.nl.

Abraham van Beyeren's *Large still life with a lobster* (1653) features a *roemer*, a lidded *façon de Venise* goblet with a seashorse stem, a silver *tazza*, a lobed silver or faience dish, and a nautilus cup on a gilded stem, alongside melons, peaches and grapes; a riot of opulence. Lavish feast scenes showing expensive tableware and exotic foods might have acted as a substitute for the ownership of the real thing if the luxury items in question were actually beyond the purchasing power of the household. Displaying images of desirable items transferred a sense of fashion and elegance to the home decor (Barnes and Rose 2002:14); a way of "displaying their cultural attainments and impeccable taste" (Prak 2005:236). These two extremes of still life painting can be thought of as visualisations of the conflicting aspects of Dutch morality discussed in Chapter 1. 2. 3.

Fig. 2. 1. (2). *Stilleven* (detail) by Abraham Hendricksz. van Beyeren, *c.*1640 - 1680.
RM Inv. SK-A-3944. www.rijksmuseum.nl.

While breakfast paintings offer a simple, 'homely' sustenance, there is also a moralistic element to them, a sense of "ruminative plainness" (Schama 1997:161). This forms a dramatic contrast to the chaos of wealth seen in the banquet paintings, where the table is about to collapse under the excessive opulence of food and treasure. The simple elegance of a stoneware jug or patterned beaker in the breakfast paintings contrasts with the gluttonous excesses of silver and porcelain in banquet scenes to construct a 'moral compass' for domestic life (Barnes and Rose 2002:14). This is reminiscent of the more overt moralising of the *vanitas* paintings, the 'Fat and Thin Kitchens' or 'dissolute household' paintings of Jan Steen. These genre paintings construct less than subtle metaphors, often using items of material culture, to warn of the dangers of consumption and immoderate behaviour to life and soul. The banquet scenes may have masqueraded as didactic images, but there is also a sense of pride in the wealth of colours and textures present that may reflect a desire to praise the wealth and prosperity of the Dutch Republic (Barnes and Rose 2002:14). Further discussion on the use of drinking vessels as morality images in paintings takes place in Chapter 11. 3. 2.

While demonstrating the type and variety of Dutch drinking wares in circulation during the seventeenth century, paintings do not give a good indication of the way in which these were used, or the actual consumption patterns of particular vessel types within households. Artists were known for maintaining a set of favoured furnishings and utensils which became common elements in most of their paintings (Buechner 1952:14). It must be remembered that the still life represents an artificial composition of pleasing forms, colours and textures, rather than an accurate 'slice of life'. Aesthetics were, after all, the primary goal of the artist (Weatherill 1996:5, Dijkstra, Roedema and Duco 1997:101). A greater sense of realism may be seen in the more natural looking domestic scenes, normally depicting maids or housewives at work in the yard or kitchen, or in other scenes such as taverns or weddings. In many of the these interior scenes, vessels, pipes and dishes are depicted, carefully displayed on the mantel piece, clutched in the hand of a quaffing peasant or carelessly discarded on the floor, a victim of raucous celebration. However, these scenes must too be viewed with caution, for the artistic composition and intension, whether to romanticise, condemn or amuse, is likely to obscure the accuracy of the scene in play.

One example of scholarship which uses artistic depictions to inform archaeological collections is the work of Brongers and Wijnman, who used seventeenth century Dutch and Flemish paintings to create a chronological classification of *roemers* (Brongers and Wijnman 1968). *Roemers* underwent swift and high recognisable stylistic changes throughout the seventeenth century, and Brongers and Wijnman used over two hundred paintings in order to recognise the earliest and latest appearance of certain vessel types. There are some issues with this method, as the aforementioned artists' 'utensil set' suggests, pieces depicted in paintings might well have been retained and used as an artistic model after similar types had ceased to be used in the household. However, the use of paintings does present a sort of *terminus post quem* for the appearance of new *roemer* types, which are highly unlikely to have been depicted in paintings prior to being in general circulation. This paper formed the foundation of a number of later systems for dating glass, such as Henkes (1994).

2. 2. Cesspits

It was decided through a small feasibility study that, despite some issues, urban cesspits provided an excellent source of material culture for the study of domestic consumption and artefact use during this period. Some of the advantages and disadvantages of using privies and waste pits as the source of the dataset are summarised below.

2. 2. 1. Historical waste management systems

Cesspits were one part of a growingly complex waste management system which was being implemented across the early modern Netherlands, likely as a result of increasing urbanisation and a rising population density that, when combined with poor sanitation, would inevitably produce disease (van Oosten 2014:27-28, Bartels 1999:25). Towards the end of the Middle Ages, it has been estimated that a town of 6,000 inhabitants would produce an average per year of 85 million litres of liquid, and 1,200 tons of solid waste. These figures would only increase into the early modern period especially when the waste from animals was added in (Bartels 1999:25). Many of the controls on the discard of waste were put in place for the purposes of increasing sanitation, disease management, and to protect the quality of the canal water; this was particularly important in towns which relied on brewing as a main source of income. Towns which were praised for the quality of their beer were often also recorded as having exceptionally clean water, Rotterdam was one such town (van Deursen 1991:103). Delft, also an important brewing town, began legislating the disposal of waste from the fifteenth century in order to try and limit water contamination (Bult 1992:55). Brick-built cesspits became compulsory for all households, although an additional waste collection system also removed refuse from the town to use as field fertiliser (Bult 1995:8). However, it was not really until the eighteenth century that the dangers of faecal matter leaching from cesspits into groundwater began to be understood and widely legislated against; in Haarlem, the construction of porous cesspits were banned in 1708, and in ‘s-Hertogenbosch in 1758 it was forbidden to build a cesspit adjacent to an existing well (van Oosten 2014:76, 77 note 216). In Groningen, the decreasingly quality of the groundwater resulted in a change to the collection of water rather than waste disposal; wells were gradually abandoned and a new system of rainwater cisterns came into common use (Broekhuizen *et al* 1992:218).

Until this point, private or semi-private domestic cesspits were just one of several accepted methods of waste disposal. Waste was dumped into canals, and canal dredging to clear mud and rubbish was another relatively common occurrence (Bitter 2011:35-56). Both domestic and manufacturing waste was being discarded here, as the material recovered from Amsterdam’s Rozengracht demonstrates (Gawronski *et al* 2010), and cesspits built near the river also sometimes had an overflow which led into the canal (Bartels 1999:30). Waste was also discarded in the street, or taken to large municipal waste pits, usually located by the town walls or gates (Bitter 2011:35-56, Bitter 2008:157). These communal pits could be found in Amsterdam, Alkmaar, Leiden, Haarlem and Gouda (Bitter 2008:158). In some towns, a great deal of information about waste management is available. For instance, in Alkmaar it was known that during the seventeenth century, a municipal waste collection system was in place, where household refuse was collected and removed by barge three times a week (Bitter 2011:35-56). Similar systems ran in Deventer, and in Delft, as mentioned above. In Nijmegen, streets were constructed with central or edging gutters, and residents were expected to clean these out every Saturday. However, as many of the gutters emptied directly into the canals, this did not really improve offer much of an improvement (Bartels 1999:25).

The final option for waste disposal was in a cesspit or septic tank, usually constructed behind a residence in a back yard, and below the privy. Cesspits could belong to a single household, or be used by several different properties, in a similar fashion to the sharing of wells between communities (van Oosten 2014:78). Shared cesspits and wells divided the burden of construction and maintenance, which could be high. This further emphasises the status of houses who owned their own private pits (van Oosten 2014:79-80).

2. 2. 2. Cesspits: full and empty

The primary function of cesspits was as a deposit for human, and sometimes animal, faeces. However, as is clear from a multitude of excavations, the majority were also used as a dump for other forms of discarded household waste, including broken crockery, food waste, animal bones, glass, pipes, kitchenware, textiles and shoes, utensils, and ointment jars, amongst other things (see Bartels 2005:56-62 for a comprehensive example). Before 1500, the use of cesspits was more limited to just the collection of faecal matter. It was only after the increase in consumption of household utensils that pits became used for general household waste (Bitter 2008:157). There are a number of suggestions as to why material may have been discarded in cesspits rather than using one of the more legitimate disposal methods available. Bitter hypothesises that many items of cooking ware, like pipkins, were thrown into the pit due to its proximity to the kitchen and exterior food preparation areas where items might have been broken. He also suggests idleness might well have been a cause of waste build up, either from not wishing to clean soiled pipkins or chamber pots, or through individuals emptying buckets of waste into the privy to avoid walking to the municipal pits. He also suggests the loss of hidden valuables, or house and yard clearance in the event of a homeowner’s death might also both contribute to the contents of the pit (Bitter 2011:35-56). Clearance or demolition waste was also sometimes buried in new pits dug purely for this purpose (Bartels 1999:26-27).

The inclusion of broken vessels and other rubbish in cesspits caused pits to become much more quickly filled, and this led to the necessary but unpleasant task of cesspit emptying and cleaning, which developed into a specialist industry (Bitter 2008:157). Cleaning a pit usually involved breaking open the structure before much of the waste was scooped out and the pit then repaired (Bitter 2011:35-56). This process was understandably expensive. In Alkmaar it was recorded that domestic pits of modest size were emptied at a cost of *ƒ* 6 to *ƒ* 10 (Bitter 2011:35-56). In some areas, pit emptying could cost up to three month’s rent; when the construction of an entire new wooden pit was only half as much again (van Oosten 2014:133-134, 80). While pit cleaning was almost always undertaken during transference of the property between different residents (Bitter 2011:10), it is likely that clearance happened much more frequently than has previously been supposed, on average between five and twenty-one years (van Oosten 2014:129).

It has frequently been noted that the extracted material was removed to use as fertiliser on nearby field systems, although this did depend on the type of soil in the region as well as local agricultural practices (van Oosten 2014:41).This may have made it more or less

valuable to sell household waste for this purpose, and consequently may have affected the frequency and efficiency of pit clearance, and the creation of the subsequent archaeological record. For example, the contents of emptied cesspits was apparently not utilised as fertiliser in Groningen as it was in other cities, and instead a regulation issued in 1630 ordered that waste material be deposited in the dump at the eastern gates of the city (Carmiggelt *et al* 1987:20). A similar proclamation in 1712, declared that cesspit emptying was now only to take place at night, but the contents were still added to a large dump; it is only by 1747 that records indicate cesspit waste began to be spread on fields (*ibid*). This is somewhat in contrast to the conclusions of van Oosten, who noted the importance of the farming hinterland to most inland cities in the early modern period, and suggests that the exchange of urban waste as fertiliser formed part of this ‘symbiosis’ (van Oosten 2014:235). It is possible that Groningen fitted more into the ‘coastal’ city pattern, where urban refuse was of little economic and agricultural value (van Oosten 2014:37-41).

In some rare instances, the results of fertiliser extraction can be seen archaeologically: layers of seventeenth-century ceramic sherds and fragmentary glass found in a cesspit on the Volderstraatje in ‘s-Hertogenbosch has been identified as the result of cesspit emptying. These pieces may have been removed from the organic fertiliser material, and thrown back into the pit after clearance, causing a layer of fragmented, but highly concentrated, material (R. van Genabeek 2011, pers. comm., 25th Jan). At the other end of this process, field-walking at the village of Hemrik in Friesland recovered numerous pieces of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century material culture.

Fig. 2. 2. (1). Finds gathered during field-walking near Hemrik village, Friesland.

This included *roemers*, soda glass beakers, a *stangenglas*, pipe-clay ceramic figurines, a red earthenware cup, an enamelled blue glass beaker and a large number of stoneware marbles (**Fig. 2. 2. (1)**, E. Taayke 2011, pers. comm., 28th Nov). It is likely that most of this material was deposited in this area as a result of household waste disposal, quite possibly, given the likely expense of the decorated vessels found, transported in from a nearby city.

In theory, if cesspits were thoroughly cleaned before a recorded change in ownership of the property, a *tabular rasa* would be created for the deposition of later material. In practice, however, cleaning efforts tended to be rather more desultory, and artefacts were frequently left behind, creating a complex stratigraphy of numerous layers of deposition and clearance (Bartels 1999:34). This is particularly complicated when taking into account new scholarship which suggests pits may have been partially emptied far more frequently that previously supposed (see section 2. 3. 1 in this chapter).

2. 2. 3. Cesspits and the home

One obvious issue with the use of material from cesspits is that this data only accurately demonstrates the consumption habits of one portion of the population; those with access to a cesspit. Van Oosten discusses the likelihood that, before 1600, cesspits may have only been used by buildings with two storeys, and were therefore not necessarily representative of a broad stretch of the population (van Oosten 2014:71). Particularly large pits might correlate to larger, often rented, houses with a higher number of inhabitants (van Oosten 2014:75). Some pit structures were constructed with multiple chutes, indicating several different households may have been contributing to its contents (van Oosten 2014:55); this was found to be particularly common amongst houses of a lower rent value (Bitter 2008:161).

However, some pits may have been in private use, particularly for more wealthy citizens. Significant decrease in the size of cesspits from the medieval through to the early modern period may demonstrate a general change from communal to private, single household usage (van Oosten 2014:78-80). In many key areas, cesspit use declined during the eighteenth century, with only the wealthiest still retaining private pits. In many areas, a daily waste collection essentially eliminated the need for larger pits for many citizens (Bitter 2011:35-56).

A multitude of different kinds of cesspit were in use during the seventeenth century, and entire studies have been done to analyse the different types and the processes behind waste disposal in this fashion. Roos van Oosten's recently published doctoral thesis *'De stad, het vuil en de beerput'* has already been referenced several times, and contains a wealth of research into cesspit types and usage. Pits could be both custom built, and repurposed from other features. Old wells (*waterput*), cellars (*beerkelder)* and buried wooden barrels (*tonput*) were often used in this way after their original purpose had been exhausted. Cellars, which might be lined and floored with titles, had a much larger volume than other sorts of pit and rarely needed to be emptied (Bartels 1999:31). Purpose-built

cesspits were constructed in fairly diverse ways. Wooden waste pits may have been particularly related with wood-built houses, and often used recycled house or ship timbers, or barrels. They were usually rectangular in shape (Bartels 1999:27-28). Cesspits and septic tanks were constructed most commonly of brick but could also be made of tile or stone, and were round, oval or rectangular. The width and depth of pits relied on a number of factors, such as the cost, the size of the plot and the height of the water table. Generally, they varied between eight to twenty metres^3 in volume (Bartels 1999:28).

Additional sub-surface or above-ground features such as domed roofs, chutes and latrine houses also came in a variety of types. Multiple chutes sometimes fed into the same pit, either where the kitchen and latrine had separate deposit points, or where several houses were using the same pit (van Oosten 2014:54, Bartels 1999:33).

2. 2. 4. The material

Given the number of alternate waste disposal methods and the frequency of pit emptying, it is surprising that any artefacts are recovered at all from excavated cesspits. Bitter estimates that if five pieces of crockery were broken every year by Alkmaar's 2000 households, then three and a half million ceramics would have been discarded in 350 years of cesspit use (2008:157). In fact, the actual number of breakages could have been much higher than this. The large gap between the number of finds recovered and the actual consumption of ceramics and glass is caused primarily by the way the waste disposal was organized. Bitter also suggests that individuals may have been less likely to dump waste in a shared pit due to their responsibility for some of the cost (Bitter 2008:162). This might mean that material from less well-off sites, where pits were shared, is more poorly represented. What this does serve to show is exactly how much of the material which would originally have been is use is now lost. Van Oosten notes that in some cities, legislation dictated that, for sanitation reasons, pits should be emptied before being taken out of use (van Oosten 2014:142-6). Pits are sometimes found empty (Bartels 1999:32), although others may not have been permanently decommissioned, but later reused and any remaining material mixed. This comes in addition to regular clearance activities of pits in use, and artefact decay, all of which would contribute to the loss or damage of artefacts. Early excavations were sometimes carried out in a haphazard way that led to further damage of surviving artefacts (Bartels 1999:40). To add another dimension, the large quantity of material gathered from cesspits during several decades of archaeology was already putting pressure on storage depots by the 1990s. Material was retained for storage based only on its perceived usefulness in answering current scientific questions, as well as its rarity (Bartels 1999:37). Some areas may have been even less discerning in their discard. In instances such as this thesis, where the entire assemblage is being used for study, the discard of some artefact types, while perhaps necessary, might hinder the ability to draw conclusions.

Despite all of the limitations mentioned above, a certain amount of material does survive to be recovered from cesspits, excavated and stored for future study. As mentioned above,

the location of the cesspit near the kitchen may have affected the contents of the pit. It is certainly true that much of the material gathered from pits tends to be kitchen or table ware, although this does often include more elegant pieces of display or ceremonial ceramic and glass. Objects without a drinking, eating or hygiene function, such as lamps, furniture and vases etc. are rarely disposed of in this way (Bitter 2008:158), and it is likely that their lack of frequent handling would cause them to become damaged less often (Bartels 1999:39). Fortunately it is the everyday and luxury drinkingware which is the focus of this study, and these items often make up a substantial quantity of the remaining cesspit contents.

Cesspits are also valued as archaeological sources due to their often superior quality of preservation, particularly of organic material. This includes food waste such as seeds, fruit stones, animal bone, shells and scales, as well as wooden items and sometimes even metals (Sarfatij 1999:18). For instance, in low lying cities such as Dordrecht and Tiel which have high acidic groundwater, organic remains such as leather, textiles, parchment, and wood are well preserved. Metal is generally more likely to survive under these conditions too, although in areas with high salinity, such as Dordrecht, or in pits which are highly aerated, metals will quickly decay. Tin-glazed earthenware is also poorly preserved in wet areas. The groundwater often leads to the discolouration of the glaze, particularly when it is poorly applied (Bartels 1999:31). Where the water table is lower and the soils are sandier or silty, drier sub-ground conditions are created. In cities like Nijmegen, Deventer, Zutphen and Doresburg, organic and metal artefacts will not survive well, but ceramics may be in better condition (Bartels 1999:32, Groothedde and Henkes 2007:9).

2. 3. History of urban archaeology

Material from Dutch cesspits have been utilised in a large number of studies over the past fifty years, many of which proved instrumental in the formation of artefact typologies for late medieval and early modern material culture. However, before successful legislation to protect and moderate the excavation of archaeological sites was implemented, many sites and pits across the country were looted or emptied by treasure hunters searching for saleable antiques. Bitter mentions that this kind of activity was still ‘half legal’ in Alkmaar until 1987, and has caused numerous sites to be damaged and finds from them to be lost (Bitter 2011:35-56). Sarfatij suggests that in some areas it was really the wealth of objects coming to light from cesspits which really kick-started the process of urban archaeology (Sarfatij 1999:17). Urban research only began to come into existence in a significant way after 1945, when large areas of many major cities required significant clearance and rebuilding after suffering severe war damage (Sarfatij 1977:207). These redevelopments offered both a threat to underlying monuments, and an opportunity to conduct small rescue excavations on an ad hoc basis, although the excavation budget was low and publications infrequently produced (Cruysheer 2002:11). Outside of the towns, land reclamation projects around the Ijsselmeer and polders revealed sunken landscapes and shipwrecks for study (Willems 1997:7). Awareness was growing of archaeological needs;

new archaeological departments were established in several universities, and gradually towns began to establish municipal services to make archaeology part of standard urban development (Willems 1997:7). By 2009, around fifty cities employed municipal archaeologists (Courtney 2009:177).

By the 1960s, economic upturn led to grand changes in the infrastructure and large housing developments in many European cities. Rescue excavations and research projects were now able to be undertaken on a much larger and more intensive scale, a method of study considered to be 'characteristically' Dutch (Willems 2007:59, Sarfatij 1999:17, Willems 1997:8). The undertaking of archaeology in the Netherlands was significantly advanced with the passing of the *Monumentenwet* (the Monuments Act) in 1988 (Sarfatij 1977:212, Cruysheer 2002:10). This act promoted several major premises of modern archaeology. Looting and non-controlled digging were now prohibited; excavation was to be undertaken only by specifically trained individuals or institutions, or under their supervision. All archaeological finds must be reported, and new efforts were to be made in the protection of historic monuments (Sarfatij 1977:212).

The next major additions to legislation came with the 'European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage' (more commonly known as the Convention of Malta, the Valletta Convention or in the Netherlands as *het Verdrag van Malta*) in 1992 (Willems 2007:57, Cruysheer 2002:10). The treaty was made between ministers of culture for a number of European countries, including the Netherlands, and was concerned with European culture, archaeological excavation, heritage and the protection of monuments (Willems 2007:57). The implementation of the treaty was particularly timely in the Netherlands due to a rapid acceleration in urban development which was taking place around the country, including the development of new residential areas, construction of industrial parks and amenities, and significant changes to aspects of urban infrastructure (Cruysheer 2002:10). The main thrust of the Convention required that archaeological research and heritage management should be integrated into the planning process for developments in order to limit the need for rescue archaeology, that the developer should be responsible for financing any archaeological work in line with the 'polluter pays' principle, and that archaeological and heritage matters should be more effectively communicated with the general public to promote awareness and education (Willems 2007:59, 63-64).

Despite the Convention being signed in 1992, it was not until 2007 that its terms were included into national law in the Netherlands (Willems 2007:65), with the *'Wet op de Archeologische Monumentenzorg'* (Law on Archaeological Heritage Management) (van Oosten 2014:47). Among other things, this law controlled how municipal archaeological services could undertake excavations and, most importantly, only granted permits to excavate based on the provision that publications must be made within two years of the excavation being completed. This has led to a rush of publications over the last few years, as more excavations are brought to publication more quickly (van Oosten 2014:47). However, this has done little to improve the situation of the vast backlog of unpublished sites and materials from the previous few decades, or helped to counter the imbalance

between the quantity of data being produced and lack of analysis and further study of that data (van Oosten 2014:46). Until recently, the overwhelming quantity of urban rescue excavations had resulted in an understandable focus on cataloguing, dating and describing artefacts and features. However, as Verhaeghe notes, “these tasks do not in themselves constitute the ultimate goal of archaeological work” (1997:26).

2. 3. 1. Previous cesspit research

Given their frequent discovery in many medieval and early modern cities, cesspits have been the partial subject of many of the rescue excavation works discussed above (Courtney 2009:117-118). Since the 1970s, several hundred cesspits have been excavated in the Netherlands, although far fewer have come to publication (Bartels 2005:16). The material culture contents of pits have been utilised in a number of different ways. Sarfatij recognises the wide number of research aims which can be addressed through cesspit research, including examining the process of urbanisation, aspects of daily life, evidence of traded materials, industrial activities, wealth distribution and social diversity (Sarfatij 1999:17). As he notes, the majority of cesspit research has been ‘object related’, and there has certainly in the past been a tendency to develop material-focused specialisms, which while useful in forming chronotypologies, have also to some extent led to an isolated and ‘fragmenting’ of knowledge and comprehension (Verhaeghe 1997:26). Simple inventories of excavated artefact types represent the most common and simple form of research; frequently only ceramics are discussed. A step above this are studies which are formed around the construction of typological catalogues, such as *Het Corpus Middeleeuws Aardewerk* series by Wim Hupperetz (1994). In the same year, Harold Henkes’ landmark work on glass was published, *Glas zonder Glans*, which developed a dated glass typology covering five hundred years from excavated and museum glass vessels. Such studies, and the general copiousness of material culture from cesspit excavations, further developed into the *Classificatiesysteem voor post-middeleeuws aardewerk en glas*, more commonly referred to as the ‘Deventer Code’ (see section 2. 5. 1 in this chapter). This classification system created a combined typology of ceramic and glass from cesspit and waste pits, with later works now adding metal and wood items too. The creation of this classification system, tied to understanding social status and enabling comparison across assemblages, has been considered by some to be the first step into the world of processual archaeology from the former cultural-historical approach (van Oosten 2014:50). Over recent years, the use of cesspits as a source for the interrogation of material culture and consumption patterns is becoming increasingly nuanced. Recent studies, such as Michiel Bartels’ analysis of the van Lidth de Jeude cesspit in Tiel, have compared research into historical records and probate inventories with excavated material culture, osteological material, and botanical samples, to create a complex and detailed picture of consumption and deposition patterns (Bartels 2005).

The ability to create these detailed studies has been greatly aided by advances in excavation technique and cesspit theory. Van Oosten criticises the long held view that cesspits were seldom emptied, and that the material is part of a ‘closed context’,

undisturbed and 'Pompeii-like' (van Oosten 2014:140). Unlike some archaeological features, cesspits should not be treated as a frozen moment in time, but as a result of a long process of discard (Sarfatij 1999:17). In addition, Van Oosten's concern is that the far greater frequency of cesspit emptying as recorded in the historic record indicates a failure on the part of excavators to recognise stratigraphic levels within cesspits, and therefore introduce flaws into conclusions about artefact consumption and dating (van Oosten 2014:140-141). However, while in some instances cesspits are excavated as a single context, particularly older excavations, the majority of larger and more modern excavations are sympathetic to layered deposition (for examples see Bult 1992:39, Groothedde and Henkes 2007:11, Ostkamp, Roedema and van Wilgen 2001:55, Dijkstra, Roedema and Duco 1997:101, 151), although the difficulties in recognising layers and excavating them successfully are often noted. In some instances, pits were so deep that the base layers of material were not able to be recovered; particularly in Nijmegen where pits were known to descend five or six metres (Bartels 1999:28). Not only was a complex pit stratigraphy created by the common use of multiple depositing chutes and subsequent periods of partial emptying, but biological process could also lead to mixing of the material. As the higher material began to dry out, heavy items like ceramics and metal were likely to sink through the layers, where smaller items such as seeds, wood, fabric and small glass fragments floated or were suspended higher up (Bartels 1999:34). In addition, the gases released by decomposition of organic material will percolate through more solid layers causing a mixing of the material into an unrecognisable fill (*ibid*).

Changes in the methodology of excavation have also helped to clarify the stratigraphy of cesspits. Three different methods of cesspit excavation are identified by Bartels, and named the Lübeck Method, the Amsterdam Method, and the Alkmaar Method. The first method was first trialled in the German city of Lübeck, but was also used during excavations of Dordrecht, Deventer and Tiel (Bartels 1999:35). This involves context by context excavation down through the pit as each layer is reached. The Amsterdam method involves digging around the outside of the pit and then cutting a section into it from the outside. This allows any stratigraphic layers to be revealed, which are then removed and sieved (Bartels 1999:35-36). The Alkmaar method was developed by the *Stichting Behoud Alkmaarse Bodemvondsten* under the guidance of Rob Roedema, in the late 1980s. This method is similar to the Amsterdam method above, except layers of deposition are entirely removed upon discovery in large plastic buckets for later sieving and sampling off-site. As well as maintaining archaeologically distinct contexts, and removing material quickly to prevent the attentions of treasure hunters, this method is also successful at collecting smaller fragments of material culture and biological material (Bitter 2011:35-36, Bartels 1999:36).

As the excavation of cesspits is often linked to rescue excavation and municipal archaeological services, the majority of published cesspit studies are often closely focussed on small geographic areas, such as the work of Peter Bitter in Alkmaar (Bitter 2011, Bitter 2008), and Groothedde and Henkes' studies in Zutphen (Groothedde and Henkes 2003b, Groothedde and Henkes 2007). One particularly seminal work which covered a wider area is the *Afvalkuil en Beerputten* project, a study of 172 cesspits and waste dumps covering 650 years from the cities of Tiel, Deventer, Dordrecht and Nijmegen, published as *Steden in*

Scherven by Michiel Bartels in 1999. This work is one of the largest and most comprehensive cesspit studies produced to date, as it discusses ceramic, glass, metal artefacts and pipes from a wide geographic area and chronological period. This kind of study is increasing the relevance of cesspit excavations, from purely a local concern to a method of examining consumption patterns on a national level.

A few years later this work was followed by a study produced by Groothedde and Henkes (2003a). This research aimed to compare glass material from cesspits excavated from fifty-two contexts in thirteen different cities across the country; this kind of study, particularly undertaken using glass rather than ceramics, was one of the first of its kind. The authors were concerned with the extent to which glassware could be used as an indicator of prosperity, both on a household level, and within regional groups (East Netherlands, West Netherlands and North Netherlands). The assemblages were divided into four wealth categories for comparison, drawn from historical research: rich, wealthy, not wealthy, and those of little means. These were compared by size, although the authors readily note that discrepancies are more likely relate to post-depositional pit emptying than wealth (Groothedde and Henkes 2003a:19-20). The next part of the report the compared the quantity of 'exceptional' objects from the pits, both by number and percentage of the total material, to conclude that there some observable differences between 'rich' cities and 'poor' cities. In the late middle ages, they observe a higher level of wealth (as indicated by the quantity of high quality glass) in Holland than eastern cities. In the seventeenth century, the two groups appear to be the same, and in the eighteenth century, the eastern Dutch towns along the Rhine and the Ijssel seem to present a higher level of wealth (Groothedde and Henkes 2003a:27). They propose several explanations for these contradictory findings: perhaps the value of these vessels was different in the two regions, with conspicuous consumption of exceptional glass pieces being more important in the poorer towns (*ibid*). This method of analysis; comparing the quality and quantity of material from cesspits to recognise status and wealth, has been highly influential, particularly when constructing the analysis presented in Chapter 12.

Studies which examine the more social context of vessels; their symbolic power, the role they play as items of consumption and their potential as interpersonal communicators, have also recently come to prominence in the field of cesspit studies. Particularly influential works include those by Alexandra Gaba-van Dongen, particularly *Longing for Luxury* (2004) and her collaborations with Harold Henkes (van Dongen and Henkes 1994), Sebastiaan Ostkamp's work on the symbology of religion (1996) and weddings (2004), and Danielle Caluwé's ongoing research in Flanders and Belgium on drinkingware and dining (2006).

Previous studies of cesspits have used a number of different methods to quantify the cesspit material; one of the most common establishes a count through a minimum number of copies (*Minimum Aantal Exemplaren* or MAE). In early cesspit studies, this was sometimes only estimated from complete or nearly complete vessels (van Oosten 2014:139), with smaller fragments or sherds sometimes not even being recovered from the pit fill, and therefore unable to be used to create samples of representative use. Another method of analysing ceramic remains, known as Estimated Vessel Equivalents (EVE), allows for the degree of fragmentation to be examined. This is thought to help identify if pit

emptying had occurred (such as with Volderstraatje mentioned above), as well as potentially to reflect on how long the artefacts were in use, and if they had been retained after repair, or discarded complete when no longer fashionable (van Oosten 2014:139). The EVE is calculated by measuring the arc of the rim or base, and establishing what percentage of the complete vessel survives.

Both methods are rarely used together for the same reason that EVE was not utilised in this study; the limitations of time (van Oosten 2014:139). Instead, a variant of the first method (MAE) was adopted, but one which does also utilise broken and fragmentary pieces as part of the total vessel estimate. Singular features of the vessels, such as rims, or unique body sherds, were used to estimate the minimum number of vessels present. This can be difficult to assess with any degree of accuracy when dealing with large numbers of similar vessel types which are not particularly distinctive, such as earthenware vessels or plain glass beaker rims. Any which could not be confirmed to be from a different vessel were not counted, so the figures presented here are likely to be lower than those actually in circulation. Although initial plans intended to weigh the remaining body fragments and any uncounted rims or bases, this was eventually discarded as it emerged that this material had not been retained from most sites and in isolation could not be useful. In addition, any fragments which came from the same vessel were used to make a rough estimation of what percentage of the complete vessel seemed to be present in the pit.

2. 4. Forming the datasets

As was discussed in the previous section, drinking vessels from cesspits are the primary focus of this study. Cesspits were chosen due to a number of reasons: their enclosed nature, frequent discovery during excavation, good preservation, links to individual housing complexes, and that they were a common dump site for cooking and dining material. As the project is concerned with the use of material across the United Provinces, it was vital that examples from as many areas as possible were gathered, and that these assemblages represented periods covering the entire seventeenth century and several decades either side. In order to both increase the utility of this study, and to limit the redundancy of discussing previously published material, the study aimed to draw conclusions using a core set of data from unpublished, or partially published, excavations. A secondary dataset from published sources would expand on any geographic and chronological limits, and provide a larger total set of data from which more accurate conclusions about consumption could be drawn.

Early on in the process of this research the decision was made to exclude Amsterdam. There were several reasons behind this. Excavations in the city have been ongoing for many decades and have produced a huge amount of archaeological material, including approximately 50,000 kilos of ceramics (Gawronski 2012:6). Significant scholarship in the city, both by students and municipal archaeologists, has resulted in a wealth of established research. Not only has a much greater quantity of material been gathered from this city

than elsewhere, but much of the former research indicates that Amsterdam was of dramatically different character to other cities of the Netherlands. It held singular importance as the world's major centre of economy and trade (Haley 1972:40-41, Schaefer 1998:2-3), as well as housing a massive population. From the late sixteenth century, the city had a population of 30,000. By 1700, this figure was somewhere around 225,000, ten percent of the population of the entire republic, and with a density of 455 people per hectare (Haley 1972:49, Gawronski 2012:66). This population was also diverse to an unprecedented scale; it has been suggested that by the middle of the century, one-third of the population were immigrants or of foreign extraction (Schaefer 1998:2). The city's importance to world trade and colonial links meant it was the primary centre for the processing of exotic goods, such as tobacco and sugar, as well as paving the way in the consumption of new products like coffee (Gawronski 2012:69). The result of this is a city of unique character and consumption habits, and the concern was that comparing Amsterdam's material with other cities of the republic would dwarf the smaller, but no less important, regional differences and similarities between these areas. The additional comparison of Amsterdam's material would be suitable for further study at a later date.

2. 4. 1. Primary dataset

One of the initial aspects affecting which sites were chosen for study was one of access. As excavated materials were to be the primary source of data, only assemblages which were in storage that was relatively easy to access, and were of secure provenance, were chosen. The decision to use material from cesspits also affected the areas in which this study could be undertaken. Cesspit use was not uniform across the country during this period; areas like Leiden did not start using cesspits on a large scale until later, and in some cities, such as Amersfoort , Eindhoven and Gouda, this method of waste disposal was barely used at all (Carmiggelt *et al* 1987:21, van Oosten 2014:24). In addition, prolific research and publication strategies by regional archaeologists in certain areas, such as Alkmaar and Zutphen has resulted in very little unpublished material remaining unstudied. These areas then were more suited to the secondary dataset, where only published sites will be used.

The initial areas for targeting in the primary dataset, with one major city from each province, were decided as follows:

Fig. 2. 4. (1). Table showing the initial cities for study in the primary dataset

Province	City
North-Holland	Enkhuizen
South-Holland	Delft
Zeeland	Middelburg
Utrecht	Utrecht
Gelderland	Arnhem
Overijssel	Zwolle
Drenthe	Coevorden
Friesland	Leeuwarden
Groningen	Groningen

After further research and contact with municipal archaeologists and storage depots, some changes were made to the cities chosen for the primary dataset. Significant previous research in both Middelburg and Zwolle meant that the vast majority of material from these cities was now published or already under study. These provinces were therefore moved into the secondary dataset. The decision was taken to also add cities from the provinces of the Generality Lands; North-Brabant and Limburg. The cities of Maastricht and 's-Hertogenbosch were intermittently under control of the Republic throughout the century, and it would be interesting to note any differences in consumption patterns that this tumultuous history, or the influence of the Southern Netherlands, might bring. The city of Hoorn was also added, due to availability of data.

Fig. 2. 4. (2). Table showing the final cities for study in the primary dataset

Province	City
North-Holland	Enkhuizen Hoorn
South-Holland	Delft
Utrecht	Utrecht
Gelderland	Arnhem
Drenthe	Coevorden
Friesland	Leeuwarden
Groningen	Groningen
North-Brabant	's-Hertogenbosch
Limburg	Maastricht

For the cities which were targeted for the primary dataset, excavations were chosen with the guidance of archaeologists and researchers at municipal units or depots in each city. Excavations were chosen for study if: they dated between 1500 and 1800, contained one or more cesspits or rubbish pits, the material from which had been well preserved and labelled, and they contained five or more drinking vessels. Preferred sites had also been excavated in a way that observed layers of deposition within the cesspits, but this was not always possible. Unprovenanced material was not recorded, but if material was not present in the collection, but either excavation notes or later catalogues recorded its existence, then it was recorded as part of the data.

2. 4. 2. Secondary dataset

The secondary dataset was composed of material drawn from selected published excavation reports from areas which were not covered by the primary data. Sites were also included if they added new information to cities from which from primary data had already been gathered; for example, material excavated from a cesspit at De Baan in Enkhuizen was added to the Enkhuizen primary data from its published report (de Boer 2006). Sites for this dataset abided by the same conditions as the first dataset, except for the proviso that these were published, and that some pit groups with a smaller number of artefacts

were also considered: for example, the site of Westflank-Laurentius in Breda with four objects (Goossens 2004). These towns are all marked in **Fig. 2. 4. (3) and (4)**.

Fig. 2. 4. (3). Table showing the final cities for study in the secondary dataset. A * indicates cities from which primary material was also studied.

Province	City
North-Holland	Haarlem Alkmaar Oostzaan Enkhuizen*
South-Holland	Den Haag Dordrecht Delft*
Zeeland	Goes Middelburg Vlissingen
Utrecht	Maarssen Utrecht*
Gelderland	Nijmegen Tiel Zutphen
Overijssel	Deventer Kampen
Friesland	Dokkum
Groningen	Bourtange
North-Brabant	Breda Geertruidenberg Geldrop ’s-Hertogenbosch*
Limburg	Susteren Venlo

2. 5. Material for analysis

In their paper analysing 1677 glass objects from fifty-two complexes, Groothedde and Henkes concluded that much more material was needed from which to formulate questions and draw accurate answers regarding the link between material culture and status (Groothedde and Henkes 2003a:28). One of the ways this has been done is through the addition of ceramics into the dataset. Because the focus of this study is the material culture of drinking, and not just glass as a material group, ceramics vessels played a significant part in the drinking activity of this period, as well as being a useful indicator of changes to drinking habits, such as the adoption of hot drinks.

Fig. 2. 4. (4). Map of the areas studied in the primary and secondary datasets.

Glass artefacts which were considered to be of a drinking function from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century included: forest glass vessels such as *roemers*, *maigelbekers* and *stangenglazen*; soda- and *façon de Venise* glass beakers, goblets and drinking dishes; and lead and lime glass goblets and beakers (a glossary of Dutch terms can be found in Appendix One in Volume II). More unusual items included *tazza* stemmed dishes, *koolstronk* glasses, glass jugs and some forms of bottle which were thought to be decorative table bottles, and not those intended for storage.

Ceramic drinking vessels were divided into a greater number of fabric types, the primary forms of which were: white and red earthenware, some with lead glaze; tin glazed earthenware like maiolica and faience 'Delftware', stoneware, and porcelain. Variations of earthenware also included slip-glazed vessels and hafnerware. Later material also included industrial ceramics like English creamware, European porcelain and biscuitware. Common forms of ceramics relating to drinking include cups, bowls, and dishes; jugs and bottles; beakers and tankards; tea cups, saucers and teapots. A more detailed analysis of these vessel and fabric types is included in Chapter Three and Appendix Three.

2. 5. 1. The 'Deventer Code'

Identifications of vessel types, and the format of the database, were constructed with reference to the *Classificatiesysteem voor post-middeleeuws aardewerk en glas*, commonly referred to as the Deventer Code. This classification system was first developed in 1989 by Hemmy Clevis and Jaap Kottman to describe and catalogue glass and ceramic finds from the city of Deventer (Clevis and Kottmann 1989). As the system grew and developed, the intention became to streamline the classification process, and create a transferable system which would allow material from across the country to be easily compared and quantified (Bitter, Ostkamp, and Jaspers 2012:6). The system finally achieved its goal of digitisation in 2013, and is currently maintained by the Stichting Promotie Archeologie under the guidance of Hemmy Clevis, Jan Thijssen, Sebastiaan Ostkamp, Peter Bitter and Jaap Kottman. The code is only intended for use for the classification of closed assemblages, such as cesspits, with material dating between 450 and 1950 from the Netherlands. By 2012, 149 publications had classified their material according to the Deventer Code (Bitter, Ostkamp, and Jaspers 2012). Although the code was originally limited to ceramics and glass, the functional and model groups are also now being applied to wood and metal finds.

The fundamental part of the classification system is a three-part code, formed of the fabric, the function and the model. Several thousand codes are registered: fifty-seven types of ceramic fabrics are recognised. Due to the difficulty of recognising fabric provenance without chemical or microscopic analysis, fabrics are represented at a 'medium-specific' level (Bartels 2005:53). An example would be stoneware which is divided into eight categories: unglazed and untreated stoneware (S1), glazed or surface-washed stoneware (S2), industrial stoneware (S3), near-stoneware (S4), proto-stoneware (S5), French and Asian stoneware (S6 and S7), and double-glazed stoneware (S8). Glass holds a single category (gl), and along with the ceramics, forms subcategories of 116 functional groups. These functional groups are represented in the code by three letters from the Dutch name for the item; e.g. '*beker'* becomes 'bek' and '*drinkschaal*' becomes 'dri'. These groups are further subdivided into numerous model numbers, each of which is distinct to a particular vessel shape.

The completed code for a particular red earthenware (r) cup (*kop*) with two handles and a ribbed upper body would be r-kop-20, for example, where 20 indicates this particular shape and form. A glass (gl) beaker (bek) with waffle patterning (19) and a turned out lip (a) forms the code gl-bek-19a (see **Fig. 2. 5. (1)** for images of these examples).

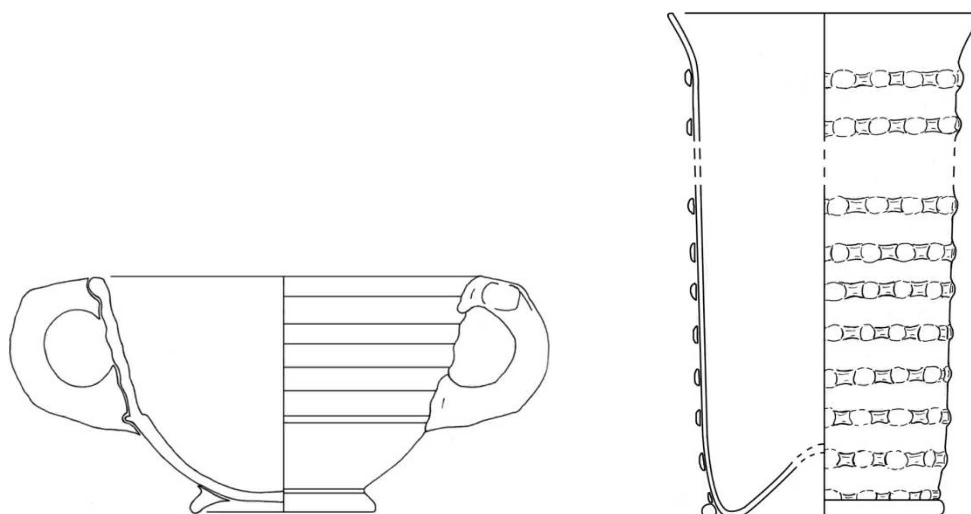

Fig. 2. 5. (1). A red earthenware bowl (r-kop-20) and waffle patterned beaker (gl-bek-19a).

A more detailed list of the fabric and form types discussed in the city groups later in this study can be found in Appendix Three.

When using the Deventer Code as a cataloguing system, the three-part code forms one of nine different details recorded for each object (Bitter, Ostkamp, and Jaspers 2012). These differ slightly depending on the material, but in essence can be formulated in this way:

1. Inventory number
2. Deventer type code
3. Date
4. Measurement
5a. Ware/fabric/glass type
5b. Surface treatment/Colour
5c. Decoration
6a. Base
6b. Handles/additions
6c. Miscellaneous
7. Name
8. Provenance
9. Literature

There are, as with any methodology, advantages and disadvantages of using the Deventer Code classification system. The first advantage is that although there are many code numbers, the system limits the possible infinite number of descriptions for objects, and creates a standardised method of record and description. Even if no other information is recorded but the three-part code, a researcher can have a fairly accurate image of what the object is like. This system also allows material from different assemblages within the country to be compared much more easily, as similar and different groups of material can be quickly recognised. Because artefacts published within the system are given a date

range, it also improves the production of chronologies (Bartels 2005:54). The system both simplifies recording, and improves comparative research.

The most obvious problems with this method are to do with identification, and non-linear object use. The coding system, with its clearly defined object names and types, implies a specific and non-contentious use of objects fitting into particular categories. A '*kop*', for example, is for drinking and a '*kom*' for eating. However, the extent to which modern typologies coincide with contemporary artefact identification is far from clear, and neither can we assume that even if objects of a certain form were all known under a strict name that this means they had a narrowly defined use. The ubiquitous red and white earthenware cups and bowls may have been intermixed between eating and drinking ware, food preparation or even used as pipkins, braziers or chamber pots on occasion (Bartels 1999:103). Carmiggelt *et al* (1987:54) give another specific example; a short glass beaker with blue prunt feet and decorated with a horizontal white thread. This glass type is known as a *molglas* as it was used for drinking *molbier*. However, an example engraved by Willem Heemskerk has the text '*noit wijn sonder droesem'*, suggesting with reasonable confidence that such glasses were also used for wine. Van Dongen and Henkes suggest that associations between specific vessels for specific drinks was not a reality for most ordinary people, and that liquids were consumed out of any vessel which was to hand (1994:3). While this was no doubt true in many cases, for other individuals the relationship between vessel type and drink was more important (See Chapter 11. 3. 1 for further discussion).

The complexities of artefact biographies mean that objects would have been unlikely to retain a single use or meaning throughout their use-life, and may have been involved in many different activities. A porcelain cup, for example, could have been a wedding gift, a display piece, a drinking cup and then even a flower pot before its final breakage and discard. This complexity of artefact use and meaning is lost in the simple three part code. Because of this, some reports have refrained from using function-specific systems entirely (Broekhuizen *et al* 1992:294). Although the provenance of particular vessels is only of interest to this study in a very general sense, Bartels notes that this is another feature which is not easy to distinguish (Bartels 2005:55). He also notes that when using the full nine-part catalogue, descriptions of decoration and other categories are far from standardised and this part of the system could also use improvement.

However, despite the potential issues with this method, the three-part code was adopted to describe unpublished material in order to allow this study to be more compatible in comparison with published assemblages. It was decided that due to the issues with identification highlighted above, all cups, bowls and jugs in ceramic and glass would be recorded. The presence of three feet on a vessel has been taken to indicate that it had a heating function and was therefore primarily a pipkin (*grape*). These were not recorded, and neither were artefacts identified as chamber pots. It is well recorded that a significant proportion of Dutch food was consumed in the form of soups, porridges and broths, not forgetting the national dish of *hutsepot* stew made of meat, fat and root vegetables, (Moryson 1592, III :97, Schama 1997:175-176). As these foodstuffs were ubiquitous at all levels of society and all have a high liquid content, it is likely that a significant proportion of the daily liquid requirements were fulfilled by these meals (**Fig. 2. 5. (2)**). This further

Fig. 2. 5. (2). Eating from a red earthenware cup. *Een moeder die haar kind pap voert* (detail) by Quiringh Gerritsz. van Brekelenkam (1650 – 1668). RM Inv. SK-C-113. **www.riiksmuseum.nl.**

justifies the inclusion of *papkom* dishes and bowls, which still fulfilled an important drinking function even if they were not always used as traditional cups.

Other potentially contentious object types which were chosen for inclusion are some artefacts classified under the code type '*bor',* referring to plates. This is because there is no separate category in the code for saucers and these can only be identified from their size or sometimes shape. From the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, saucers could be said to form a 'consumption bundle' (de Vries 2008:31) with tea cups as part of the material for tea drinking activities and so should be included as part of this activity. While the grouping of all flatwares under the single category of '*bor*' does prevent saucers from being easily recognised, it also bypasses the thorny issue of terminology which is far from consistent in referring to the many different types of flatware(Schaefer 1998:46): the *bord* which referred to eating and serving plates; the s*chaal*, a high sided dish with smaller capacity than a bowl; the *schotel*, a high or low sided dish sized anywhere between large dishes to small saucers; and a *kom*, a high sided bowl with the largest capacity (Schaefer 1998:44). This is further complicated by the addition of historical terms of the *teljoor* trencher, *plateel,* and *saucier*, terms which were often portmanteau'ed in contemporary sources (Schaefer 1998:44). It has been suggested that plates and *teljoren* between the sizes of sixteen and twenty-four centimetres be only referred to as *borden*. Larger dishes, probably used as serving platters, should be referred to as *schotels*, including those known as *platelen* and *schalen*. Saucers would now appear under the name *sauciers*, and are those dishes with a smaller diameter than sixteen centimetres. For our purposes, these are shallow or high sided small plates of faience, porcelain or industrial ceramics, which fit within specific model groups in the Deventer system.

Size was also relevant when recognising *roemers*; *roemers* with a base narrower than forty millimetres were considered a 'small' vessel for the consumption of spirits, and have been marked in this way in the database. The smaller boundary between spirit *roemers* and miniature toy glasses is less well defined, these could have been between twenty and thirty millimetres.

2. 5. 2. Format of the database

The Deventer Code's nine-step cataloguing process was drawn on for the primary database recording system for this study. Some additional aspects were also recorded. These include a study-specific catalogue number, information about the excavation and finds location, the completeness of the object and the minimum number of objects all of the same type. The 'description' section was left as free text rather than a set of predetermined options, to allow for all information to be captured. The artefact's dimensions were recorded as four parts: the width at the rim, the total width with the addition of handles or applied features such as foot rings, the height of the object and its width across the base. A reproduction of the database can be seen in **Fig. 2. 5. (3)**, with a single example record.

The first column contains the 'Object Reference'. This is a unique code made up for this study in order to quickly identify particular vessels. The code is formed of one or two letters to identify the city, two or three letters of the site's name, the date of excavation, and an individual object number. The breakdown of city and site codes, as well as a summary of data from the sites can be found in Appendix Four, in Volume II. The complete database for the primary material of this study makes up Appendix Five (on disk).

The majority of assemblages in the secondary dataset were not recorded in this catalogue, as the same level of detail could be gathered from their existing publications if needed. Instead all the Deventer Codes for each assemblage were extracted and their frequency recorded, alongside the published complex date, and information about any specifically notable pieces.

When discussing the artefacts from city excavation in Chapters Four to Ten, a tabulated summary of excavated artefacts is given. In this summary, a row is given for each artefact type. Some forest glass vessels, such as *maigelein* and *berkemeiers* were grouped with *roemers,* and flutes and *bokaal* glasses numbered in the same row as goblets. Beakers have been divided between two different rows. This was to account for the variety within this category type. 'Standard beakers' were considered to be plain or simple mould blown beakers with no additional decorative features. Decorated beakers were vessels which required more processes of manufacture, such as applied decorative prunts, gilding, enamel or ice-glass patterning. Further information about how the value of objects was determined and how they were grouped, see Chapter 12. 2. Items which did not fit into these categories, or were not in common circulation during the seventeenth century, were recorded in rows for 'other glass' and 'other Ceramics'.

Fig. 2. 5. (3). Recording database for this study with example object.

Object Reference	**City**	**Site name**	***Put nummer***	***Vlaks-nummer***	***Vonds-nummber***	***Spoor-nummer***	**Main division.**	**Subdivision.**	**Deventer code**	**Date**
DURS0540	Delft	Ursula-klooster	8	1	519	689	*Beker*	pedestal beaker	gl-bek-48	**1450 - 1550**

Dimensions (rim, full diameter, height, base)	Description	Minimu m number of vessel (MAE)	Material	Colour	Decoration	Other observati ons (Misc)	Foot	Stem/ Handle	Complete-ness %	Provenance	Literature (*Literatuur*)
???, 40	Funnel shaped pedestal beaker with vertical ribs.	1	*Waldglas*	light grey	vertical ribs		folded foot		20%		Henkes 24.1

2. 5. 3. Dating

The creation of useful chronologies for these cesspits relies on the accuracy of the dating. Unless historical research has identified likely periods for cesspit decommissioning and emptying, such has house remodelling or abandonment, cesspits tend to be largely dated from the range of their material, and not through any absolute methods like dendrochronology. However, when the generally frequent deposition of artefacts and the rapid turnover of types and fashions during this period are matched with excellent typological chronologies, this method of dating is likely to be reasonable accurate. When constructing his study of cesspits for the '*Afvalkuil en Beerputten*' project, Bartels identified three common methods of dating. The first was the 'complex' date, a date range which includes all of the objects, although excluding any which may be outstanding 'antique' items (Bartels 1999:38). The second date type, one Bartels calls the '*looptijd-datering*' or the duration date, described the period in which a particular object type may have been in production. Except for curated items, at least part of this date range should fall within the complex date. The third dating method refers to objects which are marked with dates or identifiable names or initials. However, some moulds for vessels like stoneware were used for decades and the dates may not be an accurate date for the product's manufacture. In addition, the illiteracy of many potters may affect the legibility of dates and initials (Bartels 1999:39-40); an example found in this study would be the stoneware jug excavated from Keizershof in 's-Hertogenbosch where the dated medallion was applied upside down (DBHTK00256 **Fig. 12. 1. (60)**).

The dating of material for this study was mainly done through comparison to previously constructed typologies and publications. Where there was disagreement about the date, the more recent publication, or a broader timescale was chosen. Harold Henkes' *Glas zonder Glans* (1994) typology was considered the primary source for 'duration dates' of glass, accompanied by Kottman and Bartel's work in *Steden in Scherven* (1999). This publication, and that of Mees (1997), were used for the identification and dating of ceramic types, which was also undertaken through comparison publications like Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen (1986), Gaimster (1997) and Schaefer (1998).

As with all material culture, establishing a date for its period of use, especially when tying this in to the use-life of other objects and features, is tricky. The frequency of use of an object, and how hard that use was, will affect the length of time it remained functional. Cooking pots which were frequently heated and cooled are likely to be damaged faster, as are cups and plates which are often being moved from table to cupboard, and may have been involved in exuberant feasting activities. Precious display pieces are likely to remain undamaged for a long time, barring accidents (Bartels 1999:39). The complex date for each cesspit in the primary database was calculated from the latest possible manufacturing date for the oldest items in the pit, and the earliest date for the youngest item. While Bartels was able to limit his study to cesspits which were well contained within a fifty year period (Bartels 1999:40), this was not so possible with the unpublished material here, with some sites even demonstrating material spread across over three hundred years. What is likely to be seen here, and on the other sites with long context dates, is a slow build-up of finds

being left in the pit after incomplete cleaning and emptying events. Generally from these sites any clearly anachronistic artefacts left behind by cleaning have been identified, and the main cluster of similarly dated material taken to be the main depositional event. However, this once again highlights the difficulty of treating cesspits as 'closed' contexts. Cesspits with date ranges larger than one hundred years which could not be narrowed down were excluded from some aspects of chronological analysis.

2. 6. Identifying potential problems - conclusions

While cesspits do offer an excellent opportunity to study assemblages of well preserved and dated sixteenth-, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century material, there are a number of potential issues which might arise while undertaking this sort of study, which the work of previous scholars has highlighted.

Firstly, the study aims at examining a broad cross-section of inhabitants, but not all had access to a cesspit. The poorer elements of society, especially those with less permanence in their housing are likely to have less access, and less need for, these small backyard cesspits. Instead their waste is more likely to been deposited in the street, canals, or public waste dumps. Only those with enough resources to contribute to the costs of cesspit maintenance and cleaning, as well as to consume and discard large quantities of material culture, will be well represented in the study.

Secondly, the material from the cesspits represents only a sample of the original material in use in the household, but the size of that sample cannot be known. Much of the household's waste may not have gone into the cesspit: the processes for domestic waste disposal differed significantly in different areas of the republic and over time (van Oosten 2014, Bitter 2011), but most areas had a municipal waste collection process which was designed to prevent large quantities of household waste being dumped elsewhere in towns. Often this waste was removed for fertilisation and drainage processes in the surrounding fields, where any household crockery may have been deposited. Glass or ceramic items which were deposited in the cesspit may even have been done so in a rather illicit fashion, or only when access to the usual waste disposal channels was not available. In other instances, methods of reuse or recycling may have been put into place; whether this was the collection of broken glass for use as cullet by glass makers, the use of cracked wooden or leather utensils as kindling or firewood, or the recycling of pewter. In addition, some of the household's vessels may not have been discarded with other material because it was simply less likely to be broken. Display or special objects which were handled less often were more likely to survive without damage. Some items may not have been discarded, but instead were passed on as heirlooms or gifts, and unfashionable items may have been handed down to servants.

Once material was deposited into the cesspit, it may later have been removed. Once faecal and household waste were deposited in the cesspit, the pits filled up reasonably quickly and were required to be emptied. Van Oosten estimates that emptying may have occurred every five to twenty-one years (van Oosten 2014:128). If the cesspit was well cleaned, the material from that pit may have been removed to outside the town, or re-deposited in another pit in the area or dumped into the canal, and the pit was theoretically empty for future use. However, the cleaning of cesspits was extremely hazardous and therefore expensive, and pits were rarely completely cleaned, with fragments of earlier material often surviving to confuse with later layers of deposited artefacts.

Regardless of these dangers to deposition, some material may have survived poorly in the pits' conditions. Studies have already noted the discrepancy in preservation between waterlogged low lying Holland and the inland areas of the republic (Groothedde and Henkes 2007:9). Some materials such as wood, leather, metals and glass can be prone to damage or decay by groundwater conditions and acidity. Post-depositional processes, such as decay, methane release and waterlogged soil can cause deposit layers to be mixed even without human interaction, making successful identification of periods of deposition extremely challenging.

If the material has successfully remained intact through depositional and post-depositional processes, the actual excavation itself can cause some issues. A large quantity of excavation from the 1950s to the 1980s was undertaken as rescue work often in advance of rebuilding. Earlier material was dug up by 'treasure-hunters' (Bitter 2011). In many instances, contextual excavation of the pits has not been possible, with the filling all being removed in a single instance. It has only been in recent years that detailed excavation strategy has been developed for cesspits, which allows far more material to be recovered (Bartels 1999:35). Additionally, the large quantities of archaeological material requiring storage has put a great deal of pressure on storage facilities (see van Es 1997). In some cases, artefacts and collections may have been mislaid or mislabelled, or materials lent for display or discarded without record or notation. This could lead to confusion for researchers trying to compare original excavation reports or publications with material now stored.

Cesspit assemblages are useful in demonstrating how certain artefact and material types come into, and fall out of, fashion through the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. A greater level of detail can be gained about specific types of artefacts and vessels which may not have warranted enough attention to be recorded individually in probate inventories. However, given that assemblages represent an unknown sample of the total, it is difficult to evaluate how representative the recovered material is. If the sample is both reasonably large, and excavated in such a way as to acknowledge any different layers of deposition, then it can be viewed as a reasonable representation of the drinking vessels in use. It is difficult to draw conclusions from the absence of artefacts as a number of different processes may have led to their nonappearance, but repeating patterns within material from different areas might indicate underlying patterns of consumption.

Chapter Three

Drinkingware of the seventeenth century

The Dutch had long held a reputation for excessive drinking. From Ludivico Giucciardini who called it 'abnormal' in the sixteenth century to vicious eighteenth-century cartoons showing the Dutch caricatured frogs or damsonflies swept away into a tide of gin, few visitors to the country were able to avoid commenting on it (Schama 1997:190). Carleton regarded drunkenness as the cause and excuse for all of the Netherlanders disruptive and violent behaviour, and in England, excessive drinking was even known as "drinking in the Dutch manner" (van Deursen 1991:100). Many foreigners linked Dutch drinking to the qualities of their land, a "thick foggy Air, and so much coldness of Temper and Complexion" which was caused by the constant dampness and cold of their environment, that drinking was the only way to drive off the constant chill, and was both necessary for their health and their intellect (Temple 1673:209, Schama 1997:190). It led to their success in war but also to their discontent on land (Schama 1997:190, Habington's Castara 1634 in Elton 1812:187-188). While many of these views are no doubt the bias of a collective 'Hollandophobia' as Schama calls it (Schama 1997:190), it is certainly known that drinking was an important aspect of Dutch culture, and therefore both a reflection and a contributor to the construction of identities; ethnicity, gender, status and a sense of national unity (Wilson 2005:3-4).

This chapter is designed to give a brief overview of the material culture of Dutch drinking from the sixteenth to the eighteenth-centuries, particularly of fabrics and vessel types which will be encountered in the next few chapters. Drinking vessels were formed from a number of different materials and constructed in several hundred different forms. The link between vessel types and drinks is a complex one, which will be discussed further in Chapter 11. 3. 1, but it will suffice to say here that there was a strong connection in many instances between particular drinks and certain vessel types, which would have translated into a readable set of behaviours for an observer.

3. 1. Ceramics

3. 1. 1. Earthenware

Earthenware is the general descriptive group for a number of local or regional coarse, slightly porous fabrics. These had been essential components of the household cooking and dining assemblages for many hundreds of years, and, although some regional differences can be recognised (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986:130), earthenware vessels are usually described by the colour of the fabric and glaze, due to the difficulties of assigning provenance without more complex fabric analysis. Grey firing earthenwares were the most

common form during the late middle ages, but these were gradually superseded by red fabrics, which first appeared in the late thirteenth century (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986:130). Greyware had essentially disappeared in the northern Netherlands by around 1525 (Bartels 1999:39). Red earthenware usually contains inclusions of fine sand, and the colour of the body ranges between brown, orange, and red. Much of this was likely to have originated from Bergen op Zoom which was a large producer of red earthenware in this region (Gawronski 2012:89). Slightly less common during the seventeenth century is white firing earthenware, which gives a yellow or buff fabric (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986:130). Earthenware is used for the manufacture of numerous utilitarian household items, including chamber pots, pipkins, braziers, jugs, cups and bowls. For the purposes of this study our interest lies in the latter three vessel types. White earthenware, which was locally imported (Baart 1987:4), may have been a slightly more luxury item than red earthenware, and tends to have been used to manufacture tablewares more commonly than chamber pots or cooking vessels (Bult 1992:86).

Types of earthenware are further distinguished by the type and technique of their glazing. Lead glazed earthenwares are the types usually found relating to utilitarian kitchen products. Lead glazes are usually yellow or copper green, and vessels sometimes are glazed in different colours on the front and reverse. Plain lead glazed earthenware might have been one of the cheapest and most ubiquitous vessel types on the market during this period, but it had its own specific value which was not related to its cost. Thoen (2007:113) writes in great detail about the importance of earthenwares as symbols of human transience and domestic tranquillity, specifically in relation to weddings. Further discussion on this subject will take place in Chapter 11. 4. 4. and 11. 4. 5.

Polychrome slipware

Other forms of lead glaze decoration include sgraffito, with incised decorations scratched into slip glaze, and various forms of regional decoration. Hafnerware is one such regional group, named for stove tile makers from southern Germany and Austria, who also specialised in polychrome and 'encrusted' ceramics (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986:229, 237). While no encrusted wares were found in this survey, other hafner types had a white fabric with yellow lead glaze speckled with manganese or iron dark purple flecks. This form of decoration was not exclusively produced in the above regions; for example manganese or iron speckled glazes were produced in Hampshire (see Haslam 1975), although in continental sources it is usually nevertheless described as hafnerware.

Weser and werra slipwares were also represented in this survey. Both were produced in Germany during the late sixteenth- and seventeenth century (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986:244). Werra slipwares were produced on a red earthenware fabric, mainly as dishes and bowls, although pipkins, tankards and jugs were also known. Vessels are decorated with a background of brown glaze, and with anthropomorphic, floral, or zoomorphic designs in light yellow or green slip, picked out with sgraffito edging. A brighter green is also used to highlight sections of the design. Weserware is a form of white earthenware produced at kiln sites along the Weser River, and was formed into very similar

types and shapes of vessel and flatware to werra ceramics (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986:250-251). The designs, painted in yellow, green and brown slip, are usually geometric, although occasionally animal, bird or human images are also found. Unlike werraware, weser ceramics are not marked with dates (*ibid*).

Slipwares were also produced in the Netherlands. The factory of Dirck Claesz. Spiegel in Enkhuizen produced werra-style dishes almost identical to those manufactured in Germany from around 1602 (see Bruijn 1992). In addition, the republic developed their own style in the form of North Holland Slipware, which had a red earthenware body with a glossy brown/orange glaze, formed into large and small dishes, bowls, handled cups, jugs, pipkins and firecovers (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986:154). The slip decoration is formed of pale yellow with green highlights, and occasional sgraffito. Designs are often zoomorphic, with stags, peacocks and owls being common; these designs particularly date to the early seventeenth century, with cockerels being added to the repertoire later (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986:162). Botanical images including pomegranates or tulips also date from 1600 (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986:165), while geometric chequerboards or rosettes and anthropomorphic figures, singly or in pairs, are found throughout the century. Heraldic designs are also known, such as the double headed eagle, and these or religious scenes sometimes appear on larger items (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986:158).

3. 1. 2. Stoneware

Stoneware is the term applied to very hard ceramics made from high firing clay, which become impervious to water (Draper 1984:33). This fabric type began to be developed from high fired earthenwares in late thirteenth century-Siegburg, in Germany, and by the fourteenth century had become fully formed and highly popular, with a number of new forms being developed (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986:176). The area around the Rhine continued to specialise in stoneware vessel types until beyond the eighteenth century. Because of the extreme hardness of the fabric, which needed to be fired above 1200˚C to achieve partial vitrification, these vessels were particularly suitable for storing acidic liquids like vinegar and wine, to prevent this reacting with the lead glaze of earthenware products (Schaefer 1998:18).

Basic surface treatments included the addition of salt or iron rich wash during the firing process which resulted in a shiny or burnt orange surface with a mottled texture. In various areas, coloured glazes were also used. The colour of the vessel fabric could vary quite significantly depending on the region (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986:176). Siegburg, one of the first regions to develop stoneware produced a very pale buff fabric and surface. Siegburg products commonly remained unglazed except for brown ash-glaze patches in many cases. Distinctive early Siegburg products included straight sided *snelle* tankards and *trechterbekers* which had a globular body with a tall funnel-shaped neck (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986:176). Early decoration included simple prunts or moulded medallions, with later sixteenth-century designs including incised patterns, relief moulding and stamping. Relief moulding went through a phase of being of extremely complex, with images based on the artworks of the Little Masters being reproduced in exquisite detail

(Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986:179). Baartman jugs, with relief moulded bearded faces on the neck or lip of the jug, were a popular product in all manufacturing regions, and later bi-conical and panel jugs were also produced in most regions.

The products of other manufacturing centres which are found on Dutch sites include undecorated Langerwehe jugs and Aachen, Cologne and Raeren stoneware. These latter regions produced pots with a dark grey fabric and glossy brown surface glaze, which on Raeren products is patchy (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986:194). Their products included *snellen*, drinking mugs, and large and small jugs, often with three handles. Cologne also became known for globular jugs with central bands of foliage or text (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986:208). Later on, by the mid-sixteenth century, Frechen was also producing stoneware products, particularly jugs and *snelle*, with a grey or purplish fabric and a distinctive mottled brown glaze (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986:214). Cologne and Siegburg products began to fall in popularity towards the beginning of the seventeenth century, in favour of products from Frechen, Raeren and Westerwald (Gawronski 2012:67).

The most distinctive forms of stoneware from this period are those products from Westerwald which appeared at the end of the sixteenth century. Because the industry in these towns was begun by Raeren potters, many of the forms were initially very similar (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986:221). Westerwald products have a mid-grey fabric with a salt glaze known as *blauwerk* which is a blue-tinted grey, and details were picked out in blue cobalt glaze. After 1665 manganese purple was also added to some vessels (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986:221-222). While this colour palate was not completely unique to Westerwald, the difficulty in identifying the manufacturing region has led to the suggestion that all blue-grey glazed vessels be referred to as Westerwald or 'Westerwald-type' (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986:221). Westerwald also developed new types of decoration such as all-body medallions and foliage (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986:222).

Red stoneware was a fabric type produced in China, and exported into the Netherlands towards the end of the seventeenth century. Common forms were similar to the shapes of porcelain produced during the same era, including teapots and cups (Draper 1984:35).

As mentioned above, stoneware jugs and mugs were particularly suitable for transporting and carrying wine, as well as beer. Funnel-necked beakers, small Baartman jugs and wide mouthed jugs continued in use for drinking throughout the seventeenth century and larger Baartman and panel jugs were used for the storage or transportation of wine and beer (Baart 1994:57). Stoneware may also have been used for gin or flavoured beer (Bartels 1999:71). It has been suggested that only the more elaborate stoneware vessels, like the blue and grey Westerwald ceramics were in use on respectable tables, while other forms of brown or undecorated stonewares were used in the kitchen or cellar; however this is not known with certainty (Baart 1987:4). Stoneware, and jugs in faience and pewter, were used for decanting wine and beer into glasses at the table, and for providing water for diluting strong wine (Erkelens 1996:123). Pewter, or very rarely silver, lids for jugs could be commissioned at the point of purchase (Baart 1994:59).

Rhenish stonewares are thought to become less popular over the course of the eighteenth century against competition from porcelain and industrial ceramics. English-made industrial stoneware was being used for tea and coffee utensils, and distinctive stoneware *kruik* jugs, used for mineral water, were still popular (Gawronski 2012:89).

3. 1. 3. Tin-glazed earthenware

Faience and majolica are both forms of earthenware decorated with an opaque white glaze made of tin oxide (Draper 1984: 25). Tin-glazed earthenwares made up a substantial proportion of the ceramics in use during the seventeenth century. Tin was first used for glazing ceramics as early as the ninth century in the Middle East and Turkey (Iznik ware). Later Italian tin-glazed maiolica appeared from around the twelfth century, and later distinctive types were produced in Montelupo and Faenza. Spain began production of lustre painted ceramics about a century later in Valencia (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986:40, Draper 1984:25-26). These early forms had an observable influence on later Dutch maiolica (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986:12). Tin glazed wares were being produced in France from around the fifteenth century, and by the sixteenth century, most European countries had their own variant (Draper 1984:25-26).

The difference between faience and maiolica, which were terms no longer applied purely by the region of manufacture, were clarified in 1983 by a symposium which agreed that ‘maiolica’ should refer to ceramics which were only glazed with tin on the foreside, with the back left unglazed or with lead glaze. These vessels also retain distinctive triangle scars on the front from resting on setting stands during firing. ‘Faience’ was to be used to refer to vessels or objects which had tin glaze on both the front and reverse, and were fired using saggers (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986:120, van Dam 2004:14).

Maiolica

Maiolica was produced in both the northern and southern Netherlands before the revolt, with the majority of products being albarelli, vases, jugs and tiles (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986: 117). By 1600, as the economic balance shifted in favour of Amsterdam and the north, prosperous cities such as Haarlem, Middelburg, Rotterdam and Delft were soon adding other vessel types to their repertoire: jugs, dishes, bowls, and plates (van Dam 2004:9-10, Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986: 119).The fact that much of the industry in the north was enlivened by an influx of Southern-Netherlandish immigrant workers meant that many of the decorative traditions of Antwerp continued (*ibid*), including IHS monograms and other religious imagery, trefoils, botanical, and zoomorphic symbols, often in polychrome paint (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986: 117).

Faience

Faience products first appeared in the Netherlands as a result of trade with Liguria, Turin, Faenza and Pisa in Italy, Lisbon in Portugal and Talavera in Spain (Gawronski 2012:67). The arrival of the competitor porcelain on the scene created a major upheaval for the tin-glaze

market, which forced factories to close or to change their products in order to remain competitive. Some factories produced cheaper imitation porcelain, with coarser vessel types and decoration for a less refined market, while others attempted to refine the fabric and decoration to make a high quality product, as similar to porcelain as possible (van Dam 2004:11-12). The particular type of imitation porcelain faience which was produced in Delft during the seventeenth century is often referred to as 'delftware', although contemporaneously it tended to be known as 'Dutch porcelain', and was produced in many areas (Bartels 1999:201). The last three quarters of the seventeenth century saw a significant drop-off in domestic maiolica production, as well as the end of most imports from other areas of Europe (Gawronski 2012:79).

Porcelain can also be held responsible, at least in part, for the change in colour scheme from the polychrome of maiolica to the blue and white of faience, although this also coincided with a more sombre fashion of dress (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986: 119, van Dam 2004:17). Porcelain was certainly imitated on a large scale in delftware factories, both in the vessel shapes, forms, colours and decorative schemes (Erkelens 1996:13, van Dam 2004:17).

A mid-seventeenth-century hiatus in the supply of Chinese porcelain led to both a dramatic opportunity for Delft factories to seize control of the market, and attempts to imitate Japanese porcelain (Erkelens 1996:110, van Dam 2004:18). By 1665, more than twenty different manufactories in Delft were all able to produce large amounts of Delftware (van Dam 2004:31). Later in the century, Delftware moved away from direct porcelain imitations, and decoration took on a freer approach, including the addition of traditional Dutch scenes (Erkelens 1996:22). In the last decades of the seventeenth century, plain white faience became popular, again as imitations of the *"blanc de chine"* now appearing in Europe (Baart 1987:3). In contrast, more colourful faience types also became more popular during this period, as a new method of firing brighter colours on top of the glaze was developed in Delft (van Dam 2004:67). By the end of the century, a vast array of new products were available, including tea, coffee and chocolate cups, as well as plates, dishes and tableware in matching sets (Gawronski 2012:79).

3. 1. 4. Porcelain

Porcelain first appeared in Europe in the Middle Ages, but only as very rare curiosity pieces. The first openings of a trade route with south-east Asia occurred at the turn of the sixteenth century after Vasco de Gama returned to Portugal from his voyages in the Far East, and very small quantities of this highly rare product began to appear in Europe. The Dutch eventually began to explore their own trade routes in the region at the end of the century, and in 1602, the first major collection of porcelain appeared in the country, when the cargo of the captured Portuguese ship *San Jago* was auctioned in Middelburg (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986:9). After the establishment of the VOC, porcelain became a rapidly expanding market in the Netherlands, with numerous vessel types being imported.

These very expensive objects included, initially, some plates and cups and, later, tea drinking cups and teapots were also imported. They were probably at first used as decorative items until the taste for tea also began to spread, and its cost lowered (Bult 1992:90). Initially porcelain items would only have been available to the very elite due to the high cost involved.

In 1644, civil war erupted in China when the Manchus of North China took control of the country from the Ming dynasty, although resistance continued for many years (van Dam 2004:29). In the three years after 1644, imported items fell from 200,000 to 125,000 pieces per year. By 1654 this had dropped again to around 15,000 objects, and over the next few years came to a complete halt. The hunt for alternate products to fill this now empty niche led to the small-scale production of Japanese porcelain, which was first exported into the Netherlands in 1653. It took several years for production and export to reach significant levels, but by 1661 11,500 pieces of Japanese porcelain were being imported, at an extremely high price. This was partially due to the empty market, but also due to the unfamiliar nature of the decoration, such as polychrome *Imari* and *Kakiemon* and enamel painted *Arita* porcelain (van Dam 2004:62, 67). By 1663, the quantity of Japanese porcelain had multiplied by four, and two years later, as many as 65,000 items had been imported (van Dam 2004:29). Despite this, these numbers were not enough to satisfy the previously well supplied market and pieces remained expensive. As mentioned above, this dearth stimulated the delftware industry to great success.

After the Manchus brought the Chinese civil war to an end, the new Manchu Qing dynasty took power, and trade was gradually reopened with the West (van Dam 2004:62). By the early 1680s millions of *Kangxi* porcelain pieces, named after the first emperor, could now be imported (van Dam 2004:62, Bartels 1999:188). Demand had also shaped production in that Chinese potters now began to imitate the enamel painted Japanese wares which had proved so popular (van Dam 2004:62), and also eventually also producing vessels in European shapes specifically for export (Draper 1984:53, Baart 1994:59). As well as being used for the increasingly popular tea, coffee, and spirit liquors, porcelain also became a highly desirable item in its own right, with large collections being acquired for display (Wijsenbeek-Olthuis 1996:121, Dibbits 1996:135).

3. 1. 5. Industrial Ceramics

Industrial ceramics really fall outside of the main period of study of this thesis, mainly coming into common usage after about 1750 (Gawronski 2012:89). However, as several pieces were found in long functioning pits, and they provide an interesting comparison to the material of the seventeenth century in Chapter Twelve, industrial ceramics will be given a brief mention here.

Ceramic types referred to as ‘industrial’ were a variety of northern European ceramic products which began to appear during the eighteenth century. Many of these came from England, which was a dominant market force at this time. Types of industrial ceramics include English stoneware, which was produced after about 1735 – 1740, and was exported

to the Netherlands, in the form of bowls and plates (Bartels 1999:39; Gawronski 2012:89). Creamware and pearlware were also popular ceramic types (Gawronski 2012:89). Creamware was developed around 1750, and was initially enamel painted, although after a short while, most pieces were plain or decorated with transfer printing (Draper 1984:47). About two decades later, the highly popular pearlware also appeared; a form of creamware which was decorated with a faint blue sheen (Draper 1984:51).

Meissen in Germany was the first successful porcelain factory in Europe, and as early as 1710 was producing porcelain made of kaolin and feldspar (Draper 1984:53). England also managed to produce porcelain in Chelsea just before the middle of the eighteenth century. However, European porcelain remained rather exclusive until later on in that century (Gawronski 2012:89). All forms of industrial ceramics began to corner the market for ceramics by the latter half of the eighteenth century, and led to the corresponding decline in tin-glazed wares, stoneware and even porcelain (Lucas 2004:23-24).

3. 2. Glass

3. 2. 1. Forest glass (*waldglas*)

The primary glass type of North European during the medieval period was a mixed alkali glass type, referred to as forest glass, *waldglas*, potash glass or potash-lime-silica. This particular glass type was low in sodium (less than 6%), but particularly high in both calcium and potassium. The alkali source in its manufacture was plant ashes, usually from mixed woodland sources like bracken (Velde 2002:205, Henkes 1997:35). The forest glass industry developed during the Middle Ages into glass workshops scatted around the forested areas of Europe where resources were high, particularly in the Rhine and Meuse valleys in Germany, the Low Countries and France (Tait 1991:153, 155).

The product of these glasshouses had a strong greenish colouration due to contaminants in the ingredients and is usually considered less workable than later glasses, limiting the types of glass styles developed; although some workshops were able to produce very elegant vessels with pure ingredients during the early period (see Tait 1991:153). Forest glass had become a staple for the Dutch elite since the fourteenth century (Kottman 1999:263), and by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, most of the popular forms of *waldglas* were well established. Prunted glasses are the most recognisable and enduring form of potash glass, and possibly originated in the Middle East (Tait 1991:153-154). Henkes (1997:40) has hypothesised that the uneven surface provided by prunts and trailers gave a greasy-fingered drinker a better grip on the glass. Prunts were used as a common decorative element on beakers (the *noppenbeker*) and *koolstronk* 'cabbage-stemmed' glasses during this period, alongside trailed threads and wrythern ribs. This later style was used for decorating the low *maigelein* cups and their later form of the *maigelbeker*, another popular small beaker type probably also used for white wine (Henkes and Stam 1992:99).

Throughout the seventeenth century, potash glass continued to be used for *berkemeiers* and their stylistic descendant, the *roemer*. Other popular types of drinking glass such as the tall *pasglazen* also endured into this period. Larger sizes of beer beakers began to be produced after 1600 in both soda glass and potash glass, due to improvements in manufacturing technique (Henkes 1994:123). However, their improved size also made these glasses suitable for consuming weak 'breakfast' beers in a larger quantities.

During the seventeenth century, potash glass workers began to relocate from the forest regions into the cities; providing for a 'local' business market became a far more economically viable option in the face of high status imported competitors. However, potash glass had already begun to lose its uniqueness and status as soon as Venetian glass began to be traded in the north of Europe, and over the course of the century, potash glass became used for the more utilitarian glass forms of bottles, beakers and jars (Bult 1992:101). Despite this, the *roemer* remained popular right up to the turn of the century, and may have continued in use a little after.

3. 2. 2. Soda glass and *Façon de Venise*

From the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries, the most influential glass manufacturing region in the world was Venice and the glassmakers of Murano (Willmott 20012:19). By the mid-thirteenth century, their glasses were being exported by German merchants across Europe, and by a century later were recorded as having reached England, with their distinctive 'painted' beakers travelling as far as Ireland, Sweden, Sicily and Egypt (Tait 1991:152). Glass manufactured in the Mediterranean tradition, also known as sodic glass or soda-lime glass, relied on the ash from salt-water or marshland 'barilla' plants which were imported from Spain and the Levantine coast in large quantities (Tait 1991:149, Page 2004:6). Due to stringent quality control, the glass produced was always of extremely high quality and has a high sodium content (above 8%), and some lime magnesium and potassium (Tait 1991:149, Velde 2002:204).

The Venetian glass which inspired imitations across Northern Europe is a colourless, highly shiny glass developed in Venice after the mid-fifteenth century; in this region it is known as *cristallo* (Tait 1991:157).The *cristallo* method of manufacture used purified sodic plant ash and silica or quartz pebbles to produce a colourless glass of high clarity and malleability (Velde 2002:201). This development also led to the creation of new decorative styles, including *vetro a filigrana* vessels, where vessels are decorated to a variety of different complexities with threads of white or coloured glass, *millefiori* and ice-glass.

Venetian products included the enamelled beakers mentioned above, as well as the new stemmed goblets developed in the fourteenth century. These wine-drinking glasses quickly developed into complex forms, with numerous different types of stem decoration and bowl shape (Henkes 1997:50). The products of Venice continued to be popular in the collections of royalty and powerful nobility throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who not only were importing Venetian-made vessels but commissioning particular decorations to their own design (Page 2004:3). As well as being rare, expensive, and exotic items, it is possible that the ownership of Venetian glass played a part in fulfilling the aspirations of

Northern elites towards the artistic ideal of the Renaissance, and reflecting a “sense of power” and cultural sophistication (Page 2004:3-4).

From the mid sixteenth-century, emigrating Murano glassmakers relocated to North European cities and this led to the subsequent establishment of glasshouses in these regions (Tait 1991:159,162). Due to the difficulty in sourcing the same raw materials, the chemical composition of the glass fabric in *façon de Venise* was not the same as the true Venetian product, as some of the soda was replaced by more readily available potash (Henkes 1997:49). Antwerp in the sixteenth century became an important centre of glass made *à la façon de Venise,* and in all areas, barely ten or twenty years passed before the new products of Venice were being emulated (Tait 1991:163, 172). The industry was driven by the high costs of importation of real Venetian products during the sixteenth century, as well as increasing prosperity which expanded the market with a general trend towards demand for competitive status indicators amongst the wealthy (Bult 1992:99, van Dongen 2004:194).

The quality and clarity of *façon de Venise* gave it great advantages over the more locally made potash glass, particularly when it came to constructing finer and more complex forms. These included: stemmed flutes and goblets, mould- and optically- blown beakers, and vessels decorated with prunts, milled threads, lion faces or other moulded masks, gilding, ribs or trailed decoration (Henkes and Stam 1992:104). *Façon de Venise* did not just result in slavish imitations of Venetian vessel types, although it has been noted that some types, like the snake-stemmed products of southern Netherlandish manufacture, were so well done it was very difficult to distinguish them from the original Venetian versions. Diamond engraving, despite never being popular in Italy, was also a form of decoration which excelled in the Low Countries, particularly on *waldglas* products (Tait 1991:174, 179). The Netherlands also produced other new vessel forms such as large beer beakers in a variety of optic-blown patterns, including the highly distinctive waffle patterns (Henkes 1997:49).

3. 2. 3. Lead and Lime glass

In the last quarter of the seventeenth century, new glass types arrived on the scene with the invention and rapid development of lead glass. George Ravenscroft is the generally attributed creator of the first English lead glass, who in the last decades of the seventeenth century in London was producing vessels of extreme clarity and refraction. The recipe for this glass has been reconstructed as roasted flint or crushed quartz, lead-oxide, tartar, borax and saltpetre (Tait 1991:184). This heavy, clear glass was formed into solid, plain forms of goblet and beaker which quickly became the new fashion across Europe.

A similar inventive process was simultaneously taking place in Central European glass formed from limestone; ‘Bohemian’ lime or chalk glass, which was formed of quartz sand, potash and lime, and later with lead oxide (Henkes 1997:50). Both lead- and lime glass were far cheaper to produce than *façon de Venise*, and utilised a new, heavier style for goblets and beakers, as the glass was no longer suitable for forming the decorative threads and intricacies of *façon de Venise.* The main decorative methods involved wheel engraving

and cutting (Henkes 1997:50). These 'bold', less elaborate forms quickly became popular, and before long, manufacturers of *façon de Venise* soda glass were using it to imitate English and Bohemian glass forms as '*façon d'Angleterre'* (Henkes and Stam 1992:104), with decorations made by grinding and engraving.

All four glass types did continue to be used in the eighteenth century, although at different levels. Potash glass was mainly used for functional vessels, such as bottles, beakers and *roemers*. *Façon de Venise* became more economically accessible as English and Bohemian glasses forced made became more desirable, and *façon de Venise* began to imitate the new fashionable trends in style (Henkes and Stam 1992:101).

3. 3. Pewter and metals

Metals, particularly precious ones, have been an elite material for the manufacturing of drinking wares for most of the medieval to early modern period due to their cost (Baart 1994:53). A number of different forms of pewter, brass and tin were manufactured, including *tinnen* which was produced from new and recycled tin, antimony, copper and lead (Bartels 1999:285). Pewter casting did take place in the Netherlands from as early as the thirteenth century, as well as pewter and tin being imported from Cornwall and Bohemia (Baart 1994:53, Bartels 1999 285-286). During this period, pewter was extremely expensive; possibly more than one hundred times the cost of a stoneware jug (Baart 1994:53). Better imports and higher demand for pewter, and an increase in beer drinking during the fifteenth century dropped the price and increased the availability of pewter, which was no longer a purely elite material (*ibid*). During the Golden Age, high quality tin and pewter objects were produced in the west Netherlands, generally as spoons and occasionally plates. Pewter jugs and tankards were also popular, and frequently appear in artworks from the seventeenth century (van Dongen and Henkes 1994:8). Pewter jugs may have been tablewares, but were particularly used to bring beer up from barrels in the cellar to be decanted into drinkers' glasses (van Dongen and Henkes 1994:3, 8). In many instances, tin and pewter are likely to have been direct replacements for prohibitively expensive silver items, although Schotel suggests that despite this, a great many silver items were available, including bowls, knives, cups, tankards and decanters, and rarely flatwares (Schotel 1867:12-13).

In contrast to this recorded abundance, metals are very rarely recovered from the archaeological record for this period due to both their decorative and special status, and their recyclable nature (Bartels 1999:285), although probate analyses again suggest that both silver and pewter items were in large scale use. Pewter in particular was used at most levels of society (Blijham 1998:3). By the eighteenth century metals, begin to have a greater impact on the household assemblage, as copper and iron become more readily available for household cooking implements (Bult 1992:89, Gawronski 2012:79).

3. 4. Wood and organics

Very little can be said about vessels made of wood and other organic products, such as leather vessels. While wooden plates and vessels are likely to have been common during the Middle Ages probably across most of society, it is difficult find much in the way of evidence (Brown 2005:98). It is likely that the widespread use and lower cost of earthenware and pewter, as well as a general rise in wealth and living conditions, had reduced the need for wooden utensils significantly (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986:1), and in fact may have made ceramics cheaper than turned wood items (Courtney 1997:98). In addition, despite often good organic preservation, wooden items are rarely found in cesspits; in this entire study, only three wooden bowls were noted. It has been hypothesised that any wooden utensils which were used and broken would have been easily disposed of in the kitchen hearth.

Chapter Four
Holland

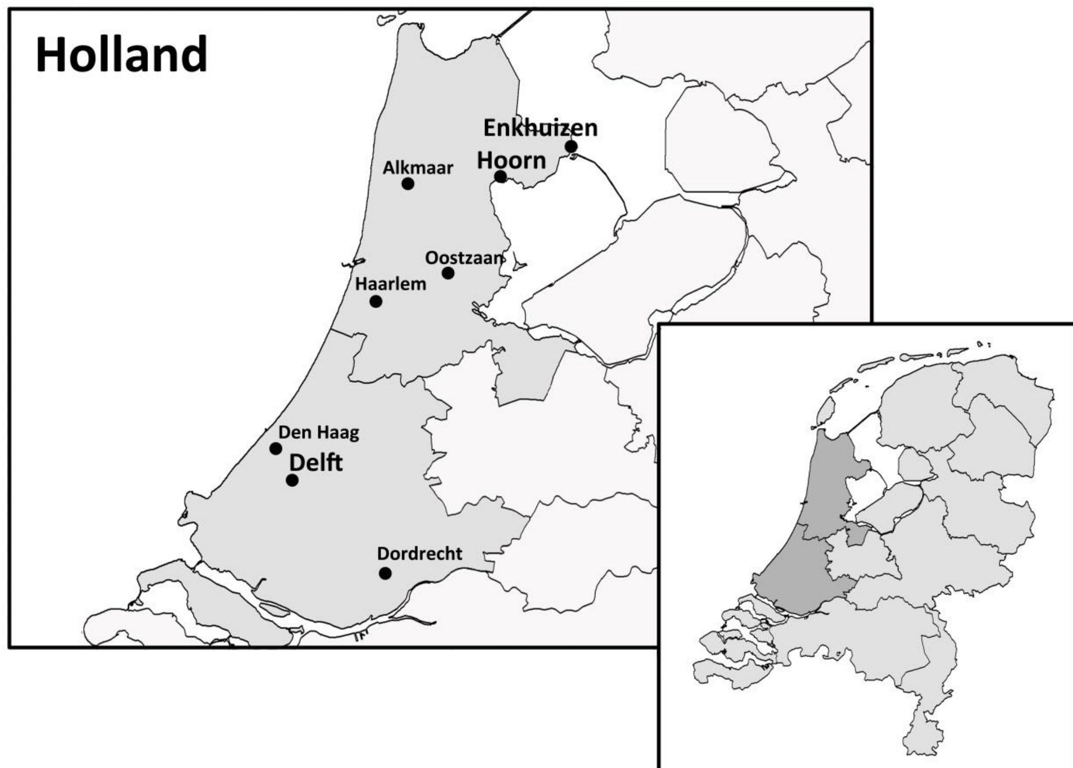

Fig. 4. (1). The province of Holland. Cities from the primary database, discussed in this chapter, are marked in bold. Secondary cities are also marked; the data from these is discussed in chapter 12.

4. 1. Delft

The name of Delft has become almost synonymous with the Dutch Golden Age, due to the town's association with the seventeenth-century artistic movement and the 'delftware' faience industry. The town itself lies on the Schie River in the province of Zuid-Holland, not more than ten kilometres from the major city of Den Haag. Delft received its town charter in 1246 (Gutkind 1971:85). The town's trading foundations began as a dairy market for local produce but the fourteenth-century construction of Delftshaven, a port about ten kilometres to the south of the town, opened it up to wider trading opportunities (*ibid*). This century was important for the town's development, as regional craft specialisations came into their own. Beer brewing quickly developed into the most important industry in the town, with textile production, and later pottery manufacturing, also playing important roles (Bult 1992, Gutkind 1971:85). The town prospered during the fifteenth century, undergoing significant population and urban growth; by the late Medieval period, Delft was the third largest town in the province of Holland (Bult 1992:16). However, during the sixteenth century, the town was forced to contend with a number of hardships, including overcrowding, fire, plague and besiegement by Spanish forces during the Eighty Years War,

when the Delft became the stronghold of the William the Silent (Bult 1992:17). However, by the end of the revolt, the town quickly recovered, and continued to enjoy relative prosperity throughout the seventeenth century, until its eventual decline (Bult, Maat and Onista 1995:6).

The importance of the brewing industry during the formative fifteenth century had led to the early development and implementation of waste disposal legislation. From 1460, every household had, by law, to own and use a privy with brick-built cesspit beneath, to try and limit the leaching of human waste into the canals and groundwater (Bult, Maat and Onista 1995:8). The purity of the Delft water was credited for the success of the brewing industry.

The town's success during the 1600s is often credited to its thriving pottery manufactories. The production of tin-glazed wares had been taking place in Holland since the late fifteenth century, mainly in Haarlem (van Dam 2004:9, Gawronski 2012:79). The arrival of porcelain, however, century caused a significant interruption to the maiolica industry (van Dam 2004:11). The development of faience in Delft after 1620 resulted in a product of greater visual similarity to the highly desirable porcelain than the earlier maiolica. Delft quickly emerged as the main centre of faience production, creating 'Dutch porcelain', or delftware, as it was known to the English (van Dam 2004:14). The hiatus in the import of Chinese porcelain from 1644 gave a great opportunity for delftware manufacturers to start producing faience on a large scale (van Dam 2004: 18), and a vast quantity of products was produced, inspired by Chinese designs (Gawronski 2012: 79). For a more in depth discussion of tin-glazed wares and porcelain, see chapters 3. 1. 3 and 3. 1. 4.

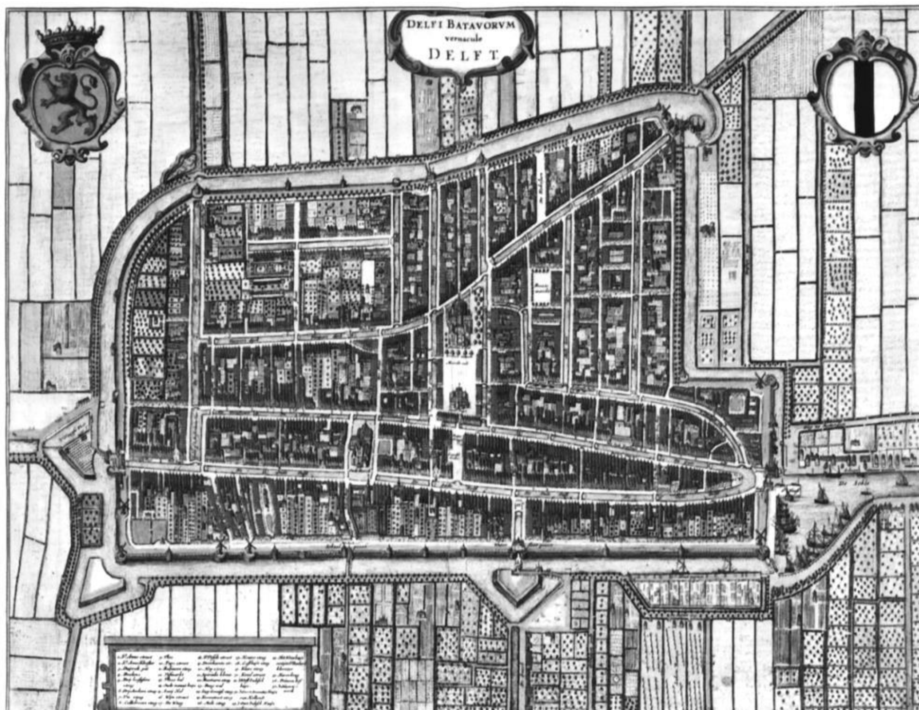

Fig. 4. 1. (1). Map of the town of Delft, by Joan Blaeu. "Blaeu 1652 - Delft".
Licensed under Public domain via Wikimedia Commons - http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Blaeu_1652_-_Delft.jpg#mediaviewer/File:Blaeu_1652_-_Delft.jpg

Three main excavations, with domestic cesspits, have been discussed in detail below. Two contain only one pit; Kinesis Voorstraat and Oude Nieuwe Gasthuis. The large excavations at Ursulaklooster uncovered a significant number of cesspits and wells. Nine of these have been chosen for analysis.

Fig. 4. 1. (2). Table showing the breakdown of cesspits examined from Delft

Excavation and cesspit	Site Code	Excavation year	Date range
Ursulaklooster S347	DURS05 S347	**2005**	1650 – 1750
Ursulaklooster S396	DURS05 S396	**2005**	1575 – 1725
Ursulaklooster S427	DURS05 S427	**2005**	1575 – 1725
Ursulaklooster S504	DURS05 S504	**2005**	1580 – 1700
Ursulaklooster S558	DURS05 S558	**2005**	1525 – 1725
Ursulaklooster S654	DURS05 S654	**2005**	1600 – 1750
Ursulaklooster S673	DURS05 S673	**2005**	1590 – 1750
Ursulaklooster S683	DURS05 S683	**2005**	1500 – 1700
Ursulaklooster S689	DURS05 S689	**2005**	1575 – 1725
Voorstraat Kinesis	DVKS81	**1981**	1580 – 1700
Oude Nieuwe Gasthuis	DONG86	**1986**	1650 – 1750

4. 1. 1. Ursulaklooster (DURS05)

The site known as the Ursulaklooster is located in the current neighbourhood of the Zuidpoort part of the old city of Delft. The area is characterised by long continuous periods of occupation. The monastic use of the site began with the founding of a convent dedicated to St Ursula around 1450 (Bult and Groen 2005:18). The convent continued to hold the land for over a century, until it was forced to close during the Eighty Years' War, and was demolished in 1596 (Bult and Groen 2005:19). By the early years of the seventeenth century, as part of a movement to encourage an immigrant workforce to settle in Holland, the site was repurposed as living accommodation for Flemish workers and traders (van Deursen 1991:34). Long rows of small, terraced houses were constructed in streets off the Gasthuislaan, housing a number of craft workers, primarily weavers, from the Low Countries. The area became known as '*de Vlaamse Wijk'* (the Flemish District). This area was also home to a pottery workshop, operated by t' Hart between 1678 and 1782, which produced faience and maiolica (Bult and Groen 2005:20).

The first excavations on the site were undertaken in 1969, where part of the chapel wall was discovered (Bult and Groen 2005:17). During excavations in 2005 a large quantity of ceramic fragments (23,000) were recovered from over thirty cesspits (E. Bult, *pers. comm*.). The following discussion is limited to those cesspits relating to the seventeenth-century use of the site, of which nine will be examined in detail.

Pit S347, Ursulaklooster

The first pit with a large quantity of material is S347 (*werkput 3, vondsnummer 214*). This round, brick-built cesspit lay in the top north-west area of the excavations, and contained a significant proportion of the site's ceramics and glass (E. Bult *pers. comm*.).

The pit contained twenty-six cups and bowls made of red earthenware: types r-kop-2 (three examples, DURS05165, **Fig. 4. 1. (3a)**), r-kop-18 (one example, DURS05170, **Fig. 4. 1. (3b)**), r-kop-20 (eight examples, (**Fig. 4. 1. (4)**), r-kop-26 (one example, DURS05169, **Fig. 4. 1. (5)**), and r-kop-39 (one example), and several which were too fragmentary to identify the type. Most of these vessel types were in common usage throughout the seventeenth century, apart from r-kop-18 which is dated between 1600 - 1625. All of the vessels are glazed, most with clear, yellow or green lead glaze, (DURS05197, **Fig. 4. 1. (6)**). In addition to these was a large redware jug, decorated with splashes of green glaze, dating to the turn of the eighteenth century (r-kan-27, DURS05175, **Fig, 4. 1. (7)**). White earthenwares, by contrast, were much scarcer, with only three cups representing this material. Two are fragmentary, the third is of type w-kop-7 (DURS05168, **Fig. 4. 1. (8)**). One was decorated with green copper-lead glaze.

Stoneware products are also present in the assemblage, although all of the artefacts were very fragmentary. Six jugs were represented, although no coded types could be identified. The different types of stoneware fabrics present suggested the jugs may have originated from Westerwald, Frechen, Raeren and possibly Cologne.

The assemblage contains a large group of faience drinking products. This is not particularly surprising, given the city's key position as manufacturer of delftware. Nine faience teacups were excavated, with a variety of Asiatic-inspired designs. Two of the cups are matching (DURS05133, **Fig. 4. 1. (9)** and **Fig. 4. 1. (10)**), and another is accompanied by a matching saucer (DURS05136, **Fig. 4. 1. (11),** and **Fig. 4. 1. (12)**). This adoption of sets of matching crockery is one of the notable innovations in tableware of the late seventeenth century (see chapter 12. 6 for further discussion). These cups were most likely used for the consumption of tea, another drink which played a significant role in social communication, particularly with regards to status and gender (see Chapter 11. 4. 1 and 11. 4. 7). All but the matching cup-and-saucer set are the iconic blue and white porcelain-inspired delftware faience, with a white tin base painted over with blue landscapes and flowers (**Fig. 4. 1. (13)** and (**14)**). One vessel is decorated with imitation Chinese characters on the exterior, in an attempt to mimic *Kraak* porcelain (DURS05140, **Fig. 4. 1. (15)**). The matching cup-and-saucer mentioned above is decorated in polychrome floral patterns, with blue and orange-red, in imitation of Japanese *Imari* porcelain. This porcelain type grew in popularity in the later seventeenth century during the hiatus in Chinese porcelain supply (Gawronski 2012:77).

One additional faience artefact is of particular interest. The artefact is a miniature jug with a handle and large spout, decorated with in blue (**Fig. 4. 1. (16)**, **Fig. 4. 1. (17)**). The jug is only 60mm high, and is classified as a miniature. The function of such miniature vessels is part of an interesting discussion relating to the ritualization of drinking and the household,

particularly amongst women and children. Miniature vessels are discussed in more detail in Chapters 11. 4. 7 and 8. The cesspit reportedly also contained a single porcelain cup.

The pit contained a generous proportion of glass. It contained three plain forest glass beakers (**Fig. 4. 1. (18)**), one of which (DURS05115) was dark green in colour, as well as several mould blown, decorated beakers, including a *knobbelbeker* (DURS05113, gl-bek-12) and eleven waffle-patterned beakers, of soda and potash glass. Two potash beakers were more unusual; DURS05118 had ribbed sides as well as the waffle patterning, and DURS05109 was further decorated with blue threads applied to the rim. Two beakers of type gl-bek-33a were discovered, decorated with spiralling threads. One was further decorated with applied rosette prunts embedded with blue beads (DURS05108, **Fig. 4. 1. (19)**). Another beaker (DURS05117) was decorated with parallel, milled threads (gl-bek-34). This form of decoration (discussed further in 11. 4. 1) suggests this vessel was used as a *pasglas* in communal drinking, similarly to the *stangenglazen* vessels. Three of these were recovered, of type gl-sta-2, which describes tall, octagonal glasses with wrythern ribbing and applied milled threads. DURS0501 and DURS05107a both had threads of clear glass, while DURS05107b was decorated with blue threads (**Fig. 4. 1. (20)**) These vessels were popular from around 1580-1650. The one *roemer* discovered was too fragmentary to identify its type, although it was decorated with flattened thorned prunts, dating it to the middle of the seventeenth century (DURS05102).

There were no wine goblets in this assemblage, and the most exotic piece of glass was a fragment of white and blue *vetro a fili* beaker (DURS05112). This, together with the lack of porcelain, indicates that the household contributing to this cesspit was relatively well off for the area, but not of significant wealth or status. The quantity of faience may be explained by the position of Delft as a hub of faience production during the seventeenth century, and particularly the presence of a faience manufactory in the same housing block. The cesspit seems to have been in use for a relatively long period of time. Items such as octagonal *pasglazen* and some of the *wafelbekers* date to the early seventeenth century, while the layer also contained several eighteenth-century creamware and biscuit whiteware cups (not included in the table below). However, due to the presence of nearby pottery workshops it is possible that these later artefacts were wasters from that activity which were disposed of in the cesspit at a later date.

Fig. 4. 1. (21). Summary of drinking material from DURS05 S347

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	1	Local wares (cups)	32
Standard beakers	14	Local wares (jugs)	1
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	1
Decorated beakers	5	Stoneware jugs	5
Stangenglas/pasglas	3	Faience or maiolica	13
Goblets and flutes		Porcelain	1
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	

Pit S396, Ursulaklooster

Cesspit S396 was discovered in the north-eastern part of the Ursulaklooster site. The original pit was brick built with an arching dome. The pit contained a total of one hundred and seventy-eight ceramic sherds, of which the vast majority related to eating, drinking and food preparation activities (E. Bult*, pers. comm*.).

Seven redware cups, of types r-kop-2 and r-kop-20, were discovered, one of which was green glazed (DURS05148) (**Fig. 4. 1. (22a)** to **(22e)**). These cups were all fairly standard types, with one or two vertical handles and horizontal ribs on the outside. White earthenware cups were also present, all five of w-kop-3 type, a flat based, “mug” style cup with a single vertical strap handle (**Fig. 4. 1. (23a)** to **(23d)**). All were glazed internally with yellow (DURS05153, DURS05157), while two had additional green glaze on the outside (DURS05152a and b). The pit contained two redware jugs, of types r-kan-15 (DURS05149, **Fig. 4. 1. (24)**), and r-kan-33 (DURS05150). The latter was again decorated with green glaze.

Three stoneware artefacts were represented, all jugs. The earliest fragment, dated to the mid-sixteenth century by patches of orange ash glaze, is likely to be a remnant from earlier use of the site. The second stoneware jug is a Westerwald product, with a large medallion and vertical lines of tiny lion masks, decorated with blue salt glaze (DURS05155, s2-kan-7, **Fig. 4. 1. (25)**). The last jug is of s2-fle-8 type, also known as a "P" *kruik* bottle. These “p” shaped bottles were developed specifically for the growing mineral water industry at the end of the seventeenth century. The cesspit contained a single maiolica drinking item, a plain white *papkom* (DURS05221, m-kom-5), a type that was popular towards the end of the century.

The glassware is characterised by relatively simple practical glass items. Ten mould-blown beakers were recovered; seven *knobbelbekers* (gl-bek-5a/b) and three decorated with *wafelpatroon* (gl-bek-19a). The remaining potash vessels were seven *roemers*. Four were gl-roe-10 type (DURS0582, DURS0586), *roemers* decorated with two or three horizontal rows of thorned prunts. One *roemer* was a raspberry prunted gl-roe-15 (DURS0584, **Fig. 4. 1. (26)**), one a gl-roe-1 (DURS0587) and the final *roemer* was of type gl-roe-6 (DURS0588). all dating to around the middle of the seventeenth century. This latter artefact is of particular interest as it was notably small, measuring no more than 100mm high (**Fig. 4. 1. (27)**. This item may have been a particularly small spirit glass, or a miniature item of dolls’ house furniture. The pit did also contain a miniature faience pot and miniature frying pan.

Several soda glass vessels were also present, including three plain beakers (gl-bek-8a, gl-bek-8b, and gl-bek-21), and three ribbed beakers (DURS0581, gl-bek-59b. **Fig. 4. 1. (28)**). A single goblet was found. This vessel, which was rather fragmented, had a conical bowl and disc shaped foot (DURS0591).

The cesspit contained a variety of artefacts, with a large proportion being simply decorated utility vessels, such as earthenware cups and moulded beakers. Some luxury items, such as the wine goblet, were present, but although the cesspit contained a number of faience and maiolica plates, it is missing the quantities of cups found in neighbouring context S347. It is

possible that the nature of the household, with fewer tea consumers, is responsible for this pattern.

Fig. 4. 1. (29). Summary of drinking material from from DURS05 S396

Glass		Ceramics	
Roemers/berkemeiers	7	Local wares (cups)	12
Standard beakers	16	Local wares (jugs)	2
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers		Stoneware jugs	3
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	1
Goblets and flutes	1	Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)	1	Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	

Pit S427, Ursulaklooster

The cesspit S427 was a domed pit excavated from the north-west of the cloister. It contained a relatively small quantity of material, all dated to the mid-seventeenth century. Four red earthenware vessels were recovered, three r-kop-2 type cups and one redware bowl. Pieces from two brown salt-glazed stoneware jugs were also present, of type s2-kan-44. These were probably manufactured in Frechen. While some white earthenware and faience objects were found in the cesspit, there were no drinking vessels recovered in these materials.

Both soda and potash glass vessels were present in small quantities. Soda vessels comprise a network patterned beaker, (gl-bek-10, DURS0575), and two knobbelbekers, one with a 'teardrop'pattern (gl-bek-12, DURS0576, **Fig, 4. 1. (30)**). There were two additional potash glass vessels, one plain (DURS0580), and the second a cylindrical beaker with wrapped threads around the top, and decorated with radial beaded prunts (gl-bek-44, DURS0578, **Fig. 4. 1. (31)**).

Fig. 4. 1. (32). Summary of drinking material from DURS05 S427

Glass		Ceramics	
Roemers/berkemeiers		Local wares (cups)	4
Standard beakers	4	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers	1	Stoneware jugs	2
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	
Goblets and flutes		Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	

Pit S504, Ursulaklooster

This cesspit assemblage was small, but relatively diverse. One earthenware drinking vessel was found, a North Holland slipware *papkom* bowl, decorated with a polychrome peacock design (DURS05164, r-kom-36/r-kop-11, **Fig. 4. 1. (33)** and **(34)**). Three whiteware cups were recovered, of types w-kop-3 (DURS05227), w-kop-23 (DURS05225) and w-kop-24 (DURS05226). The only other ceramic drinking vessel was a small fragment from a faience jug, decorated with Asiatic style birds and insects.

The cesspit produced pieces from four soda glass vessels. One fragment was too small to identify, but the others were a thin, plain beaker (gl-bek-5), a *wafelbeker* (gl-bek-19a) and an unusual short cylindrical beaker. This last beaker was decorated with two rows of small rosette prunts along the bottom of the belly, separated from the straight rim by a milled thread, and with a very wide pinched footring (gl-bek-63, DURS05123, **Fig. 4. 1. (35)**).

While this assemblage is clearly lacking utilitarian ceramics and glass vessels, the rather unusual and decorative nature of the drinking items which are present, as well as a significant number of finely decorated maiolica and faience plates, in three matching sets, suggests that this household may have been using other more decorative drinking vessel types which were not recovered from this cesspit.

Fig. 4. 1. (36). Summary of drinking material from Ursulaklooster S504

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers		Local wares (cups)	3
Standard beakers	3	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers	1	Stoneware jugs	
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	1
Goblets and flutes		Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	1

Pit S558, Ursulaklooster

Cesspit S558 contained examples from most of the expected categories of material, and some interesting individual artefacts. The majority of material in the cesspit was earthenware cooking utensils, with only two drinking vessels found in this material. The first is a two handled redware drinking cup (DURS05219, r-kop-2, **Fig. 4. 1. (37)**), and the second a weserware ceramic beaker (DURS05220, **Fig. 4. 1. (38)**).

Two German stoneware jugs were recovered, one a typical late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century Westerwald biconical jug decorated in cobalt blue glaze and with applied faces and floral motifs (DURS05218). The other cylinder jug was probably a Raeren

product and depicted the apocryphal tale of Susanna and thee Elders. The main body of the jug was decorated with an applied frieze, containing six scenes from the story of Susanna, above the text *“IT IS DEI SCHONE HESTORIA VAN SUISANNA INT KORTE ENT GESA…..DEN ANNO 1584 ENGEL KRAN”*, (DURS05217, s2-kan-62, **Fig. 4. 1. (39)**). The broken handle of this jug suggests that a pewter lid which would have attached to it has been removed for recycling before the jug’s discard. Jugs with identical decoration have been recovered from Arnhem’s Wever-Bakkerstraat, and Walsteeg in Utrecht. All of these jugs have the same date 1584. For a discussion of the symbology of these vessel types, see Chapter 11. 4. 6.

One plain forest glass beaker with a round foot ring was recovered, but no other standard glassware was found (DURS05126, gl-bel-8a). Instead, the pit also contained two large ‘welcoming’ vessels. One of these was a 290mm high *stangenglas* of type gl-bek-32 (DURS0599, **Fig. 4. 1. (40)**). This soda glass vessel is very plain, with a long cylinder body on top of a raised pedestal foot, with a rim diameter of 75mm. Despite its lack of decoration, this remains quite a striking vessel. The second ‘over-sized’ vessel is a relatively common gl-bek-8a type beaker with a height of 200mm (DURS05100, **Fig. 4. 1. (41)**). The beaker is decorated with applied prunts, three of which are small rosette prunts with embedded blue beads. The fourth is a satyr mask. There is no trace of gilding on the applied prunts, but this may have degraded over time.

The final glass item from this cesspit is a relatively plain soda glass goblet, with a long baluster stem and parabolic bowl (DURS05125, gl-kel-11, **Fig. 4. 1. (42)**).

Fig. 4. 1. (43). Summary of drinking material from Ursulaklooster S558

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	1	Local wares (cups)	1
Standard beakers	2	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers	1	Stoneware jugs	2
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	
Goblets and flutes	1	Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	1

Pit S654, Ursulaklooster

Pit S654 was located in the south-eastern area of the Ursulaklooster site. It contained a relatively large quantity of material, of which a small proportion was related to drinking (E. Bult, *pers. comm.*).

Five red earthenware cups were found, of which one was decorated with yellow lead glaze (**Fig. 4. 1. (44)** and **(45)**). Recognisable types were r-kop-5 and r-kom-57. From white earthenwares, two cups were excavated, one with yellow glaze (w-kom-10) and the other with yellow and green.

In addition, two redware jugs were found, although one was too fragmentary to identify the type. The other, r-kan-25 (DURS05189) has a malformed neck and was slightly compressed on one side during firing. It is likely that this jug is a waster (**Fig. 4. 1. (46)**). The assemblage contained a single faience cup, of type f-kop-1 (DURS05206, **Fig. 4. 1. (47)**). This vessel is decorated with fruit and insects in blue.

In terms of glass material, the pit contains four soda beakers, of three different types. The first two beakers, a plain cylinder beaker (DURS0536, g-bek-8a) and a *knobbelbeker* (DURS0530, gl-bek-12a), both have blue footrings. The second two vessels, both gl-bek-35, are decorated with vertical white lines. The similarity of these two sets of vessels might indicate an expression of taste for a particular vessel type, or a desire for matching sets of drinkware. However, matching items did not really come into fashion until later in the seventeenth century (see chapter 12. 6. 1), so this is more likely to reflect items bought from the same manufacturer. The cesspit also contained fragments from two *roemers*, probably gl-roe-1 (DURS0556) and gl-roe-14 (DURS0555).

Fig. 4. 1. (48). Summary of drinking material from Ursulaklooster S654

Glass		Ceramics	
Roemers/berkemeiers	2	Local wares (cups)	7
Standard beakers		Local wares (jugs)	2
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers	4	Stoneware jugs	
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	1
Goblets and flutes		Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	

Pit S673, Ursulaklooster

Cesspit 673, located in the south-eastern part of the Ursulaklooster site, contained a relatively large collection of material. The pit contained a large number of redware items, of which there were two bowls. The first of these is a North Holland Slipware bowl in the same style as the peacock bowl from S504, this time decorated with a stag (r-kom-36 **,** DURS05211, **Fig. 4. 1. (49)**). The second bowl, also a double handled *papkom*, is of type r-kom-57, and is decorated externally with waves and dots in yellow lead glaze (DURS05212, **Fig. 4. 1. (50)**). The pit also contained nine redware cups, five of types r-kop-2 and four of r-kop-20, the majority of which were decorated with internal green glaze (DURS05214, **Fig. 4. 1. (51),** DURS05213, **Fig. 4. 1. (52)**). The drinking whitewares in this assemblage were comprised of eight vessels inclduing six cups of type w-kom-15 (DURS05215, **Fig. 4. 1. (53)**) and one w-kop-7.

The final white earthenware cup was of a type known as a *monniksbeker*, or 'Monk Beaker', a ceramic beaker shaped like a figurine of a monk (DURS05228, **Fig. 4. 1. (54)**). This

example is incomplete, missing the upper section of the torso and head, and dates to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. Such vessels are not unknown (see Boijmans van Beuningen (BvB Inventory numbers A 3671, A 3672 and F 9652) but they are far from common. Sebastiaan Ostkamp undertook a study of extant examples in 1996, and further discussion of this vessel and its symbolism will take place in Chapter 11. 4. 6.

Only one fragment of stoneware was found, from a jug. The assemblage contained a small amount of faience, two faience bowls of f-kom-1 and f-kom-10 types (DURS05229, **Fig. 4. 1. (55)**). Both vessels were white and unpainted. This pit did contain a large number of faience plates, some of which were in matching designs. Also recovered from this pit were four porcelain cups, of which the recognisable types were p-kop-1 and p-kop-4.

The glass from this cesspit is abundant, with a large number of different types being represented. Plain beakers make up the first ten vessels, of types gl-bek-8 and 8a (see DURS0516, **Fig. 4.1. (56)**). Eleven optically blown beakers were also discovered, eight *knobbelpatroon* beakers of types gl-bek-12b and gl-bek-15a/b, and three *wafelbekers* of type gl-bek-19 and 19a (DURS0521, **Fig. 4.1. (57)**). Two of these had blue raspberry prunt feet. One potash beaker was decorated with applied threads, and one other with wide vertical ribs (gl-bek-59b, DURS0597, **Fig. 4. 1. (58)**). The pit also contained four vessels with white thread decoration. Two of these (DURS0505 and DURS0528, gl-bek-9) were *vetro a fili* vessels, with thin diagonal white lines. The latter also has a blue glass applied rim (**Fig. 4. 1. (59)**). The final two beakers were decorated with applied white vertical lines on the exterior surface (DURS0527, gl-bek-35a).

Two *berkemeiers* and six *roemers* were present, in a number of different types. The *berkemeiers* (DURS0504) will date to the late sixteenth century. Of the *roemers*, one is a gl-roe-5, a narrow form with ball prunts, and two are gl-roe-2 *roemers*, a vessel with an egg-shaped bowl and two rows of flat raspberry prunts. The final three *roemers*, gl-roe-11, have large flat prunts and are mounted on a low wound foot. All of these forms were prevalent in the mid-seventeenth century, with the gl-roe-5 reaching into the last quarter of the century. An additional forest glass vessel of more unique nature is a small *stangenglas* in dark olive green, decorated with wound threads and a low row of flat pulled prunts. This glass probably dates to the end of the sixteenth century, but is remarkably well preserved (gl-sta-4, DURS0595, **Fig. 4. 1. (60)** and **(61)**).

The cesspit also contained several *kelkglazen*, although most were rather fragmentary. Two conical bowled goblets, in clear soda glass were found (DURS0511 and DURS0510, **Fig. 4. 1. (62)**). Both were missing their stems, although it is likely they were both originally baluster stemmed. The cesspit also contained a small lead glass goblet with a solid merese disc in the centre of the stem and solid disc shaped base (gl-kel-52, DURS0514, **Fig. 4. 1. (63)**). This goblet is dated between 1680 and 1725 and is the youngest piece of glass in this cesspit.

This cesspit contained the most varied collection of material from all the cesspits at Ursulaklooster, including some objects of particular interest, particularly the monk beaker. In addition to the drinking material, three vessels were discovered which have been identified as items relating to distilling. One rather fragmentary vessel may be a collecting

vessel or cucurbit, while at least two alembic vessels seem to be present, recognisable by their double curved collecting channels and a single surviving spout (**Fig. 4. 1. (64)**). The presence of distilling vessels adds an additional facet to the nature of alcohol consumption at the Ursulaklooster. Although other chemicals may have been distilled here, it is possible that spirit alcohol was being created and consumed on site.

Fig. 4. 1. (65). Summary of drinking material from Ursulaklooster S673

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	8	Local wares (cups)	18
Standard beakers	20	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers	8	Stoneware jugs	1
Stangenglas/pasglas	1	Faience or maiolica	2
Goblets and flutes	4	Porcelain	4
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)	3	Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	1

Pit S683, Ursulaklooster

The cesspit numbered S683 was discovered in the north-eastern area of the site. The majority of the contents of the pit were very fragmentary, with much unable to be identified (E. Bult, *pers. comm*.) The pit may have been in use earlier than the construction of the seventeenth-century accommodation as a number of artefacts date from about 1500, predating the majority of later items.

Of the items that could be recognised, only two earthenware drinking items were recovered. The first is a fragment of whiteware cup decorated with yellow lead glaze. The other item is a very small redware cup of type r-kop-2 (DURS05198). With a rim diameter of merely 85mm, it is likely that this item is a miniature, a children's toy or dolls house piece. Two small fragments from stoneware vessels were also recovered. One originated from a Siegburg *trechterbeker*, and the second from an ash-glazed tan coloured stoneware jug, of unknown provenance. A single faience vessel was present, a blue and white tea cup with Asiatic floral designs on the exterior, and a faux manufacturers mark on the foot. The cup is of type f-kop-1 (DURS05199).

Unusually, the glass from this cesspit seems to have a much higher survival rate than the ceramics. Twelve beakers have been recovered from this cesspit, with a variety of different decorative elements. Four of these are plain (gl-bek-5). Moulded beakers are also evident; one has a 'teadrop' *knobbelpatroon,* and three are waffle-patterned, one of which also has rosette prunts embedded with clear beads. Four beakers have linear decoration, one with thick moulded lines, one with applied milled threads (gl-bek-33/34), and two beakers with vertical applied white threads (gl-bek-35b, DURS05101, **Fig. 4. 1. (66)**).

The cesspit also contained five *roemers* and a late sixteenth-century *berkemeier* (gl-ber-1, **Fig. 4. 1. (67)**). The four thorn-prunted *roemers* date from the first half of the seventeenth

century, and the single gl-roe-1, with raspberry prunts, from the second half. Another relatively early forest glass vessel from the beginning of the seventeenth century is a single *koolstronk* (gl-koo-2, DURS0564, **Fig. 4. 1. (68)**). The vessel has a recurved lip and pulled prunts. This rather large glass dates from the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Three soda glass goblets were represented, although two were only fragments. The final *kelkglas* survived as a conical bowl, decorated with prominent ribs and nodules in the *'Mezza Stampaura'* style (gl-kel-36). These types of goblets have been seen a number of other excavations in this study.

Fig. 4. 1. (69). Summary of drinking material from Ursulaklooster S683

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	6	Local wares (cups)	1
Standard beakers	8	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	1
Decorated beakers	4	Stoneware jugs	1
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	1
Goblets and flutes	3	Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)	1	Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	1

Pit S689, Ursulaklooster

Pit S689 was discovered in the southeastern area of the site. A large majority of the material in the pit, maiolica and faience, relates to the 1678-1782 pottery workshops, as well as possibly earlier faience works. However, the pit was also used in the earlier century as a domestic dump, and that material is discussed here.

The quantity of earthenwares was relatively small from this cesspit, with three yellow glazed whiteware cups, of types w-kop-19 and w-kop-13 (**Fig. 4. 1. (70)**), being recovered, as well as a single red earthenware jug (r-kan-33, **Fig. 4. 1. (71)**). Fragments from two stoneware jugs were recovered, one a salt glazed jug decorated with vertical gadroons. The second, which had a very small foot diameter of just 49mm, may be a miniature vessel. Three rather unusual maiolica vessels were also found. The first is a shallow footed *drinkschaal* with round blisters around the bowl and a small painted flower on the inside, dating from around 1575 - 1625 (m-dri-1, DURS05132, **Fig. 4. 1. (72)**). Although no other comparable vessels have been found in this study, a very similar example was found Amsterdam (Gawronski 2012: 198). The Ursulaklooster example was probably originally white and blue but has discoloured dark grey after deposition. The other maiolica vessels are two *papkommen* painted with chunky floral (m-kom-5, **Fig. 4. 1. (73a)** and **(b)**). A single porcelain item, a ribbed tea bowl with landscape decoration was found (p-kom-).

The glass beer beakers from this cesspit are again mainly divided between plain beakers, and those with common mould-blown decorative forms. One particularl noteworthy piece is a small *knobbelbeker* with a rim diameter of a mere 32mm, making this vessel a rare glass miniature (gl-bek-15a **Fig. 4. 1. (74)**). For the remainder of the vessels, ten plain beakers

were present, accompanied by a ribbed beaker, two *knobbelbekers*, and five *wafelbekers* (**Fig. 4. 1. (75)**. One *pasenbeker* was found, decorated with milled *pas* threads (gl-bek-34a). The assemblage also contained two thick walled, heavily patterned network beakers, each with a wide vertically pinched foot ring (gl-bek-10, (**Fig. 4. 1. (76)**). More unusual forms included two *vetro a fili* beakers, in clear, white and blue glass, as well as two beakers decorated with applied white glass threads (gl-bek-35, **Fig. 4. 1. (77)**). There was also a funnel-shaped pedestal beaker (gl-bel-48, DURS0540) decorated with vertical ribs on the foot. All of these glasses are likely to date between 1575 and 1625.

Wine drinking glasses are present in the form of *roemers*, of which six are present. These fall into types gl-roe-1 and gl-roe-6 (1625 - 1675) and gl-roe-7 (1600 -1650). There was also a thorn prunted *berkemeier*, dating from 1550-1625. This cesspit is particularly unusual for the Ursulaklooster in that it contained several *façon de Venice* goblets and flutes. Two goblets only survived as fragments, but the third goblet, has a knotted snake stem, consisting of hollow ribbed wires in a heart shape (gl-kel-65, DURS0529, **Fig. 4. 1. (78)** and **(79)**). This is topped with curled threads and a twist of blue glass. The goblets were accompanied by three tall flute glasses, two of which were plain. Only a small portion of the third flute survives, but this fragment is engraved with heraldic symbols and two different coats of arms (**Fig. 4. 1. (80a)** and **(80b)**, **(81)**). Only the lower portions of both shields remain. One is split into quarters, with the lower left containing the Navarre escarbuncle, and the lower right the three *fleur de lis* arms of France. The second shield is split into twelve segments, with only the left two from the bottom and centre rows surviving. These segments contain the coat of arms of Orange-Nasseau, identifiable by the two lions passant, and the lions rampant with billets. The central inescutcheon, which has the Arms of Saxony, indicates the complete design probably held the coat of arms of Prince Maurice of Orange. The first shield could not be identified. This glass is promoting and celebrating royal figures, possibly in a politically charged fashion. For a more in depth discussion of this glass, see chapter 11. 4. 3.

Fig. 4. 1. (82). Summary of seventeenth-century artefacts from Ursulaklooster S689

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	7	Local wares (cups)	3
Standard beakers	21	Local wares (jugs)	1
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers	7	Stoneware jugs	2
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	3
Goblets and flutes	6	Porcelain	1
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	

4. 1. 2. Voorstraat Kinesis (DVKS81)

The excavations at 18 Voorstraat, which took place in July 1981, were undertaken during renovations to the Kinesis parking garage, and were supervised by H. H. Vos of the Coördinatie-Commissie voor Archeologisch Bodemonderzoek. A seventeenth-century cesspit was discovered during the course of the work, from which much of the most interesting material was recovered (Meijer 1984:8). The glass from this pit is very well represented, and was of both quantity and quality, with significant variation in forms. Ceramics, by contrast, are much scarcer. No utility ceramics were available for study, although it was recorded that red earthenware vessels, a jug and a bowl, were originally part of this material (E. Bult, *pers. comm.*), along with an unknown quantity of delftware plates and bowls (Meijer 1984:8).

The assemblage did contain two faience cups, of types f-kop-1 and f-kop-2. These were both white tin-glazed and decorated in blue with Asiatic patterns (**Fig. 4. 1. (83)** and **(84)**).

The remaining material is comprised of glass drinking vessels and bottles. A large number of beakers, in both forest and soda glass, were recovered. Twelve beakers were of plain styles. These were gl-bek-5, gl-bek-5a and gl-bek-21 (**Fig. 4. 1. (85)**). An additional unmoulded beaker was decorated with a blue foot ring (gl-bek-8, **Fig. 4. 1. (86),** DVKS8153). Moulded vessels are decorated with 'waffle' patterning (five examples of g-bek-19a, see **Fig. 4. 1. (87)**), or 'knobbed' and 'teardrop' patterns (nine examples of gl-bek-12, 12a and 12b, and gl-bek-15a and 15b), two of which also had blue raspberry prunt feet, (see **Fig. 4. 1. (88** and **89)** DVKS8112, DVKS8169). In addition to these there were also three beakers with a slight variant pattern of a combination of 'knobbed' and 'network' decoration (gl-bek-15a, **Fig. 4. 1. (90)**, DVKS8114). Other styles present included a ribbed beaker with a blue rim (gl-bek-59a, DVKS8158), a beaker decorated with a thin spiralling thread (gl-bek-33b, **Fig. 4. 1. (91)**, DVKS8152) and a single beaker decorated with blue trailed comets (gl-bek-36, DVKS8170).The assemblage contained a single lead glass vessel; a solid based, waisted beaker with a small area of surviving engraving (**Fig. 4. 1. (92)**, DVKS8150). This beaker could date from the end of the seventeenth century to the mid-eighteenth century, and is the youngest drinking item recovered.

As well as a large quantity of beakers, this assemblage also contained a significant number of *roemers*. Seven remained as fragments. One gl-roe-1 type was found, a *roemer* type with a short wide bowl and decorated with raspberry prunts (**Fig. 4. 1. (93),** DVKS8123). Fifteen *roemers* designated gl-roe-2, with ovoid bowls and rows of raspberry prunts were recovered (see **Fig. 4. 1. (94)** and **(95)**, DVKS8146 and DVKS8121). One of the three gl-roe-5 type vessels is unusual, as it has a ribbed bowl and stem (**Fig. 4. 1. (96)**, DVKS8157). A single example of gl-roe-10 vessel is a wide-mouthed, short-stemmed *roemer* with round prunts (**Fig. 4. 1. (97)**, DVKS8125). Very similar in form are the ten examples of gl-roe-9 *roemers*, with large flattened round prunts (see **Fig. 4. 1. (98)** and **(99)**, DVK8116 and DVK8122). The *roemers* from Voorstraat Kinesis were notable due to the fact that the majority were of rather small size, with narrow rim diameters (less than 80mm) or short heights (less than

100mm). While these vessels are not small enough to be counted as miniatures, it is likely that their primary function was not for the consumption of wine, but of spirits.

The wine goblets from this assemblage were all remarkably similar, with fourteen of the total twenty-two vessels being of type gl-kel-13, a goblet formed of a simple parabolic bowl on a ribbed hollow 'nodule' stem and disc shaped foot (**Fig. 4. 1. (100), (101)** and **(102)**). Eight goblets could not be identified by code type, but one was of blue glass. In addition were three more unique pieces: a tall baluster-stemmed flute of green glass (gl-flu-3, DVKS8171), an eight-sided goblet, and an ornate *façon de Venise* goblet with a winged stem. This vessel had a conical bowl on a twisted coiled stem with blue wings (gl-kel- , DVKS8172, **Fig. 4. 1. (103**).

Fig. 4. 1. (104). Summary of drinking material from Voorstraat Kinesis

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	37	Local wares (cups)	1
Standard beakers	27	Local wares (jugs)	1
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers	7	Stoneware jugs	
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	2
Goblets and flutes	25	Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	

The quantity and quality of the glassware from Voorstraat indicates that this was very likely to have been a wealthy residence, with significant drinking activities taking place on the site. Vessels associated with red and white wine, beer, spirits and tea have all been found in this assemblage. From this material we can assume that, had other ceramics from this assemblage been preserved, they would also have represented the high status drinking activities taking place here. However, an additional interpretation could be that this material in fact represents the waste from a drinking establishment or tavern. It is recorded that the Voorstraat area contained several breweries during the seventeenth century, and this cesspit might well be related to a building with a brewery/tavern function. This would explain the high proportion of drinking related material when compared with the complete absence of other domestic or kitchen waste, such as chamber pots or cooking wares. This interpretation might also explain the 'uniform' nature of many of the vessels.

An alternate interpretation, forwarded by Meijer, proposes that the pit was receiving at least some of its waste from a glass manufacturing workshop (Meijer 1984:8). He particularly relates this to the large number of goblets.

4. 1. 3. Oude en Nieuwe Gasthuis (DONG86)

The ‘Oude en Nieuwe Gasthuis’ hospital has stood on the Koornmarkt canal in Delft for over seven centuries, occuping an area of 8500m² (Langbroek 2012:26, Bult, Maat and Onista 1995:11). The first *gasthuis* was constructed in 1252 and the form and usage of the building, as a hospital and alms house for the sick and needy, changed little over the next few centuries. By the sixteenth century, the accompanying convent had been dissolved and the guesthouse was instead adopted into a local government initiative of aid for the sick. At this point the hospital was expanded with additional wards, a dairy, and a brewery being added (Langbroek 2012:27). The hospital was eventually relocated during the twentieth century.

Although this site is not strictly a domestic residence, as has been the focus with other sites in this study, it does contain aspects of domesticity. The patients housed within the hospital and guesthouse during the seventeenth century may have lived within its walls for a significant period of time during their convalescence. This site has therefore been included for the insight it might give us into the drinking habits and vessels available to those without free choice in their domestic environment. In addition, the hospital cesspit represents less well-off users, as those in the upper echelons of society would have been nursed at home rather than entering a hospital (Langbroek 2012:29).

The remains of the medieval hospital were uncovered during rescue-excavations in 1985-1987 and 1993 in the area known as the Gasthuisplaats. Much of the research on this site was understandably concerned with the medieval and early post-medieval history of the hospital. However, some later material was also recovered from this site, including two cesspits containing domestic waste. The largest pit dated to the mid-fifteenth century, but the smaller contained seventeenth- and eighteenth-century material (*Vondsnummer 169, Spoor 664*). These pits were located in a courtyard to the north of the chapel, and were designed to serve the men’s infirmary (Langebroek 2012:37). Unfortunately only the glass from the second assemblage was available for study, although comments on the ceramics can be found below.

The earliest material from the pit was a sixteenth-century *berkemeier* (DONG8623), although this is unlikely to have still been in use contemporaneously with the rest of the material. Of the seventeenth-century material, several glass beakers were found. These included common vessel types: plain beakers (DONG8607, DONG8609 and DONG8643), as well as beaker designs with moulded waffle patterns (gl-bek-19a, DONG8619, DONG8635), teardrop (DONG8639c) or knopped patterns (DONG8611).

More elaborate beaker styles included soda glass beakers edged with a white glass rim (DONG8608, DONG8642), beakers mounted on raspberry prunt feet in white and clear glass (DONG8639d, DONG8640) and beakers with applied threads, as spirals around the lip (gl-bek-?44, DONG8629) or as radial lines on the base (DONG8636). In addition to these types, the base from a single *vetro a fili* beaker in blue, white and clear glass was recovered (gl-bek-9, DONG8612, **Fig. 4.1. (105)** and **(106)**.

The cesspit also contained several beakers which date to the end of the seventeenth- and beginning of the eighteenth century. These vessels include two thick walled, conical beakers with engraved decoration; one with Chinese boats (DONG8613, **Fig. 4. 1. (107)**) and the other with birds and foliage (DONG8614, **Fig. 4. 1. (108)**). These styles of beakers are usually dated between 1690 – 1750. In addition, a slightly larger, plain waisted beaker, dating to a similar period, was found (gl-bek-23, DONG8615, **Fig. 4. 1. (109)**).

Wine drinking vessels were surprisingly well represented in this assemblage, including *roemers* and wine goblets. Three different styles of *roemer* were represented, with ten examples of the early seventeenth-century gl-roe-9 (DONG8616, **Fig. 4. 1. (110)**), and one of type gl-roe-10 (DONG8605, **Fig. 4. 1. (111)**). This latter vessel is an example of the transition between the *berkemeier*, with a straight sided bowl, and the *roemer* with its wound foot, which places its date probably between 1580 and 1620. The final *roemer* was decorated with large flattened raspberry prunts (type gl-roe-13 or 15), and dates to the later seventeenth century (DONG8633).

The wine glasses are clearly clustered towards the turn of the eighteenth century. Several fragmentary *façon de Venise* goblets including a funnel shaped goblet (DONG8606), and a goblet decorated with thin, applied plain threads (DONG8610, gl-kel-) are likely to be the earliest goblets amongst the assemblage, possibly dating to the third quarter of the seventeenth century.

Several more complete goblets date from the very end of the seventeenth- or first quarter of the eighteenth centuries. By this period of glass production, the thin, elegant styles typical of *façon de Venise* glass began to be replaced by goblets made *à la façon d' Angleterre*. These vessel types are characterised by a 'heavier' look, with a thick bowl and solid stem, sometimes containing an air bubble (Henkes 1994:266). The earliest vessel of this type from Oude Niewue Gasthuis is a soda glass goblet with a hollow inverted baluster stem (gl-kel-, DONG8638, **Fig. 4. 1. (112)**). The absence of a merese disc in the stem reveals the influence of the new English style. This can also be seen in two other lead glass vessels; a thick-walled, tulip-shaped goblet bowl (gl-kel-9/10, DONG8603, **Fig. 4. 1. (113)**), and a conical goblet on a heavy, solid stem with thick nodule (gl-kel-28, DONG8637, **Fig. 4. 1. (114)**).

As mentioned above, the ceramics from this cesspit were not available for study first hand; however, an unpublished site catalogue does allow some insight into the objects recovered from the cesspit (courtesy of E. Bult). The cesspit contained a huge number of red earthenware cups. Identifiable types were r-kop-18 (ten examples, DONG8602), r-kop-20 (three examples, DONG8618), r-kop-35 (two examples, DONG8624), r-kop-2 (four examples, DONG8617) and a single r-kop-4 (DONG8620). The first two categories are all vessels with multiple handles; the final groups contain vessels with one vertical or horizontal handle. In addition to these known types, 264 other redware cups were recovered from the same pit (DONG8601). In contrast, only two white earthenware vessels were found, decorated with yellow glaze. The cup was of type w-kop-23, the other *papkom* style bowl was unidentified (DONG8627).

Five porcelain teacups and a porcelain bowl were recovered from the cesspit, of types p-kop-1 (two examples, DONG8631), p-kop-6 (two examples, DONG8644), p-kop-9 (DONG8645), and p-kom-3 (DONG8646), accompanied by two porcelain saucers (p-bor-1). These were all of *kraak* style, with blue decoration. The decorations include pagodas, Buddhist symbols, flowers and blossoms. The bowl was also decorated with fish. These cups and saucers, probably intended for drinking tea, are likely to date from the end of the seventeenth, or early eighteenth, century. One fragment of porcelain came from a miniature item, probably a vase or a jug.

In addition, twenty faience vessels were found. These were broken down into types f-kop-1 (five examples, DONG8647), f-kop-2 (five examples, DONG8648), f-kop-4 (DONG8649), and nine unidentified fragments from polychrome faience cups (DONG8650). All of these cups bore Chinese-style decoration with landscapes, flowers, fish or birds. Three fragments of stoneware were recovered, which may have come from jugs. Only one other stoneware item, a chamber-pot, was found. Three teapots were also recovered from the cesspit, manufactured from industrial wares. As these certainly date to the later eighteenth century and are unlikely to represent the same period of use, they have not been included.

Fig. 4. 1. (115). Summary of drinking material from Oude en Nieuwe Gasthuis

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	13	Local wares (cups)	286
Standard beakers	17	Local wares (jugs)	1
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers	9	Stoneware jugs	3
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	20
Goblets and flutes	5	Porcelain	9
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	

While the glass from this cesspit fitted within a common profile for a domestic house, containing a variety of vessels for both beer and wine drinking, the ceramics present a wildly differing picture. Variation within the rest of the assemblage is entirely swamped by the vast quantities of red earthenware cups present.

Some discussion on the ceramic finds has been made by Langbroek (2012). He draws comparisons between the two neighbouring cesspits which served the men's dormitory in the fifteenth or the seventeenth century, and notes increasing levels of standardisation between the material in the fifteenth-century cesspit, and that of the seventeenth-century pit (2012:38). Firstly, it is noted that the profile of vessel types recovered from the fifteenth-century cesspit is very similar to material found in regular domestic Dutch houses of the same period. This profile was characterised by a great variety of ceramic vessel types, including food jars as well as varied eating and drinking dishes. It is hypothesised that this material represents items being brought in to the hospital from outside by relatives of the patients (Langebroek 2012:91). However, the seventeenth-century cesspit

demonstrated a notably different profile of material, with a much greater level of standardisation. Cooking pans and dishes were now absent, as were individual examples of vessels. Instead, excavators recovered multiple examples of particular vessel types, and it is likely that this represents plates and bowls being ordered *en masse* from a particular potter. Seventeenth-century patients are therefore believed to have each used a standard size and form of plate, bowl and chamber pot (Langebroek 2012:38). It is worth noting the extent to which drinking utensils, in both ceramic and glass, are much rarer than plates and bowls, and this causes the seventeenth-century assemblage to now appear very dissimilar to a regular domestic refuse profile. Apart from a few high status items, the assemblage seems to be lacking variation and personalisation. Bult (pers. comm. October 2011) noted that despite it being common practise for regular households to identify themselves through their choices and use of everyday utensils, individuals using the hospital are being denied the option of promoting an identity beyond that of a patient.

This certainly seems to be demonstrated by the ceramics from this pit, with large numbers of undecorated standardised red earthenware cups. However, the glass tells a slightly different story. Although there are no outstanding vessels with any personalised decoration, the presence of unique items such as the *vetro a fili* beaker, as well as wine drinking goblets and *roemers*, suggest that some more individual drinking activities are taking place on the site. These items might represent the waste of hospital administrators or staff who might have had the means and access to acquire more luxury items of food and drink, as well as suitable vessels to drink them from. Due to the very late date of much of the glass, it is possible that this change in material use occurred towards the end of the seventeenth century.

4. 1. 4. Conclusion

This chapter examined the differences and similarities in the seventeenth-century drinking material for eleven cesspits from the town of Delft. Nine of these pits were found within a single building complex at Ursulaklooster, designed as housing for immigrant Flemish workers. This site is particularly interesting as it enables an analysis of the material of a known economic group, and with a known ethnicity. Given the nature of the housing block and the long period of use represented by the artefacts, it is likely that several households were contributing to material in pits, but it is certainly of interest to note the quantities of mid and high status glassware and ceramics emerging from many pits, such as S673, S683 and S689, all of which could be considered wealthy sites from their status profiles (see Chapter 12. 3. for more on status profiles). While some of the pit groups from Ursulaklooster do contain poorer material only, there is no reason to be certain that all of the immigrant workers were of the same socio-economic status during this period. What certainly seems to be the case is that their status as ‘non-Dutch’ working persons did not limit their access to, and use of, more decorative material culture. It is possible that some of the vessel types were pieces that were brought with migrating families from Antwerp or another Southern Netherlandish city. This conjecture could apply to examples from S504, such as the soda glass *stangenglas,* large welcoming beaker with satyr masks, and baluster

stemmed goblet. The same might be said of the *vetro a fili* beaker, snake-stemmed goblet and engraved flute from S689. Given the addition of two almost complete North-Holland slipware decorated bowls, which are not particularly common, and it seems clear that the residents of this block contained several well-off families during the seventeenth century. Another vessel of particular note is the 'Monk beaker' recovered from S647. As these vessels are commonly recognised as satirical works criticising the Catholic Church (Ostkamp 1996), its presence in this context might suggest that the individual who owned it might have fled the Southern Netherlands at the end of the revolt and the restoration of Spanish authority in Flanders, in order to access the religious freedom of the Republic.

Voorstraat Kinesis, the second site studied in Delft, contains a variety of very high quality and status glass, and very little ceramics. Even for a rich site, this would be an unusual state of affairs, with the material showing a particular bias towards drinking vessels and a lack ofin utilitarian cooking and other domestic wares. It must be considered likely that ceramic items have been discarded elsewhere or lost. However, the composition of the glass assemblage is still unusual, and because of this the material has been identified as possibly originating from a tavern or high status drinking house. For more explanation behind this conclusion, see Chapter 12. 4.

The assemblage from the Oude en Nieuwe Gasthuis was recovered from a cesspit which served the men's dormitory during the latter part of the seventeenth century. This site demonstrates a high prevalence of earthenwares and plain beakers, although a surprising quantity of wine drinking glasses were also present, as well as some more unique vessel types. While it is thought that some vessels may have been brought in by visiting guests, much of the high status material may have been used by hospital staff and administrators who were not only better off, but also had greater access to buy, and use, more elaborate material culture. The material culture of hospitals will be discussed further in chapter 12. 4.

Fig. 4. 1. (116). Summary of sites and artefacts from Delft

	TYPE OF ARTEFACT	**DURS05 S347**	**DURS05 S396**	**DURS05 S427**	**DURS05 S504**	**DURS05 S558**	**DURS05 S654**	**DURS 05 S673**	**DURS05 S683**	**DURS05 S689**	**DVKS81**	**DONG 86**	**Total**
GLASS	*Roemers/berkemeiers*	1	7			1	2	8	6	7	37	13	**82**
	Standard beakers	14	16	4	3	2		20	8	21	27	17	**132**
	Table bottles and jugs												
	Decorated beakers	5		1	1	1	4	8	4	7	7	9	**47**
	Stangenglas/pasglas	3						1					**4**
	Goblets and flutes		1			1		4	3	6	25	5	**45**
	Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal/koolstronk)*		1					3	1				**5**
CERAMIC	Local wares (cups)	32	12	4	3	1	7	18	1	3	1	286	**368**
	Local wares (jugs)	1	2				2			1	1	1	**8**
	Trechterbekers and tankards	1							1				**2**
	Stoneware jugs	5	3	2		2		1	1	2		3	**19**
	Faience and maiolica	13	1		1		1	2	1	3	2	20	**45**
	Porcelain	1						4		1		9	**15**
	Other ceramics (non-local earthenwares, teapots, industrial wares)				1	1		1	1				**4**
METAL	Beakers												
	Papkommen												
	TOTAL	76	43	11	9	9	16	70	27	51	100	364	**776**

4. 2. Hoorn

Hoorn is a small town in northern Holland, located on the west bank of the Ijsselmeer and to the south-west of its close neighbour Enkhuizen. Initial settlement in this area began during the tenth century when a period of dry weather allowed for the draining and reclamation of the West Friesland peat lands (De Bruin 2007:2). Excavations in Hoorn and its surrounding areas suggest the earliest occupation took place here from the end of the thirteenth century (De Bruin 2007:6). Also around this time, the Zuiderzee began to form, due to the degradation of the dried out peat soils. The area soon became very vulnerable to tidal flooding, suffering several disastrous flooding events into the fifteenth century.

However, similar to the neighbouring Enkhuizen, Hoorn's position on the Zuiderzee became of vital importance to the town's success. The town grew initially as a dairy market and craft centre of regional significance (De Bruin 2007:6, Schrickx 2006:11), and was granted a city charter around 1356 (De Bruin 2007:10-11). The town developed quickly after the charter, and increased in economic importance during the fifteenth century, with city walls being constructed by 1426. The town's access to the sea started to become of greater significance during this period. Trading links, particularly with the Baltic, were established from the town, bringing in timber and grain and exporting local produce (*ibid*). After a brief period of stagnation during the late fifteenth century, the city's fortunes began to improve again (Schrickx 2006:11). From 1602, the VOC played an important role in providing employment for the area. Shipbuilding was also an important source of revenue for Hoorn, particularly after the development of the *fluitschip*, a merchant sailing vessel with a particularly large hold capacity (De Bruin 2007:14).

This economic success translated to a large population growth during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. From a population of an estimated 385 in 1339 (Schrickx 2006:11), the population had expanded to 6,500 inhabitants by the fifteenth century, and by 1622, the city housed a significant 14,139 inhabitants. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were characterised by successes in trade and industry, and by urban renewal projects, such as the construction of housing and ports (Schrickx 2006:11). As was the case across much of the Netherlands, Hoorn's fortunes then began a gradual decline. This was caused in part by economic stagnation, but also by specific disasters, such as a large flood in 1675. The city also suffered from the rising dominance of Amsterdam as the primary trading city for Holland, as well as the success of nearby Alkmaar. By 1809, the population had fallen to a mere 8,193 (De Bruin 2007:14).

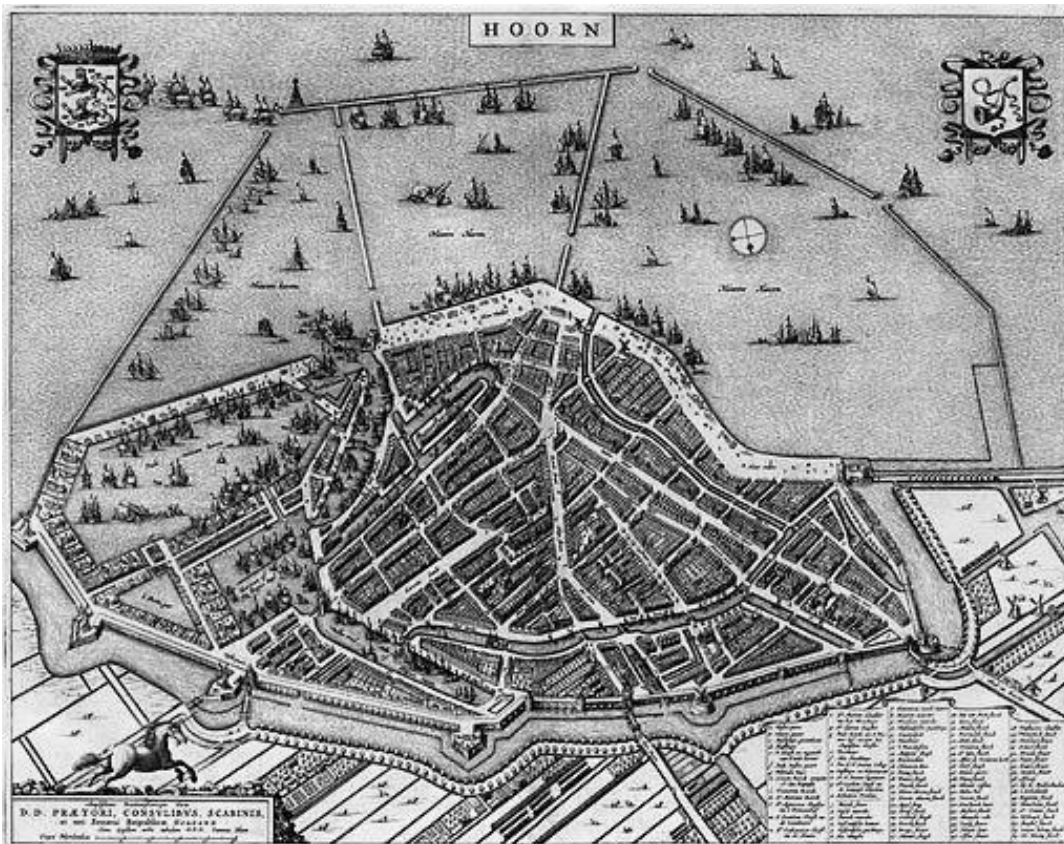

Fig. 4. 2. (1). Map of Hoorn by Joan Blaeu 1649. [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons - http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hoorn_1649_Blaeu_Zw.jpg

Four excavations, with a total of seven assemblages have been studied from Hoorn, situated in the oldest area of the city. All of the excavations revealed cesspits from domestic houses, and the drinking wares from each of these has been discussed in further detail below.

Fig. 4. 2. (2) Table showing the breakdown of cesspits examined from Hoorn

Excavation and cesspit	Site Code	Excavation year	Date range
Winston 130 S206	HOWIN04 S206	2004	1650 - 1700
Winston 130 S232	HOWIN04 S232	2004	1600 - 1650
Bruintje 78	HOBRU90	1990	1600 - 1675
Kleine Havensteeg 7-9 S139 ‘A’	HOKHS09 S139 A	2009	1630 - 1660
Kleine Havensteeg S139 ‘B’	HOKHS09 S139 B	2009	1650 - 1700
Kleine Havensteeg S137	HOKHS09 S137	2009	1650 - 1700
Karperkuil 86	HOKKL95	1995	1625 - 1675

4. 2. 1. Winston 130 (HOWIN04)

Excavations were undertaken on two plots, 4 and 6, on Grote Noord in 2004. The work was prompted by the clearance of the site earlier in that year; the cinema which had previously stood at Number 2 Grote Noord having burned down in 2000 (Schrickx 2006:7). The work was undertaken by the Municipality of Hoorn Archaeological Department, alongside the AWN-werkgroep Hoorn.

The proximity of the excavation area to Rood Steen, the oldest square in Hoorn, means the area has a long history of occupation. However, during the sixteenth century, the buildings standing on plots 4 and 6 were bought by the city and demolished. Two new terraced buildings were constructed on the Grote Noord a short while later, with additional raised floors and basements being constructed (Schrickx 2006:12-13, 35). A few decades after this, another building was constructed in the yard behind these two houses, with a different orientation (Schrickx 2006:37). Both this building and the one standing at Grote Noord 6 were occupied during the seventeenth century and were furnished with cesspits.

Pit S203/206, Winston

A round, brick built cesspit (S206/203) was discovered in the yard at the rear of Grote Noord 6 (Schrickx 2006:36). The pit contained a large quantity of seventeenth-century domestic material. This pit measured 150cm in diameter, and was constructed with a chute. The adjoining house on Grote Noord 4 did not seem to have a cesspit; it is possible that the material from this pit came from both houses. Pit S206/203 went out of use simultaneously with remodelling of the house, and after the completion of this work, a smaller cesspit was constructed to the north. However, this pit contained mainly organic waste and almost nothing in the way of discarded utensils (Schrickx 2006:37).

Cesspit S206/203 contained a minimum of one hundred and twenty-two ceramic items. The excavators counted a minimum number of twenty-nine glass vessels. However, reanalysis for this study has instead identified forty-one, as some fragments have identifiably different rim or base diameters, revealing them to be from different vessels than otherwise visually similar pieces.

The ceramics from this cesspit contained a large quantity of white earthenware products, but no drinking vessels from red earthenware. The pit contained a total of eleven w-kop-3 type cups (**Fig. 4. 2. (3)**), decorated with green and yellow glaze, and seven w-kop-39 cups (**Fig. 4. 2. (3b)**), some of which were decorated with all yellow glaze, or with external green glaze and internal deep red glaze.

One piece of stoneware was found, a fragment from an imported jug (HOWIN0436). Only a few faience vessels were found, including a faience cup decorated with birds and flowers, and this was accompanied by a matching saucer (f-kop-9, HOWIN0432, **Fig. 4. 2. (4)**) and f-bor-7, (HOWIN0433). The assemblage also contained a faience jug, decorated with a Chinese style landscape (HOWIN0434). These items date to the third quarter of the

seventeenth century. Accompanying these was a single porcelain cup of type p-kop-1 (HOWIN0435).

The glass vessels from the assemblage include several common types of beer drinking beaker, two *knobbelbekers* with teardrop patterns (gl-bek-12b), and seven *wafelbekers* (gl-bek-19 and 19a). One of these beakers (HOWIN0407) also has ribbed sides. Several otherwise 'plain' beakers had additional ornamentation. Four plain beakers were decorated with white threads around the rims, and two of these also had an additional blue milled footring (see HOWIN0426, **Fig. 4. 2. (5)**). Four otherwise plain beakers of type gl-bek-14 were given plain prunted feet (HOWIN0418, **Fig. 4. 2. (6)**), or blue raspberry feet (HOWIN0410).

Other more unusual types of beaker include four *ijsglas* patterned beakers, dating to the first half of the seventeenth century (gl-bek-4a/b, HOWIN0408-9), a *vetro-a-fili* beaker in white and colourless glass (gl-bek-9a, HOWIN0425), and a 'comet' beaker decorated with blue glass comets (gl-bek-29, HOWIN0427). *Kometenbekers* reached the height of their popularity during the first half of the seventeenth century. A final beaker was of type gl-bek-10b, a network patterned soda glass beaker with a white glass rim (HOWIN0411).

Wine drinking vessels were also well represented, including pieces from a minimum of eleven goblets and flutes. Several of these were relatively plain, including HOWIN0412 and HOWIN0423. The latter of these is probably a goblet of type gl-kel-11, although the baluster stem is missing (**Fig. 4. 2. (7)**). Several other goblets were more ornamented. One goblet (gl-kel-70, HOWIN0419) had a double-bulbed baluster stem with wrythern ribs, although the bowl was missing. Another less common goblet type is gl-kel-36, a goblet decorated with *mezza stampaura* ribs (HOWIN0413). One goblet survived as only a few fragments which were severely crizzled. A final vessel was missing the bowl, with only the round folded foot and stem remaining, possibly a simple form of gl-kel-38 (HOWIN0424, **Fig. 4. 2. (8)**). Three flutes were recovered. Two appeared to be relatively plain (HOWIN0414), and the third was ribbed, with a disc shaped foot (gl-flu-4, HOWIN0415).

More wine drinking vessels were recovered, in the form of *roemers*. These six vessels came from several types; there were four examples of gl-roe-2, a *roemer* type with a high wound foot, wide bowl and large flattened raspberry prunts (HOWIN0402 **Fig. 4. 2. (9)**). Two of these roemers were small spirit glasses, one of which appears to have been partially melted (HOWIN0401, **Fig. 4. 2. (10)**). According to the dating system developed by Brongers and Wijnman (1968), these types of *roemers* date from 1640 to around 1680. One example of a gl-roe-5 *roemer* (HOWIN0417) from the third quarter of the seventeenth century and decorated with plain round prunts was also recovered. The final *roemer* type could not be identified, but it did have a ribbed bowl, which is relatively unusual (HOWIN0403).

Fig. 4. 2. (11). Summary of drinking material from S203/206, Winston

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	6	Local wares (cups)	18
Standard beakers	11	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers	13	Stoneware jugs	1
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	4
Goblets and flutes	11	Porcelain	1
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	

Pit S232, Winston

As mentioned above, an additional structure was built in the backyard of plot 6 at the beginning of the seventeenth century. This house was constructed with a subterranean sewer which ran into the cesspit S232. Later material was recovered from the sewer, but the cesspit itself had been in use from the initial construction of the house at the beginning of the seventeenth century (Schrickx 2006:37).

This cesspit contained significantly less material than S206, despite having a longer period of use, estimated by Schrickx as 1625 – 1825 (Schrickx 2006:89). A minimum number of sixty-five ceramic vessels were recovered, along with a around thirteen glass vessels. Only a very small proportion of these were related to drinking activities.

Similarly to S206, only one piece from a stoneware jug was found. A single cup from each type of earthenware was recovered, an r-kop-2 (HOWIN0438) and an unidentified whiteware cup with green glaze (HOWIN0439). Both of these could have been in use throughout the seventeenth century. The final ceramic items were five teacups, one in faience, and four in porcelain. All of these vessels were rather fragmentary, and it is possible that the porcelain cups may date to a later period of use.

Of the glassware, fragments of several kinds of common beaker were, including a plain beaker, two different *wafelbekers*, a *knobbelbeker*, and a beaker with network patterning. The presence of more elaborate glass vessels were suggested by fragments from a *vetro-a-fili* beaker (HOWIN0446), small pieces from a raspberry prunted *roemer* (HOWIN0448) and a goblet, of type gl-kel-28 (HOWIN0447).

Fig. 4. 2. (12). Summary of drinking material from S232, Winston

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	1	Local wares (cups)	2
Standard beakers	4	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers	2	Stoneware jugs	1
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	1
Goblets and flutes	1	Porcelain	4
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	

The assemblages from the two Winston cesspits display a range of drinking artefacts, giving some hints about the type of drinking activities taking place on the site. Pit S206/203 was the larger of the two pits and, predictably, contained a wider variety of artefacts. Some features of this assemblage are rather striking. In the majority of assemblages, earthenware drinking vessels make up a reasonable proportion of the total drinking material, and redwares are much more common than whitewares. In this pit, the high number of white earthenware cups (eighteen) makes the absence of redware vessels even more pronounced. Some red earthenware products were used in this household, including pipkins, frying pans and braziers, but no drinking vessels were recovered. The difference cannot be seen in pit S232, as one vessel of each fabric type was found.

Both pits contained both faience and porcelain items. The higher quantity of faience over porcelain in pit S206/203 in comparison to S232 most likely relates to the later dating of this context; S206/203 has been dated 1650 – 1700 by the excavators, and S232 to 1600 - 1650. Porcelain became difficult to source during much of this period, and faience production underwent a subsequent boom, explaining the greater quantity of faience in the later pit. Another notable feature of these assemblages is the near absence of stonewares; each pit contains evidence of a single jug.

The glassware recovered shows both beer and wine drinking were taking place in these houses, although through more conspicuous vessels in S206/203 than S232.

4. 2. 2. Bruintje 78 (HOBRU90)

The following two sections of the report discuss two further excavations in the region of the old Rood Steen square. These excavations took place along either side of the Kleine Havensteeg in Hoorn. The first excavation took place in 1990 at Café Bruintje which stands on the corner of Kleine Havensteeg near to the Rood Steen (Bruintje 90, Project 78). This small alleyway was one of several which connected the first town harbour to the market place (Schrickx 2011:10). The 1990 excavations were undertaken by the archaeological department of the West Frisian Museum, with the Albert Egges van Giffen Instituut voor Praeen Proto-historie (University of Amsterdam) and the Archeologische

Werkgemeenschap voor Nederland - werkgroep Hoorn. The second excavation of this area will be discussed in the next section.

The excavation area at Café Bruintje was cleared by a fire in 1978 and remained derelict until redevelopment plans prompted excavation in 1990 (van de Walle-van der Woude 1991:319). Excavations revealed the earliest building on the site was constructed in the later part of the thirteenth century. The building was substantially rebuilt after a previous fire in the early fifteenth century, at which point an outhouse kitchen, containing a *beerkelder*, was added, separated from the house by a courtyard. This septic tank was primarily in use during the fifteenth century, but was also used for dumping smaller quantities of domestic waste during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A second cesspit on the site was later almost completely emptied by treasure hunters (van de Walle-van der Woude 1991:321).

The *beerkelder* contained a small but varied assemblage of seventeenth-century material (**Fig. 4. 2. (13)**). Only two earthenware vessels were recovered; a whiteware cup decorated with green glaze (w-kop-4, HOBRU9015), and a very small cup of type w-kop-33 (HOBRU9014, **Fig. 4. 2. (13)** and **Fig. 2. 4. (14)**). With a rim diameter of only 65mm, it is likely that this was a miniature vessel intended as a children's toy. Other drinking ceramics were represented by three stoneware jugs. One was too fragmentary to be identified. The other two vessels were recognised as types s2-kan-63, a brown salt glazed jug probably originating from Frechen (HOBRU9016), and s2-kan-55, a tan coloured jug decorated with thin 'cut-glass' patterning and applied medallions with lion faces, manufactured in Siegburg (HOBRU9017). Both can be seen in **Fig. 4. 2. (13).** The final ceramic item from this assemblage was a small sherd from the base of a faience cup or tea bowl (HOBRU9019). This vessel was decorated on the inside of the bowl with a delicately painted Chinese style blue leaf (**Fig. 4. 2. (15)**).

Three common types of beer glasses were found, in both forest glass and soda glass. This includes two *knobbelbekers* (gl-bek-12a) and a *wafelbeker* (gl-bek-19). In addition to these, small pieces from a *vetro a fili* beaker in blue, white and clear glass were also recovered. All of which date to the first half of the seventeenth century. Pieces from a diagonally ribbed octagonal *stangenglas* with applied rings also came from this period (gl-sta-2a, HOBRU9004).

Two late sixteenth century *berkemeiers* were recovered from the assemblage. These were of type gl-ber-1, with pulled prunts (HOBRU9002, **Fig. 4. 2. (16)).** In addition to these, several later *roemers* were found. These included single examples of gl-roe-1, gl-roe-2, and a small gl-roe-6. The former two *roemers* were common from the mid-seventeenth century. The latter vessel was probably a spirit glass(HOBRU9011, **Fig. 4. 2. (17)**). Also potentially for spirits was a very small soda glass *kelkglas* with a small bowl and a thin inverted baluster stem on a folded foot (HOBRU9005, **Fig. 4. 2. (18)**). The simplicity of the solid stem, lacking merese discs, means this piece is likely to have been made in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Fragments from two other *kelkglazen* have also been recovered. These include the lower part of a thick lead glass goblet bowl (HOBRU9012), as well as pieces from a soda glass goblet, engraved with a floral pattern around the foot

(HOBRU9010, **Fig. 4. 2. (19)**). The engraving on this goblet is extremely rough and inelegant, suggesting it may have been produced by an amateur, possibly as a practice piece.

The lack of standard earthenware vessels suggests a large proportion of the expected material from this site is missing. However, the fairly diverse nature of the material which is still present demonstrates that a range of material was in use on the premises during the seventeenth century. Drinking wares are present in both glass and ceramics, including some imported items, such as stonewares, and a reasonably good quality faience cup. The *vetro a fili* beaker and engraved goblet also give hints of access to status material by this household.

One question that this material can answer is whether the house at Bruintje was already being used as a coffee-house during the seventeenth century. Historical records indicate a café was being operated there in 1830 (Schrickx 2011:16). However, the assemblage revealed from this cesspit was of a very domestic in nature, with no indicators suggesting that the waste from this pit originated from a drinking establishment.

Fig. 4. 2. (20). Summary of drinking material from Bruintje

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	6	Local wares (cups)	2
Standard beakers	3	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers	1	Stoneware jugs	3
Stangenglas/pasglas	1	Faience or maiolica	1
Goblets and flutes	3	Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	

4. 2. 3. Kleine Havensteeg 7-9 (HOKHS09)

The second excavation on the Kleine Havensteeg took place in 2009. The work was undertaken along the other side of the alley from the previous work at Café Bruintje.

The alley is known to have been in existence since the end of the fifteenth century (Schrickx 2011:12). The area became increasingly built up from the mid to late sixteenth century, and soon had houses running along both sides of the alley. The excavations during 2009 took place on the plots of houses number 7 and 9, and into the backyards of adjoining houses of Kleine Havensteeg 11 and West 64 and 58.

S139 'A', Kleine Havensteeg

The assemblage discussed below was recovered from S139, a cess 'cellar' discovered in the area behind West 64 and Kleine Havensteeg 11. The pit, which is brick built and rectangular, measuring 2.70m by 1.95m, is thought to belong to the latter of these properties. The content of the pit was unfortunately rather disturbed. This was due to the

activities of modern treasure hunters who removed much of the material, as well as by emptying of the pit during the first half of the seventeenth century. Despite this, a significant quantity of material was recovered as it fell through gaps in the original wood floor and was preserved beneath (Schrickx 2011:52). Following this initial emptying, the pit then underwent a second period of deposition, dating from 1660 to 1770.

From the first period of the pit's use, which took place from 1630 - 1660 (referred to as S139 'A'), a minimum number of thirty-four ceramic objects and six glass items were recovered, although only a small number of these related to drinking. Due to the fragmentary nature of the vessels, it is difficult to identify the majority of the vessel types. Six redware cups were recovered, with two being of type r-kop-2. Only one piece of white earthenware cup was found. The pit contained several pieces of Dutch faience but no drinking wares, and up to three *Kraak* porcelain cups. One was painted with '*kraai*' (crow) decoration, and the other cups with floral designs (HOKHS0905). Only two glass vessels were recovered from this layer, including part of a *wafelbeker* and a soda-glass goblet.

A particularly remarkable item are fragments from a Portugese Faience jug; a fabric type not frequently seen in the Netherlands. The assemblage also contained pieces from a Portuguese-made plate (Schrickx 2011:54). It is possible that the jug was decorated with a coat of arms, with only a fragment displaying a tower and the top corner of text still surviving (HOKHS0907, **Fig. 4. 2. (21)** and **(22)**).

Fig. 4. 2. (23). Summary of drinking material from S139 'A', Kleine Havensteeg

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers		Local wares (cups)	7
Standard beakers	1	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers		Stoneware jugs	1
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	
Goblets and flutes	1	Porcelain	3
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	1

S139 'B', Kleine Havensteeg

The second period of deposition in the pit (S139 'B') is the layer disturbed by treasure hunting activities. This layer contains a minimum of seventeen ceramic artefacts, the breakdown of which bears a definite similarity to the previous context layer (Schrickx 2011:57). The pit contained again a single fragment of stoneware jug, and a few vessels of earthenware; an unidentifiable cup in each of red and white earthenware, and a w-kom-15 bowl (HOKHS0911). The pit also contained a single Kraak porcelain cup. No drinking glass items were recovered from this pit.

Fig. 4. 2. (24). Summary of drinking material from S139 'B', Havensteeg

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers		Local wares (cups)	3
Standard beakers		Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers		Stoneware jugs	1
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	
Goblets and flutes		Porcelain	1
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	

S137, Kleine Havensteeg

The second pit from Kleine Havensteeg is a round, brick built cesspit, approx. 2.10m diameter with a chute in one corner. The cesspit lay close to S139 but it is uncertain which house this pit related to, as it lies between the plots of several houses. The content suggests the pit was in use from 1600 to around 1650. This pit was also disturbed in the recent past by treasure-hunting activities. However, a small quantity of the original material was recoverable, including forty-one ceramic and eight glass vessels.

Earthenware vessels once again included one redware (HOKHS0915) and six whiteware (HOKHS0916) cups. Faience and porcelain plates were recovered, but in this pit there were no drinking vessels from these materials. However, the pit did contain fragments from two stoneware jugs, one a blue and white salt glazed Westerwald jug, and the other with applied medallions containing a coat-of-arms. The assemblage also contained a sherd from a weserware jug dating to the early seventeenth century; another relatively rare artefact. Similarly to S139, faience, maiolica and porcelain plates were found in this pit, but there were no drinking vessels from these materials. Glass vessels were slightly better preserved in this assemblage, with pieces from six beakers being recovered, including a *wafelbeker* (HOKHS0920, gl-bek-19). Pieces from two *roemers* were found, along with fragments from a single goblet of unknown type.

Although not drinking items, this assemblage contained three other items of note: two fragments of Italian pottery, red earthenware and maiolica, as well as a miniature doll's house toy in the shape of a tiny pewter plate. All of these products indicate that the household had a certain degree of disposable income to spend on frivolities and luxury items. If more of the drinking vessels had survived, it is expected that this pattern would also be seen in that material.

Fig. 4. 2. (25). Summary of drinking material from S137, Kleine Havensteeg

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	2	Local wares (cups)	7
Standard beakers	6	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers		Stoneware jugs	2
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	
Goblets and flutes	1	Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	1

4. 2. 4. Karperkuil 86 (HOKKL95)

During 1995, excavations were undertaken at the Karperkuil, an area known to contain some of the city's most important shipbuilding yards during the seventeenth century. The work was undertaken by the municipal Hoorn archaeological service, with AWN and Oud Enkhuizen (van de Walle-van der Woude 1996:325). The excavation was located to the south of the port area, investigating the area between the Karperkuil and Binnenluiendijk, which, by this period, was no longer being used as a port (Uiterwijk 2000:166). The Karperkuil district had become increasingly built up over the sixteenth century with residential buildings, warehouses and workshops, and by 1608, two new ports were constructed to the south and east. The area was widened in 1621, and over the next few years, two rows of houses were constructed on the Karperkuil (van de Walle-van der Woude 1996:325). The excavation revealed five of these houses. The first of these houses (House One) was located on the corner of the Binnenluiendijk. During the excavations, a round, brick built cesspit was discovered lying to the west of a smaller structure in the yard behind this house (*Vondsnummer 21, Spoor 5*) (van de Walle-van der Woude 1996:326). The majority of the drinking material from this cesspit can be dated to the mid-seventeenth century, with a few pieces outlying.

A large number of earthenware bowls and cups were recovered, in several different types: w-kop-3 (fourteen examples), w-kop-14 (one example), w-kop-24 (one example), and one other. Two of these vessels were *papkoms*. Of red earthenware, there were r-kop-2 (six examples), r-kop-6 (three examples) and r-kop-21 (one example). One fragment from a highly degraded faience bowl was found (HOKKL9510, **Fig. 4. 2. (26)**). Other ceramic items included two stoneware jugs. A Westerwald jug with blue salt glaze decoration was decorated with a central medallion containing the figure of a running, pregnant woman and the text "1662.IS.VN.DYINCK. NIT…" (HOKKL9519, **Fig. 4. 2. (27)** and **(28)**). The second jug was glazed in a dark tan, and decorated with lozenges and applied flowers (HOKKL9520). Three porcelain cups complete the ceramic assemblage. Two were decorated with painted landscapes and boats (p-kop-14, HOKKI9516, **Fig. 4. 2. (29)**), one of which was also coloured solid brown on the exterior (p-kop-8, HOKKL9518, **Fig. 4. 2. (30)**). The final cup was decorated with solid floral patterns around the exterior and base (p-kop-14, HOKKL9517).

Glass beer drinking beakers included four *wafelbekers* (gl-bek-19a and 19b, **Fig. 4. 2. (31)**), a plain beaker (gl-bek-8a) and a *knobbelbeker* (gl-bek-12). Other designs were also present including a ribbed beaker with wide, vertical ribs dating to the first half of the seventeenth century (gl-bek-59b), and two ice-glass beakers (gl-bek-4a). The assemblage also included two high quality *passen* beakers decorated with two parallel milled threads and rosette prunts (gl-bek-34b). One beaker had prunts alternating between gilding and with embedded blue beads (HOKKL9501). This beaker was particularly unusual; the remaining pieces suggested it was of large size, with a large rim diameter of >135mm (**Fig. 4. 2. (32)** and **Fig. 4. 2. (33)**).

A minimum of four fragmentary *roemers* were recovered, along with a single fragment from a solid, lead glass goblet. This is likely to date much later than the rest of the assemblage, which is primarily from the first half of the seventeenth century, and therefore is anomalous.

The excavators concluded that the material from this pit contained no particular impression of wealth (van de Walle-van der Woude 1996:326), and to a broad extent this would seem to be correct. The assemblage demonstrates an absence of stemmed glassware and goblets, common to high status groups, and the only wine drinking vessels, the *roemers*, were extremely fragmentary. The assemblage was also missing quantities of faience and maiolica ceramics. The assemblage did follow common material patterns for the region, which includes small quantities of stoneware and more frequent occurrence of porcelain, in this instance, three cups. The large quantity of earthenware cups and bowls however, is more unusual, as is the large soda glass beaker with milled *passen* threads and gilded prunts. The slightly earlier date for this object suggests it may have been a prized heirloom, or other special curated item.

Fig. 4. 2. (35). Summary of drinking material from from Karpenkuil

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	4	Local wares (cups)	27
Standard beakers	7	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers	4	Stoneware jugs	2
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	1
Goblets and flutes	1	Porcelain	3
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	

4. 2. 5. Conclusion

Four sites with a total of seven assemblages were examined from the town of Hoorn. While somewhat disproportional in size, these sites all demonstrate a degree of commonality in their material. None of the sites seem to represent high status households, instead displaying higher quantities of standard utility wares, such as plain or simply decorated beakers and earthenware cups and bowls. Both *roemers* and goblets were present, but in smaller numbers than seen in other parts of Holland.

Winston S206 had the highest proportion of luxury glass finds, with fifteen decorated beakers and eleven goblets. This is not surprising given that this assemblage was also the largest, with sixty-five objects recovered. Despite this, the site still lacked luxury ceramics, with only one example each of porcelain and stoneware, and four pieces of faience.

A low quantity of stoneware is an abiding phenomenon amongst the Hoorn pits, and is mirrored in the larger, higher status cesspits recovered from the neighbouring city of Enkhuizen (see chapter 4. 3). Inversely, the Hoorn cesspits, despite their lack of mid-range and elite glassware, almost all contain items of porcelain. These vessels, while being valuable in their own right, also indicate the potential consumption of tea within the household. Again, it seems that the local activities of the VOC may have made items such as tea and porcelain available to those on the lower social and financial scale than would be the case elsewhere in the Netherlands.

Karperkuil displayed an unusually large quantity of local earthenware cups and bowls (twenty-seven). This number seems rather disproportionate, as it makes up over half of the total quantity of drinking material recovered at this site (forty-nine artefacts). The reason for this is not certain but some aspect of life in this household involved the consumption of a large quantity of liquid based foodstuffs.

Fig. 4. 2. (36). Summary of sites and artefacts from Hoorn

	TYPE OF ARTEFACT	HOWIN04 S206	HOWIN04 S232	HOBRU90	HOKHS09 S139 A	HOKHS09 S139 B	HOKHS09 S137	HOKKL95	Total
GLASS	*Roemers/berkemeiers*	6	1	6			2	4	**19**
	Standard beakers	11	4	3	1		6	7	**32**
	Table bottles and jugs								
	Decorated beakers	13	2	1				4	**20**
	Stangenglas/pasglas			1					**1**
	Goblets and flutes	11	1	3	1		1	1	**18**
	Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk)*								
CERAMIC	Local wares (cups)	18	2	2	7	3	7	27	**66**
	Local wares (jugs)								
	Trechterbekers and tankards								
	Stoneware jugs	1	1	3	1	1	2	2	**11**
	Faience and maiolica	4	1	1				1	**7**
	Porcelain	1	4		3	1		3	**12**
	Other ceramics (non-local earthenwares, teapots, industrial wares)				1		1		**2**
METAL	Beakers								
	Papkommen								
	TOTAL	**65**	**16**	**20**	**14**	**5**	**19**	**49**	**188**

4. 3. Enkhuizen

The town of Enkhuizen is situated in the north of the province of Holland, on the western shore of the Ijsselmeer. Due to its position on a peninsular, the town lies directly in the main channel between the North Sea and the Zuider Zee, a shallow inlet of the North Sea which extends about 100 km inland with shorelines on the provinces of Holland, Friesland, Overijssel, Gelderland, and Utrecht. The sea was formed by erosion of low lying areas during the earlier medieval periods, and the area grew to its full extent during flooding events in 1287. Enkhuizen developed from lowly origins as a fishing village, but by 1355 had been granted a charter to hold an annual market (Gutkind 1971:69). With fishing and the dairy market both contributing to the town's economy, Enkhuizen grew in prosperity throughout the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, with its huge fishing fleet making it one of the most vitally important seafaring towns in the Netherlands. During this period of prosperity the town itself doubled in size to accommodate its expanding population, and underwent several significant building projects, including the construction of fortifications around the town, terminating in seven large bastions (**Fig. 4. 3 (1)**). By the seventeenth century, the population was over 40,000, with almost all inhabitants being involved in fishing or subsequent trade in some form (Gutkind 1971:69). International trade was also a vital part of the town's economy, with goods being brought in from England, the Baltic and even further afield with the development of Dutch colonies. During the first part of the seventeenth century, the VOC made Enkhuizen one of its primary trading ports, and the town became the first landing point for goods from the East Indies.

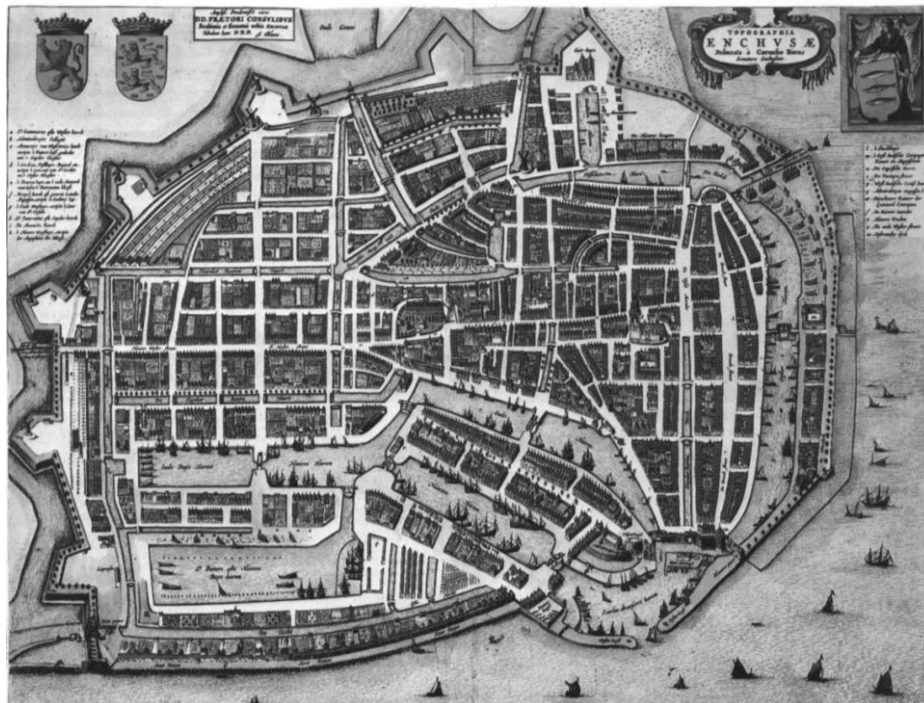

Fig. 4. 3. (1). Map of the town of Enkhuizen, by Joan Blaeu 1652. "Blaeu 1652 - Enkhuizen". Licensed under Public domain via Wikimedia Commons - http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Blaeu_1652_-_Enkhuizen.jpg#mediaviewer/File:Blaeu_1652_-_Enkhuizen.jpg

However, during the second quarter of the seventeenth-century, due to a number of factors, the town suffered a serious decline, the most damaging of which was the gradual silting up of the harbour. A series of sea floods damaged the agricultural soil, and the fishing and merchant markets suffered by the increasing shift in trade to Amsterdam in response to international wars and action by the English. By 1650, Enkhuizen has been described as a “dead town” (Gutkind 1971:70); while it was still home to a large number of Hollanders, it’s significance as a trading or fishing port was over.

Two excavations from the centre of Enkhuizen were chosen for this study, summarised below. From these pits, the artefacts which were used for drinking or for displaying drinks were identified, recorded and analysed.

Fig. 4. 3. (2). Table showing the breakdown of cesspits examined from Enkhuizen

Excavation and cesspit	Site Code	Excavation year	Date range
Van Bleiswijkstraat (Enkhuizer Banketfabriek)	ENEBF94	1994	1675 - 1725
Torenstraat-Baansteeg	ENTS08	2008	1630-1650

Both of these excavated areas contain deposited waste from two domestic properties. While the pit from Torenstraat is a genuine brick-built cesspit, the waste material recovered from Van Bleiswijkstraat was deposited in a well (*waterput*), a practice that despite its obvious effect on the high water table, continued to be common throughout Holland during the seventeenth century.

4. 3. 1. Van Bleiswijkstraat (ENEBF94)

During 1994, the demolition of a sugar factory which stood on the edge of the medieval part of Enkhuizen, prompted excavations along Van Bleiswijkstraat. The course of the modern street now runs across the former Rietdijk, an area which revealed evidence of habitation from the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries. A number of house structures were excavated, along with adjacent land and yards containing a number of pits and wells (Duijn 2010a:39, Duijn 2010b:94). The assemblage from one particular pit has been chosen for study; that excavated from *waterput* (well) S66 (V222). This feature stood in the centre of the backyard of a residential house on the Rietdijk. The well was one meter in diameter, constructed of wooden plank, topped with one meter high walls of rough brick. The contents proved to be a significant quantity of closely dated material, with only six fragmented pieces falling outside the late seventeenth-century date. This pattern suggests that the deposition probably took place over a reasonably short period of time (Duijn 2010b:94.

A variety of household artefacts were found within the well, including several objects for drinking, as well as utensils for the serving and consumption of food; plates, knives, drinking vessels, bottles and cups. A smaller proportion of the artefacts were related to cooking or other household activities (Duijn 2010b:94). This assemblage is of particular interest, as the waterlogged post-depositional conditions within the well resulted in the excellent preservation of organic material, such as wood, bone, leather and shell. The well also contained a surprising quantity of metal artefacts, and the notable use of metal detectors during the excavation allowed more metal items to be recovered than had previously been the case in such excavations (Duijn 2010a:39). As discussed in Chapter 3. 3, the infrequent deposition and poor preservation makes metal artefacts a rarity in this region.

The drinking vessels from Van Bleiswijkstraat represent a variety of materials and artefact types. Stoneware is represented by fragments from a minimum of five jugs. The earliest piece is from an ash glazed, ribbed Siegburg jug, which could date from the beginning to mid-sixteenth century. Fragments from the other four jugs are more contemporaneous with the remainder of the excavated material: two grey and cobalt blue glazed Westerwald style jugs with rosette medallions (**Fig. 4. 3. (3)**), and two other Rhenish jugs, both with an orange-brown salt glaze.

Again, commonly observed vessel types can be seen in the redware and whiteware ceramics. Eight redware cups were identified; three r-kop-4 vessels were decorated on the inside with a swirling pattern of yellow and clear glaze (**Fig. 4. 3. (4)** ENEBF9418). Others, such as ENEBF9415 were left plain (r-kop-2, **Fig. 4. 3. (5)**). Six whiteware cups were found. Four vessels (types w-kop-3, w-kop-39) have a flat base and single handle, decorated with yellow and green glaze (**Fig. 4. 3. (6)**). A single drinking bowl of type w-kop-26 has a similar glazing scheme to the handled vessels above. The last vessel, w-kop-31, has external green glaze, but is glazed internally in a dark red, with iron oxide flecking, commonly seen on vessels produced in the 'hafner' style.

The assemblage also contained drinking vessels in faience, maiolica and porcelain. The vast majority of the maiolica items were plates, but a single maiolica jug is recorded by Duijn (2010b:97). There was also a fragment from a single faience *papkom* drinking bowl, in plain undecorated white faience. This dates to the end of the seventeenth century. Tea drinking activities were revealed by the presence of five faience and two porcelain tea cups. The porcelain cups were of two different types, p-kom-9 (ENEBF9414) and p-kop-1 (ENEBF9432). Both cups are painted with traditional blue and white floral patterns (**Fig. 4. 3. (7)**), and the second, recognisable as *Kangxi* porcelain, was part of a matching set with several plates. The faience cups were of types f-kop-1 and f-kop-2, and four of these were painted in an Asiatic style, with blue floral decoration (**Fig. 4. 3. (8)**).

The fifth cup was of a very different style, with characteristically Dutch decoration. The polychrome delftware cup is painted with a scene showing a fleeing deer and a shepherd or hunter, against a backdrop of trees and a church (**Fig. 4. 3. (9a)** and **(9b),** ENEBF930). It is interesting to note the progression of decoration in these vessels, as tea and associated utensils begin to have an altered status. It is no longer merely the exotic nature of tea

which makes it attractive; as represented in the imported porcelain cups of Chinese decoration. Instead, tea cups are now fabricated in Holland, and in typical European or Dutch designs, celebrating the integration of tea drinking into the fabric of seventeenth-century Dutch culture. Tea is becoming 'native'. Another interpretation of hunting scenes on ceramics is as a metaphor for the pursuit of love (Ostkamp 2004:137). Perhaps as well as representing a nascent 'Dutchness' relating to tea-drinking, this vessel also celebrated an engagement or marriage.

Similarly to the ceramics, several items of glass are nearly complete while others are very fragmented. Three large beakers were in good condition. The first, ENEBF9401 is a tall *pasglas* with five milled, blue threads (gl-bek-34b, **Fig. 4. 3. (10a)**). Other decorated beakers include a tall soda glass beaker with blue glass 'comets' (*kometenbeker*) (gl-bek-36, ENEBF9402, **Fig. 4. 3. (10b)**), and soda glass beaker with a thick network pattern around the base (gl-bek-37b, ENEBF9403, **Fig. 4. 3. (11)**). Other more fragmentary vessels include a potash glass *wafelbeker* (gl-bek-19), a *knobbelbeker* (gl-bek-12b), two plain beakers (gl-bek-5), and a conical beaker finished with a red glass rim and milled foot ring (gl-bek-8b). Almost identical vessels of this type were also found in Delft's Huyterstraat. This assemblage also contained fragments from at least two *roemers*, one with raspberry prunts.

One highly unusual beaker was of dark red glass, and decorated with white enamel in the form of *fleur de lis* and knotwork (ENEBF9405, **Fig. 4. 3. (12)**). Very few other enamelled glasses have been recovered archaeologically, although an almost exact parallel to this glass has been previously excavated from Delft (Henkes 1994:184, 43.9). Another beaker decorated with *fleur de lis* gilding was seen during this study from 's-Hertogenbosch (excavation 'In Den Boerenmouw'). Other unusual objects take the form of two highly shaped vessels. A bottle of brown glass is formed in the shape of a bird (ENEBF9404, **Fig. 4. 3. (13)**). Only the lower part of the bottle has survived, but its similarity to other existing complete vessels is unmistakable (see, for instance, Henkes 1994:281). While this little bottle would be unlikely to have contained drinking liquids, its presence is being used to illustrate other unusual or status items that might be missing from the assemblage. One other such item is the surviving sole of a boot glass, in dark red glass (ENEBF9406). Boots have long been associated with alcohol consumption, and have an apotropaic role (Caluwé 2007:26). However, there is some doubt as to the security of the provenance of this vessel, as it is not mentioned in excavation publications (such as Duijn 2010b).

Unusually for an assemblage with large, decorated and imported material, there is very little evidence for the use of goblets or flute glasses within this household. Only one fragment from a soda glass goblet bowl has been found (ENEBF9412).

As previously mentioned, the assemblage from S66 was unusual in its levels of preservation, as well as the inclusion of metal artefacts. This is particularly relevant for this study as the well contained a pewter beaker, decorated with two parallel, incised lines around the base (cs-bek- , **Fig. 4. 3. (14)**). The beaker is stamped on the base with a crowned rose, a symbol which likely indicated that the vessel originated in Antwerp (Bartels 1999:285-287). While this vessel is rather modest in both size and decoration, it

gives a good example of the type of vessels which might have been in common usage during the seventeenth century but are missing from archaeological assemblages.

Fig. 4. 3. (15). Summary of drinking material from Van Bleiswijkstraat S66

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	2	Local wares (cups)	14
Standard beakers	4	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs	1	Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers	5	Stoneware jugs	6
Stangenglas/pasglas	1	Faience or maiolica	7
Goblets and flutes	1	Porcelain	2
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenwares, teapots, industrial wares)	

4. 3. 2. Torenstraat Baansteeg 748 (ENTS08)

The excavation from Torenstraat Baansteeg recovered one of the most extraordinary assemblages of material seen in this research. Not only was a large deposit of well preserved, closely dated and unique artefacts recovered, but researchers have successfully identified the contemporary owner of the house and cesspit: a well-known historical figure of some renown. The excavations on the corner of Torenstraat and Baansteeg were undertaken in 2008 after the demolishing of several buildings along the row, and in preparation for the construction of a large butcher's premises, as well as other shops and flats (Duijn 2010c:21). The foundations of a row of buildings along the old line of the street were discovered, behind which stood a row of back yards with accompanying wells and cesspits.

The cesspit discovered in plot No. 7 was instantly noted as being one of significance, when the large quantity of material it contained was quickly visible. Research has identified the owner of the house on this plot as Dr. Zacheus de Jager, a medical doctor who lived in the residence during his first and second marriage, up to the date of his death in 1650 (Duijn 2010c:22-23). This creates a narrow period of use and discard for the cesspit material, between 1630 and 1650.

Three stoneware vessels were present in the assemblage. A Westerwald mineral water bottle (s2-fle-8, ENTS0812) and small Raeren Baartman bottle (s2-kan-44, ENTS0811, **Fig. 4. 3. (16)**) were both nearly complete, whereas only a small fragment of the third jug was found.

Regional and local fabric ceramics were better represented than stonewares, with five redware and seven whiteware vessels being recovered. The redware cups, of types r-kop-2,

r-kop-5, r-kop-16 and r-kop-26, were lead glazed in yellow or green. The most unusual of these vessels is ENTS0809, (r-kop-5), which is decorated on the exterior with crude floral patterns in yellow glaze (**Fig. 4. 3. (17)**). Whiteware vessels were present in types w-kop-3, w-kop-14, w-kop-32, and w-kop-34. All of the vessels were decorated externally with green glaze, and two were also decorated in a style similar to a vessel found at Van Bleiswijkstraat above; with a dark red glaze marked by iron oxide flecking (ENTS0804, ENTS0810).

Torenstraat Baansteeg was an interesting assemblage in that it contained no faience or maiolica teacups, although there were as many as sixteen faience plates and dishes, one of which was a fragment of papkom of f-kom-8 style (ENTS0808), in the plain white style of *blanc de Chine* which became popular in the late seventeenth century (Baart 1987:3). Porcelain, by contrast, is very well represented, with a total of twelve vessels being recovered; tea bowls (**Fig. 4. 3. (18)**), tea cups (**Fig. 4. 3. (19), (20)**), and saucers (**Fig. 4. 3. (21)**). Seven different types are represented, several of which were duplicates, possibly from part of a set. The two saucers, decorated with crabs and fish, are a matching set, although they do not match any of the cups. Several porcelain spirit cups were also recovered from Torenstraat. Two narrow porcelain cups of p-kop-3 style are a matching pair, decorated with blue dragons (**Fig. 4. 3. (22)**). Other spirit glasses include the rarer footed form (p-voe-1), in plain white (**Fig. 4. 3. (23)**).

The presence of such a large quantity and high quality of porcelain vessels helps to reveal an elite aspect to this assemblage which would otherwise not be apparent from the ceramics, which, with the exception of faience plates, are simple and functional. However, the glass from Torenstraat has a completely different character, containing a large number of glass items, some of an exotic and rare nature.

Beakers made up a very significant part of the glass assemblage, with forty-seven being identified. Eleven were plain (gl-bek-8, gl-bek-14, and gl-bek-21), these can be assumed to be the utilitarian glassware, in use every day by the household for drinking small beer with meals. Thirteen moulded or decorated beakers were found, including fifteen *wafelbekers* (gl-bek-19a and gl-bek-19b, **Fig. 4. 3. (24)**), and seven optic blown *knobbel-* or *tranenpatroon* beakers (gl-bek-12b, gl-bek15a and gl-bek-15b, **Fig. 4. 3. (25)**). One of the *knobbelbekers* is in a shade of light blue (ENTS0835, **Fig. 4. 3. (26)**). Mould-blown ribbed beakers were also found, one with blue prunted feet (gl-bek-35, gl-bek-59b). One plain beaker was also decorated with blue prunted feet (gl-bek-14).

Beakers with slightly rarer decoration include a fragment from a *koolstronk* beaker (gl-bek-64, ENTS0823), two *ijsglas* beakers (gl-bek-4a, ENTS0837) and two beakers decorated with *vetro-a-fili* lines in white glass (gl-bek-9b, ENTS0838). The majority of these vessels date to the middle two quarters of the seventeenth century, with the exception of the *koolstronk* beaker and some of the optic blown *wafelbekers*, which might date from the late sixteenth into the early seventeenth century.

The assemblage contained a very large number of forest glass *roemers*, with 38 examples being recognised. A large number of *roemer* fragments may well indicate that there could have been more of these vessels. A wide variety of different types of *roemer* are present, with nine different forms being recognised (**Fig. 4. 3. (27)**). While these styles are

representative of *roemer* styles throughout the seventeenth century, the two most popular types, gl-roe-2, (ten examples) and gl-roe-4 (eight examples), which are both decorated with raspberry prunts, both date from 1625 – 1675 (**Fig. 4. 3. (28)**).

Moving into more ostentatious forms of glassware, this assemblage contained seven ‘welcoming’ or passing glasses, intended to be used in communal drinking. Five of those took the form of tall, footed beakers with horizontal *passen* threads, known as *pasenglazen* (type gl-bek-34a/b). These are accompanied by a single soda glass *stangenglas* with milled blue threads (gl-sta-5, ENTS0869. **Fig. 4. 3. (29)**). Welcoming beakers, which played a part in the ritual of accepting guests into the household, were also represented by two large, plain footed beakers of type gl-bek-32. These were without decoration, but would certainly have been noticeable within a household assemblage due to their size (one has a rim diameter of >116mm). Welcoming and passing glasses are discussed further in chapter 11. 4. 1.

Another rare vessel is ENTS0862, a tankard or *bierpul* from soda glass with a single vertical handle (gl-bek-85). Tankards, particularly of glass, are not commonly found in the Netherlands during this period; beakers seeming to be preferred for beer drinking. This particular example is decorated with *ijsglas* patterning (**Fig. 4. 3. (30)**).

A total of ten goblets and flutes were identified in the assemblage. Six were plain soda glass baluster stemmed goblets with parabolic or wide bowls. The diagnostic goblets were all of gl-kel-11 type (**Fig. 4. 3. (31)**). A goblet of gl-kel-48 style (ENTS0828) is moulded with *mezza stampaura* ribs on the underside of the bowl. Two *façon de Venise* vessels were recovered, including a flute glass which had a twisted, ribbed ‘snake’ stem with blue, asymmetrical additions (gl-flu-6, ENTS0861, **Fig. 4. 3. (32)** and **(33)**). A similar stem decorated a goblet, of gl-kel-34 type, which was formed from twisted clear and red glass threads in a figure-of-eight, decorated with blue wings (ENTS0834, **Fig. 4.3. (34)**).

There is one particular goblet from Torenstraat Baansteeg that is worth special attention. The vessel, (ENTS0876), is a soda glass, baluster stemmed goblet with a conical bowl, of common gl-kel-11 type (**Fig. 4. 3. (35)**). The unusual nature of this goblet is due to its particular decoration. The foot has simple flower decoration, and the baluster stem the initials *“JH”*. The decoration on the bowl includes a rocky landscape with a pheasant and a crane, which has a snake in its mouth. Above the birds are two hearts pierced by a single arrow, on which are seated two crowned turtledoves (**Fig. 4. 3. (36)**). Beside this is a diamond within a wreath containing a four legged animal (**Fig. 4. 3. (37)**).

This vessel is particularly noteworthy due to the nature of this glass in relation to the signalling of identity; namely, its use in the context of marriage. The engraved decoration contains several symbolic elements which are related to marriage as a rite-of-passage. Engraved glasses were commonly items commissioned and given as personalised gifts, alongside silverware and ceramics which were also decorated with personalised text, poems and a complex symbolic language (see Ostkamp 2004).

Vessel ENTS0876 from Torenstraat (**Fig. 4. 3. (36)**) also contains imagery which relates more specifically to certain individuals. One of the most interesting aspects of this glass is the four-legged beast on the left hand side of the engraving. Duijn records that a diamond

shape is used for the crest of an unmarried woman. It is therefore concluded that the animal inside the shape is a bear, a verbal pun on the name of Margaretha van Beresteyn, the second wife of Dr Zacheus de Jager (Duijn 2010c:29). The glass would probably have contained his coats-of-arms on the other side, and may have been presented to the couple as a gift on the occasion of their wedding or engagement. It's unlikely the glass would have been in everyday use due to its specific ceremonial nature, but it may have formed part of a 'cabinet of curiosities' possibly along with others of the rare and exotic items excavated here (Duijn 2010c:31). Further discussion on the place of this glass within wedding symbolism takes place in Chapter 11. 4. 5.

Fig. 4. 3. (39). Summary of drinking material from Torenstraat Baansteeg

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	38	Local wares (cups)	12
Standard beakers	34	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers	13	Stoneware jugs	3
Stangenglas/pasglas	3	Faience or maiolica	1
Goblets and flutes	10	Porcelain	12
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)	1	Other ceramics (non-local earthenwares, teapots, industrial wares)	

4. 3. 3. Conclusion

This chapter examines the differences and similarities in the seventeenth-century drinking material for two domestic cesspits from the coastal city of Enkhuizen. Both assemblages were taken from domestic waste dumps, one from a disused well and the other a cesspit. Each assemblage is representative of a fairly short period of activity, with Torenstraat Baansteeg covering two decades in the mid-seventeenth century, and the Enkhuizer Banketfabriek site on Van Bleiswijkstraat being in use in the last quarter of the seventeenth- and first quarter of the eighteenth century.

No specific historical information for the occupancy of the Enkhuizer Banketfabriek site is available, but at Torenstraat, the owner of the household has been identified and significant historical data has been discovered. Both assemblages contain a large quantity of material, which means the sample size from Enkhuizen is relatively large, despite only two pits being examined.

The following table (**Fig. 4. 3. (40)**) compares the assemblages from Van Bleiswijkstraat and Torenstraat Baansteeg. Both assemblages contain utility vessels, slightly more elaborate mid-range items, and some elite material in the form of imported or exotic artefacts. The ratio between glass and ceramics falls much more in favour of glass in Enkhuizen than in other cities, though this total is purely achieved by the material from Torenstraat

Baansteeg, where the drinking wares are made up of 78% glass. The assemblage from Van Bleiswijkstraat is only 30% glass, and contains mostly local ware ceramics for drinking, with some moulded or decorated beakers. Imported items are represented by some fragments of stoneware and two porcelain cups. The presence of several cups for tea drinking helps to indicate the status of this household, and suggest that the almost complete absence of goblets, flutes and *roemers* might be due to the nature of the deposition rather than their absence from the household. The assemblage contained several very notable pieces, such as the large *pasglas* beaker, the bird and boot glass bottles and a pewter beaker.

The assemblage of drinking material from Torenstraat seems to represent a very wealthy seventeenth-century household investing in status indicators such as *façon de Venise* glass and porcelain, as well as a significant quantity of more utility glassware, such as beakers and *roemers*. Almost all categories of material are represented in some way, with the most notably low quantities appearing in maiolica and stonewares. This is particularly noticeable in comparison to other cities, such as Arnhem, where even relatively low status assemblages contained quantities of stoneware, and no porcelain was present at all. Clearly, the nature of Enkhuizen as a city with a VOC base enabled a supply of porcelain which was much more restricted in other areas of the country. The reverse seems to be true of stonewares, which seem to be either of lower availability or lower demand in this part of the western Republic.

The final conclusion to be made about the Enkhuizen material is in relation to its dating. The rich assemblage from Torenstraat was likely to have been deposited during the lifetime of Dr Zacheus de Jager, and therefore covers the period from 1630 – 1650. Several of the vessels, particularly the *roemers*, can be dated to the later end of this period. Despite the fact that the town of Enkhuizen was suffering from the serious decline in trade from the middle of the seventeenth century onwards, there is no reflection of this deterioration in drinking and purchasing habits in the de Jager household. The same pattern can be seen in the assemblage from Van Bleiswijkstraat, an assemblage dated from the last quarter of the seventeenth century to the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The only fragment of wine goblet from this assemblage is a small piece of lead glass which almost certainly dates from the turn of the century (ENEBF9412). While the assemblage is less large and varied than the Torenstraat material, it appears that here at least, luxury and exotic items were still available to those of a moderate status in Enkhuizen during the last years of the seventeenth century.

Fig. 4. 3. (40). Summary of sites and artefacts from Enkhuizen

	TYPE OF ARTEFACT	ENEBF S66	ENTS08	Total
GLASS	*Roemers/berkemeiers*	2	38	**40**
	Standard beakers	4	34	**38**
	Table bottles and jugs	1		**1**
	Decorated beakers	5	13	**18**
	Stangenglas/pasglas	1	3	**4**
	Goblets and flutes	1	10	**11**
	Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)	1	1	**2**
CERAMIC	Local wares (cups)	14	12	**26**
	Local wares (jugs)			
	Trechterbekers and tankards			
	Stoneware jugs	6	3	**9**
	Faience and maiolica	7	1	**8**
	Porcelain	2	12	**14**
	Other ceramics (non-local earthenwares, teapots, industrial wares)			
METAL	Beakers	1		**1**
	Papkommen			
	TOTAL	**45**	**127**	**172**

Chapter Five
Gelderland

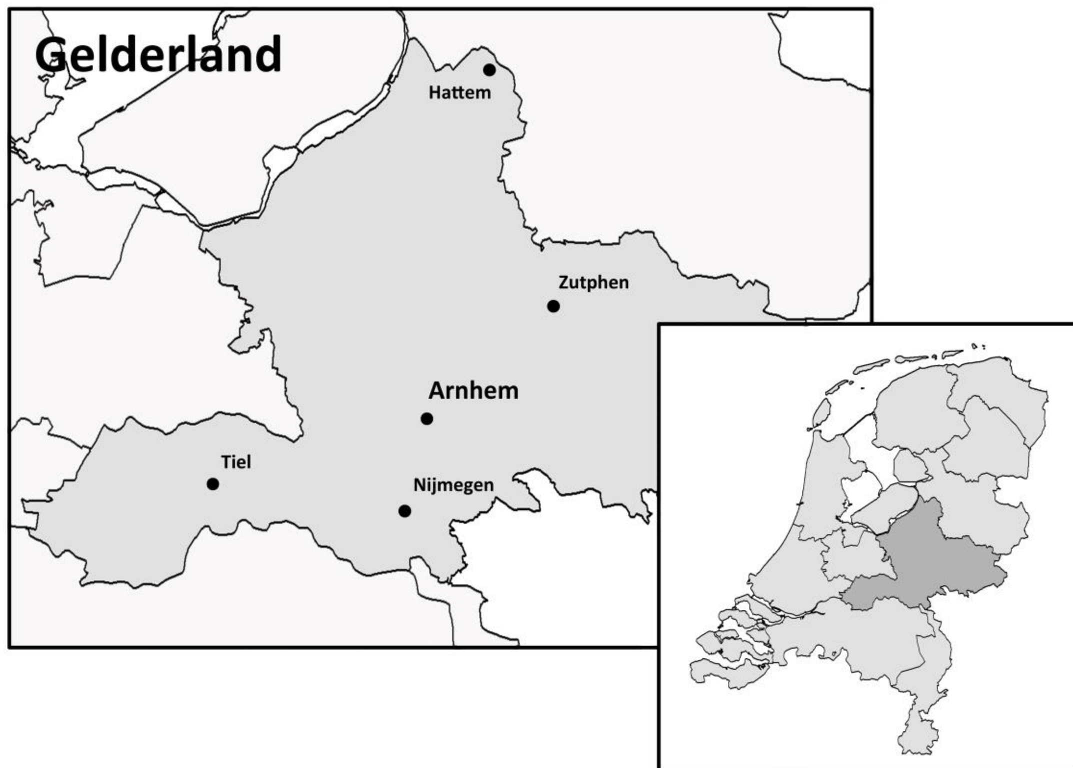

Fig. 5. (1). The province of Gelderland. Cities from the primary database, discussed in this chapter, are marked in bold. Secondary cities are also marked; data from these is discussed in chapter 12.

5. 1. Arnhem

Arnhem is a city in the province of Gelderland, in the east of the Netherlands. The area is relatively high-lying, with much of the town itself being around 80m above NAP (*Normaal Amsterdams Peil* or the Amsterdam Ordnance Datum) and is characterised by undulating wooded hills and river systems. The town lies on the St Jansbeek and also on the Rhine after the latter's rechanneling (Borman 1993:9). The area has a long record of habitation, including a significant Roman presence, as a town grew up around the fort 'Castra Herculis' after 15 AD (Borman 1993:35). The first mention of the town itself dates from the late ninth century when the oldest church was built. Population growth in the eleventh century caused changes to the landscape, and significant urban development. The city charter of 1233, granted by Otto II of Gelre, records that by this point, the city was already fortified, probably with an earthen bank and ditch (Borman 1993:53, 62). The increasing urbanisation of the town is evidenced by fourteenth-century ordinances banning the dumping of household waste in the street. Much of the domestic waste material may have been taken out of the city with animal manure which was removed weekly for much of the town's history (Borman 1993:58).

By the mid-fifteenth century, the city had become the thriving capital of the district of Veluwe, although this prosperity soon came to a disastrous end during the Dutch Revolt (Borman 1993:54). Gelderland had signed the Union of Utrecht in 1579, an act which declared their alliance with the newly formed Dutch republic and earned the attention of Spanish forces. Farmlands and monasteries which provided the city with significant revenue were burned to prevent their use by Spanish soldiers, and property was confiscated. The city fell into poverty that lasted until the establishment of the republic in 1587 (Borman 1993:54). Gradually, the city's economy recovered during the seventeenth century, demonstrated by various construction projects; a new river bridge, the addition of a tower to the Grote Kerke, and the replacement of the medieval city wall with a bulwark and three bastions (Borman 1993:54-55). Despite these improvements, the city was successfully captured by Louis XIV in 1672 *Rampjaar* and occupied for two years by French forces, causing another massive decline in the economy, from which the city did not recover until the eighteenth century (**Fig. 5. 1. (1)**).

Fig. 5. 1. (1). The town of Arnhem – Map by Joan Blaeu. "Blaeu 1652 - Arnhem". Licensed under Public domain via Wikimedia Commons - http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Blaeu_1652_-_Arnhem.jpg#mediaviewer/File:Blaeu_1652_-_Arnhem.jpg

Riverine trading routes and agricultural revenues provided the main income for the city, and after the channel of the Rhine was altered in 1536, the town's location became more directly positioned around the river, and Arnhem became the focus of many disputes though the post-medieval and into modern history regarding the river crossing (Borman 1993:60). Because of heavy bombardment during Operation Market Garden in September

1944, much of the central city area required hasty development in the 1950s, without the undertaking of an organised archaeological research strategy (Borman 1993:63). A large proportion of excavation since then has been carried out by amateur groups (such as the Archeologische Werkgemeenschap voor Nederland (AWN)), and it is only within the last ten years that a formal excavation and research unit was formed under the municipal town authority. The unit continues to work closely with amateur groups in the city, who maintain their own depot of artefacts collected during excavations before the formation of the city unit. As a result of all these circumstances, archaeological data from the last fifty years is somewhat fragmented, and much of the material recovered before the 1990s remains unpublished.

Seven excavations, containing ten pits, from the centre of Arnhem were chosen for this study, summarised in **Fig. 5. 1. (2).**

Fig. 5. 1. (2). Summary of examined excavations from Arnhem.

Excavation and cesspit	**Site Code**	**Excavation year**	**Date range**
Bakkerstraat	AHBA87	1987	1550 - 1750
Bentinckstraat	AHBT82	1982	1500 - 1850
Oeverstraat	AHOV85	1985	1600 -1750
Weverstraat	AHWE85	1985	1500 – 1750
Musiskwartier S1	AHMUS03 S1	2003	1600 – 1675
Musiskwartier S43-44	AHMUS03 S43-44	2003	1600 – 1625
Musiskwartier S62	AHMUS03 S62	2003	1600 – 1800
Musiskwartier S115	AHMUS03 S115	2003	1650 – 1725
Wever-Bakkerstraat	AHWB78	1978	1500 – 1700
Koningstraat	AHKON18	2008	1500 – 1650

5. 1. 1. The Musiskwartier (AHMUS03)

The excavations in the Musiskwartier were recently published by van der Mark *et al* (2009) and the information regarding the excavation is drawn from there, although the artefacts groups seen and recorded first hand. Research on the site ran between 2003 and 2004 in advance of the building of a large underground car park and shopping centre. The excavated area covered approximately 1840 m² and the area between five streets: Walstraat, Beekstraat, Brouwerstraat, Nieuwstad and Roggestraat.

The nine-month project revealed houses, yards and workshops from the ninth through to the nineteenth centuries. In the post-Middle Ages, the area seemed to be remarkably well organised, with regularly sized house plots and yards. During the seventeenth century, the area is characterised by increased development, the splitting of housing plots into smaller units, and a concentration of industrial craft activities. The yard areas remain important in drainage management as several natural streams cross the housing area, as well as for the

sinking of wells. These close water sources also enabled particular craft workshops, mainly tanneries and breweries, to operate on the site (van der Mark *et al* 2009).

The small size of the houses and the prevalence of craft activities would seem to indicate that the complex had three main functions: industrial processes, shop fronts and domestic habitation of craftsmen and their families. Historical research suggests from tax payment records that the area was occupied by groups of beer brewers from the mid fourteenth century though to the eighteenth, a fact corroborated by the features on the site (van der Mark and van de Venne 2009:95-97). Evidence from the excavation indicates that there were several oast kilns in the complex, as well as sixteen brewing ovens, and a piped water system. Other contemporary crafts which took place on the site included tanning and shoemaking, ceramic painting and the possibility also of late seventeenth-century glass manufacture. The tanning vats were located in a communal yard behind Nieuwstadt, and the possible glass furnace behind building II-2 off Beekstraat (van der Mark and van de Venne 2009:108-109).

The following four excavations are from within the Musiskwartier.

Pit S115, Musiskwartier

The cess 'cellar' *(beerkelder)* S115 lies along the north wall of the yard area behind plots II-1 and II-2, and could have been used by either or both of the properties (van der Mark *et al* 2009:72-77). In the early seventeenth century, II-1 was divided into two separate buildings. Significant quantities of iron smelting slag and part of a crucible found in the northern room have led to the conclusion that the property had been converted into a separate workshop and residence. The second building using the yard was II-2, which was also divided into two parts, but both likely residential. Craft activities would have taken place in an outbuilding in the yard, and a possible late seventeenth- or eighteenth-century glass furnace had been identified there. The furnace had a specifically oval shape and the excavation also revealed a small layer of broken glass, including two eighteenth-century goblet stems displaying the two headed eagle of the city of Arnhem. However, the lack of significant manufacturing debris or vitrified kiln ceramics would suggest that this interpretation of a glass kiln is unlikely (*ibid*).

The rectangular pit from the yard behind these properties is 2.50 x 2.90m and 1.13m deep, and built from reused brick with a brick floor. The pit went through three periods of use, the earliest being from 1650 – 1700. During later periods, the pit was used to dump waste from craft activities, mainly ceramic faience painting.

The seventeenth-century assemblage from S115 demonstrates several of the common types of artefact being found across the city. The pit contained five stoneware jugs. Four of these are imports from Frechen, formed from brown glazed grey stoneware. The fifth is a white and blue salt-glazed stoneware jug from Westerwald, and is decorated with two applied lions rampant, the 'supporters' of the Dutch coat-of-arms and often found on other Dutch heraldic devices (**Fig. 5. 1. (3)**, see chapter 11. 4. 3 for more regarding the lion in symbolism). They surround a medallion containing the image of a woman in traditional dress and the date "1683" (**Fig. 5. 1. (4)**). A central medallion supported by lions is an

increasingly common element on ceramic decorations, particularly Westerwald jugs, throughout the seventeenth century. Animal supporters for medallions begin to appear around the late sixteenth century and continue in use, in an increasingly simplified form, until the mid-eighteenth century (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986:183). Seven earthenware cups, with green and yellow glaze, have been recovered, all of red earthenware (types r-kom-1 and r-kop-41).

Glass tends to be rare in the Musiskwartier pits, and the only fragment of seventeenth-century glass (excluding the eighteenth-century goblets mentioned above) is a part of a folded foot from a goblet. The last item from the cesspit, though also fragmentary, is part of a faience cup. The vessel was decorated with a simple leaf pattern and Chinese style characters on the base. These latter items, as well as the imported stoneware jugs, are identifiable as the more luxurious items of the assemblage.

Fig. 5. 1. (5). Summary of drinking material from Musiskwartier S115

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers		Local wares (cups)	7
Standard beakers		Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers		Stoneware jugs	5
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	1
Goblets and flutes	1	Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenwares, teapots, industrial wares)	

Pit S1, Musiskwartier

Cesspit S1 was located in the yard behind several domestic buildings on the Beekstraat (III-1, III-4, III-3). The round brick built pit was positioned between the outhouse and a seventeenth-century brewing oven, both related to III-3. There appeared to be little stratification within the material in the pit, and it is likely that the contents were disturbed at some point. However, the pit does also seem to only contain material dating from within the seventeenth-century.

The majority of the finds from the pit relating to drinking were of fairly common forms, including five green-glazed redware cups. The jugs were much more varied, with fragments of imported Westerwald, Siegburg and Raeren stonewares being identified. No specific Deventer code numbers could be assigned due to the incompleteness of the finds. The Raeren and Siegburg biconical jugs (AHMUS0326, AHMUS0328) were decorated with long gadroons on the lower part of the jug, and a floral band around the centre. The Westerwald jug (AHMUS0323) was of typical style for the early seventeenth century, with ‘cut-glass’ decorated panels and lozenges picked out in cobalt blue and grey salt glaze. A Baartman bottle (AHMUS0331), made in Raeren, was decorated with an applied heraldic

design (s2-fle-5) (**Fig. 5. 1. (6)**). In addition, the excavators record four Siegburg jugs, along with a weserware slip decorated jug (van der Mark 2009:138-139).

In addition, the assemblage contained seven ash-glazed stoneware funnel beakers (*trechterbekers*), probably also imports from Siegburg (**Fig. 5. 1. (7)**). This type of drinking vessel is much less common in the seventeenth century than in preceding centuries, but the embossed date of 1608 above a heraldic device and crown (AHMUS0327) confirms the seventeenth-century use for this vessel (**Fig. 5. 1. (8)**). Another funnel beaker was decorated with a medallion containing an image of St Martin (AHMUS0329) (Fig. 5. 1. (9), this piece discussed further in chapter 11. 4. 6).

S1 also contained the largest quantity of glass from the cesspits in the Musiskwartier, with the publication recording a *roemer*, a plain and a waffle-patterned beaker, a goblet and a *vetro a fili* beaker (van der Mark 2009:138-139). The *vetro a fili* beaker (AHMUS0333) (**Fig. 5. 1. (10)**) was of type gl-bek-9a, with a turned out lip, formed from blue and white threads. It dates from the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Along with the goblet, luxury items in the non-drinkingware ceramics were represented by six faience plates.

Fig. 5. 1. (11). Summary of drinking material from Musiskwartier S1

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	1	Local wares (cups)	5
Standard beakers	2	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	7
Decorated beakers	1	Stoneware jugs	7
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	
Goblets and flutes	1	Porcelain	2
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenwares, teapots, industrial wares)	

Pit 4, S62, Musiskwartier

Similarly to Beekstraat, the house plots along the Walstraat were also split during the early seventeenth century, creating five different residential houses. House B-1 was served by a rectangular brick cess-cellar (3m x2m) lying beneath it. Much of the earliest layer, from the early seventeenth century, seems to have been partially emptied at some point, but there still remained some variety of ceramic and glass artefacts, as well as bone, metal and textiles.

S62 followed in the trend set by other pits on the site, and contained a number of varied drinking jugs. Imported vessels included two panelled blue and grey salt-glazed Westerwald jugs with 'cut-glass' decoration and gadroons (AHMUS0308, s2-kan-55) and two jugs and a fragment of funnel beaker from Siegburg. The Siegburg jugs (AHMUS0315, s2-kan-21) were decorated with heraldic designs and patches of blue glaze. These were accompanied by

two locally made redware jugs, and four redware glazed cups and a bowl (AHMUS0314, r-kop-14, and AHMUS0307, r-kom-35) (**Fig. 5. 1. (12)**).

Two plain drinking glasses, probably beakers, a *knobbelbeker* and a goblet are also recorded with this assemblage (van der Mark 2009:136-137).

Fig. 5. 1. (13). Summary of drinking material from Musiskwartier S62

Glass		Ceramics	
Roemers/berkemeiers		Local wares (cups)	4
Standard beakers	3	Local wares (jugs)	2
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	1
Decorated beakers		Stoneware jugs	4
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	
Goblets and flutes	1	Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenwares, teapots, industrial wares)	

Pit 24 S43/44, Musiskwartier

House B-1 also had access to a second cesspit built in the strip of yard behind the property. This was a round pit with a flat base. Three periods of use were observed, with the seventeenth-century material dating from early in the century. This cesspit is notable for the fact that the seventeenth-century layer contained little variety in artefact types, with jugs and lead glazed redware cups forming the main drinking wares

The layer did contain two artefacts with dates. A Siegburg imported stoneware jug, was decorated with blue and white salt glaze, applied heraldic designs supported by two lions rampant and the date, 1608 (**Fig. 5. 1. (14)**). The second dated artefact was a North Holland slipware porringer (*papkom)* painted with a stylised running horse and the date 1617 (**Fig. 5. 1. (15)** and **Fig. 5. 1. (16)**). The assemblage contained no glass at all, and instead was furnished with twelve utilitarian green or yellow glazed redware cups, of types r-kop-14, r-kop- 6, and r-kop-26 (**Fig. 5. 1. (17a - f)**).

The Musiskwartier demonstrates some of the artefacts being used by a community of non-wealthy craftsmen. Utilitarian ceramics, such as redwares are common, but what could be termed ‘luxury’ seventeenth-century items, such as faience, maiolica, porcelain or quantities of glassware are rare or entirely absent. There is, however, a high proportion of imported and decorated drinking jugs, with varieties coming from four of the main German stoneware industries: Westerwald, Raeren, Siegburg and Frechen. Given the location of Arnhem on the Rhine, it is not surprising that such a large quantity of imported German material is present, but it still indicates the ability of these consumers to own items of better quality from further afield.

One particularly notable occurrence in the Musiskwartier material is the existence of four dated items. It's possible that without the money to buy higher status items, such as *façon de Venise* glassware, owners were displaying their ability to keep up with trends through a turnover of dated goods, or indeed that items were bought or made with the purpose of celebrating a particular date. A third possibility is that it is the very fact that these items are dated which makes them available to the craftsmen of the Musiskwartier; items lose their value the further from the date they are, and are bequeathed or re-bought at a reduced price.

Fig. 5. 1. (18). Summary of drinking material from Musiskwartier S43/44

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers		Local wares (cups)	13
Standard beakers		Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers		Stoneware jugs	1
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	
Goblets and flutes		Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenwares, teapots, industrial wares)	

5. 1. 2. Oeverstraat 110 (AHOV85)

The following excavations were undertaken during the late 1970s and 80s (with the exception of Koningstraat), and as they remain unpublished apart from yearly summary reports, there is little information about the excavation or history of the sites.

The cesspit excavated from number 110 Oeverstraat seems to have been in use over the length of the seventeenth century, but contained relatively little material. Again, red and whitewares with lead glaze made up the about half of the artefacts (r-kop-36, r-kop-14 and w-kom-21). These were accompanied by two rather more unusual vessels, late seventeenth-century maiolica *papkommen* (**Fig. 5. 1. (19)** and **5. 1. (20)**) in a nearly matched pair, decorated with flowers, insects and geomorphic patterns in the style of *Kraak* porcelain. Both have pierced handles for display and are in astonishing condition.

An interesting feature on the first of these two dishes is symbol painted on the underside of the bowl (**Fig. 5. 1. (21)** and **(22)**). This appears to be an attempt at a maker's or merchant's mark, often painted or stamped on the base of imported ceramics such as porcelains to identify the manufacturing region or workshop. On this maiolica vessel, the symbol might be a made-up one drawn in an oriental style, or in fact be a crude imitation of a real porcelain mark, like the one recorded in 1880 by André Lütken in his book *Opfindelsernes Bog V* (**Fig. 5. 1. (23)**). Although the painting on the front of these vessels is far too rough to genuinely be mistaken for porcelain, and the form itself is very European, the manufacturers have thought it worthwhile to mark them with a faux porcelain mark.

Clearly the complete object was involved in the replication of porcelain, not just the anterior decoration.

In an exception to the pattern seen in the Musiskwartier, the Oeverstraat assemblage contained no stoneware and no German imported material, with the only jug being of locally or regionally made redware. Again, only a very small quantity of glass was recorded from the excavation. A plain beaker and a goblet are mentioned as being complete, though both items are now missing.

Fig. 5.1. (24). Summary of drinking material from Oeverstraat

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers		Local wares (cups)	4
Standard beakers	1	Local wares (jugs)	1
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers		Stoneware jugs	
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	2
Goblets and flutes	1	Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenwares, teapots, industrial wares)	

5. 1. 3. Wever-Bakkerstraat (AHWB78)

This site was discovered during a watching brief of the first stage of construction for a shopping arcade (de Hemelrijkpassage) in 1978 (Borman 1978). The following excavations, undertaken by AWN 17, revealed several building walls and a cellar (3m x 4.35m x approx 1.5m deep) which had been used as a household waste dump. The material was not removed stratigraphically, however it seems that the cess-cellar was in use from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century, with the following items from the most intense period of use, which occurred at the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.

The assemblage is relatively large, varied, and containing quantities of local and imported ceramics as well as several high quality glass items. The eight stoneware drinking jugs included imports from Raeren, Frechen, Westerwald, Siegburg and Langewehe (**Fig. 5. 1. (25)**). The blue and white decorated jug on the right of this group picture was decorated with applied lions and medallions, and is almost identical to the Westerwald jug (AHMUS0317) excavated from S115 at the Musiskwartier. One high quality *baartman* jug, dating to the late sixteenth century, was decorated with diagonal friezes, in a style known as an 'oblique band jug' (**Fig. 5. 1. (26)**). The naturalistic face and square beard of the *baartman* face were typical designs for the second and third quarter of the sixteenth century (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986:211) although examples with diagonal collar bands have usually been associated with the workshop of the master potter Christian

Knütgen, and dated later, between 1568 and 1605 (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986:184). This example lacked any identifying initials which prevent it being linked to a specific potter. The oblique friezes display hunting scenes (**Fig. 5. 1. (27)**), although foliage, geometric, or inscribed bands are more common (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986:211). Another interesting stoneware item from this assemblage is an early sixteenth-century stoneware costrel (*veldfles*), a round drinking bottle, flattened on one side with two small handles for a carrying strap (AHWB7815, s2-vel-1).

In addition to bottles and jugs, the assemblage contained the usual abundance of earthenware, with eight white cups and three red, all with yellow, green, or colourless glaze (**Fig. 5. 1. (28)**). Two maiolica and one faience *papkommen* were also recovered. The maiolica dishes were not a matching pair like those found at Oeverstraat, instead one was decorated with chunky blue insects and flowers, and the other with a more delicate Italian style design of a cupid with a bow in blue and yellow (van Dam 2004:72) **(Fig. 5. 1. (29))**. The faience *papkom* is plain undecorated white. Two other faience tea cups are also recorded (Borman 1978:10).

One of the most unusual aspects of the Wever-Bakkerstraat excavations was the amount of glass recovered. As can be seen throughout this chapter, the quantity of glass from Arnhem is generally low, but this excavation, along with Bentinckstraat, would seem to be the exceptions to that rule. The glassware contained four potash glass *roemers* with thorn and raspberry prunts, dating to the mid-seventeenth century. A late sixteenth-century *berkemeier* was also found. Several mould-patterned soda beakers of common seventeenth-century types have been recovered, including two *wafelbekers* (gl-bek-19a), two *knobbelbekers* (gl-bek-12b and gl-bek-15a, **Fig. 5. 1. (30)**), one of which had an applied blue glass base, and two plain glass beakers.

In addition to these, there were also a number of much less common glass items. A large over-sized *roemer* (AHWB7819, gl-roe-6) with a stem width of nearly 75mm, has traces of gilding on the outside surface, probably of birds, foliage and a line of text, though further details are now impossible to recognise. The gilding already makes this artefact something of rarity, but so too does its size. While large vessels for communal drinking or display have been noted from this period, large *roemers* are particularly rare (Henkes 1994: 255) **(Fig. 5. 1. (30)**, and **(31)**. Welcoming beakers play an interesting role in the ritualization of communal drinking during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, where they fulfil a role not only as large vessels for shared drinking, but also symbols for generosity and the exchange of hospitality. Further discussion of welcoming beakers can be found in Chapter 11. 4. 1. An additional decorated *roemer* has been recorded from this site, with diamond engraving of the letters *"MIJNG"*. Other higher quality elite glass items include a *façon de Venise* goblet with a stem made from coiled twisted tubular threads (AHWB7823, gl-kel-68, **Fig. 5. 1. (32)**) and a sixteenth-century octagonal ribbed *pasglas* (AHWB7827).

The original excavators conclude that the material was not the waste products of a wealthy family due to the absence of imported goods such as stonewares or porcelain, and the prevalence of locally made red and whitewares (Borman 1978:10-11). However, it is difficult to draw conclusions from absence, particularly in this case as the site was damaged by mechanical diggers during the building works. In addition, it is worth remembering that the cellar did not necessarily represent the primary waste deposit site for the users, and that other material may well be no longer present. While this household (or households) were not as luxuriously furnished as those of other cities, the presence of several unique items (such as the quantity and variety of ceramics, engraved and gilded *roemers* and *façon de Venise* goblet) would make it reasonable to conclude that they were far from the poorest citizens of Arnhem. Certain investment is being placed on the obtainment of display items related to drinking, such as the large gilded *roemer* and decorated maiolica *papkom*.

Fig. 5. 1. (33). Summary of drinking material from Wever-Bakkerstraat

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	6	Local wares (cups)	11
Standard beakers	5	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers	1	Stoneware jugs	9
Stangenglas/pasglas	1	Faience or maiolica	3
Goblets and flutes	1	Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenwares, teapots, industrial wares)	

5. 1. 4. Weverstraat (AHWE85)

Excavations further up Weverstraat in 1985 revealed a property with a cesspit spanning from about 1500 to 1750. This too contained several glass artefacts, although about half of the pieces probably came from after the end of the seventeenth century. Two seventeenth-century pieces are blue winged 'figure-of-eight' goblet, with a red and clear twisted stem (AHWE8511, gl-kel-34, **Fig. 5. 1. (34)** and **Fig. 5. 1. (35)**), and some tiny fragments of a *tazza* with a curled out lip and radiating ribs on the underside (AHWE8512, gl-taz-).

As for the ceramics, the assemblage was again mainly split between local or regionally made red- and whitewares, and stonewares. Five redware cups, in types r-kop-1 and r-kop-14 with yellow lead or clear glaze were accompanied by five hafnerware cups, with an internal yellow lead glaze speckled with a manganese or iron dark purple colouration. It is possible that these particular cups were locally made (**Fig. 5. 1. (36), Fig. 5. 1. (37)**).

A maiolica *papkom*, on the other hand, was probably not locally made. It was painted inside with chunky flowers and insects, and with brown external glaze (AHWE8513, m-kom-4). Fragments from a total of five blue and white Westerwald jugs (s2-kan-36, two of s2-

kan-22, and s2-kan-7) with medallions and floral patterns were recovered, along with a Westerwald grey salt-glazed stoneware *snelle* (AHWE8523, s2-sne-) and a stoneware Baartman jug of unknown origin (AHWE8504, s2-kan-73).

One Westerwald jug (AHWE8510) has purple glaze on the neck, a glaze type which dates after 1665. Additionally, the rosette body patterns, as seen in **Fig. 5. 1. (38)**, did not appear until after 1650 (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986:221-222). This jug also had a missing handle (shown reconstructed in the image). This often occurs when the jug originally had a pewter lid which attached around the handle. After the jug reached the end of its use life, the handle was snapped off to allow the valuable metal to be removed.

The last item of interest, which was recorded during the excavation is a brown stoneware teapot, thought to have been manufactured in Netherlands or England in the mid-eighteenth century. While no tea cups or utensils were recovered from the seventeenth-century period of this site, the pot demonstrates that tea was not out of the reach of the people living in this area during the eighteenth century.

Fig. 5. 1. (39). Summary of drinking material from Weverstraat

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers		Local wares (cups)	12
Standard beakers	2	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	1
Decorated beakers		Stoneware jugs	7
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	3
Goblets and flutes	1	Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)	1	Other ceramics (non-local earthenwares, teapots, industrial wares)	1

5. 1. 5. Bakkerstraat (AHBA87)

The Bakkerstraat cesspit was excavated in 1987. Six nearly complete Westerwald jugs make quite an impressive display (**Fig. 5. 1. (40)**). One jug is decorated with a central medallion design supported by two lions, very similar to item AHMUS0317 from S115 in the Musiskwartier. The medallion itself is embossed with the image of a double headed eagle (AHBA8703, **Fig. 5. 1. (41)**). Similarly to lions, the double headed-eagle symbol has a number of different meanings, but the most likely association in this context was the two headed eagle on the coat-of-arms of Arnhem (Borman 1993:52).

Other higher quality ceramic vessels include two *papkommen*, one decorated with coloured slip (AHBA8710, r-kop-19) and the second of undecorated white faience (AHBA8711, f-kom-7) **(Fig 5. 1. (42)**). A Chinese imported porcelain cup is recorded in the excavation report. The assemblage also contained several, rather fragmentary, glass artefacts. This includes two beakers; a *kometenbeker* (AHBA8712, gl-bek-29) decorated with applied blue

starbursts with tails, and a beaker decorated with applied parallel white threads and a blue rim (AHBA8714, gl-bek-9b). These are accompanied by two fragmentary *façon de Venise* goblets, one the base and lower part of a winged figure-of-eight stemmed goblet (AHBA8722, gl-kel-34), and the second a clear knotted serpentine stemmed goblet (AHBA8713, gl-kel-68). The final glass item could not definitively be identified as a drinking vessel. The surviving pieces had a shallow colourless glass dish, possibly from a stemmed *tazza* or possibly a salt dish, which was diamond engraved with leaves and flowers (**Fig. 5. 1. (43a)** and **(43b)**).

Not only was this assemblage unusual in having several high quality glass items; it was also unusual in having relatively few of the standard wares now familiar from the other Arnhem sites, such as glazed red and whiteware cups. One of each of these was found (AHBA8708, AHBA8709), in addition to a late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century *trechterbeker* (AHBA8706). It would be both unlikely and impractical that the household were not using utilitarian wares so we can assume, similarly to nearby Wever-Bakkerstraat, that only a proportion of the household's artefacts made it into this cesspit, and an unknown quantity of standard drinking wares would also have been used. The artefacts which are still present, including the quality and variety of stonewares, all suggest an assemblage of moderate, but not extravagant, status.

Fig. 5. 1. (44). Summary of drinking material from Bakkerstraat

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers		Local wares (cups)	3
Standard beakers		Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	2
Decorated beakers	2	Stoneware jugs	6
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	1
Goblets and flutes	2	Porcelain	1
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)	1	Other ceramics (non-local earthenwares, teapots, industrial wares)	

5. 1. 6. Bentinckstraat (AHBT82)

Bentinckstraat contained the greatest quantity of glass from any of the Arnhem cesspits. Artefacts in use during the seventeenth century including fragments from thirty *roemers*, eleven goblets, twenty-five beakers and a *stangenglas*.

The *roemers* and *berkemeiers* are made up of only a few types; gl-roe-6, gl-roe-13 and several *berkemeiers* (gl-ber-1). All of these types are datable from the last quarter of the sixteenth century to the first quarter of the seventeenth century, apart from the single gl-roe-13 vessel which may extend the date to around 1650. Twenty of these *roemers* and *berkemeiers* have been classified as 'small', that is with maximum base diameter of 50mm

or less. It is likely that these glasses were used for the consumption of distilled liquors, such as gin or brandywine (Henkes 1994:254).

The beakers are formed from a variety of plain and highly decorated forms. Eleven plain beakers include those of types gl-bek-8b and gl-bek-32, and were accompanied by seventeenth-century standard items of the *wafelbeker* (gl-bek-19a), *knobbelbeker* (gl-bek-2b, gl-bek-12b, gl-bek-15) and *bandwurmbeker* (gl-bek-45). Even these standard items were elaborated however; *wafelbeker* AHBT8212 was also decorated with four rosette prunts embedded with blue beads, and the winding thread from *bandwurmbeker* AHBT8233 was made of blue glass.

The decorated beakers included two white *vetro a fili* beakers, one of type gl-bek-19a (AHBT8205) also with beaded rosette prunts, and also of gl-bek-48 (AHBT8220), a waisted pedestal beaker with network patterning in white *vetro a fili*. The latter probably dates to the mid-sixteenth century. Other distinct beakers include an octagonal *stangenglas* with horizontal *passen* ribs (AHBT8214, gl-sta-2), and a gl-bek-8b type beaker in clear glass with polychrome enamel painting (AHBT8216). The glass has three horizontal lines around the rim in white, blue and red with a line of white dots beneath.

The eleven goblets recovered were also of remarkable quality and uniqueness, although several bore similarities to each other. Two conical goblets were decorated on the lower part of the bowl with prominent ribs in the '*mezza stampaura'* style. One had a plain baluster stem (AHBT8229, gl-kel-36), but the other, with white threads on the bowl, also had a gilded lion mask stem (AHBT8206, gl-kel-86). Vessel AHBT8210 also had a lion mask on the stem, but no other decoration (gl-kel-69). Other vessels decorated with white included: AHBT8208 (gl-kel-11), and two late sixteenth-century baluster stemmed goblets formed of white *vetro a fili e retorti*. Of these latter two, AHBT8209 seems to be emulating the *mezza stampaura* design on the first goblets described, through white enamel painted lines and ribs on the lower part of the narrow bowl.

The last of the recovered goblets are again different. AHBT8215 is made of dark green glass. As its stem is formed from a single merese disc, it spans the gap between goblets and footed beakers, and as such is difficult to identify within the Deventer Code. There were also fragments from four plain vessels, three goblets (AHBT8231), and a flute (AHBT8230).

As the glass from Bentincktstraat was so elaborate, the ceramics seem, by comparison, to be somewhat unassuming. Imported items include three late sixteenth-century Siegburg artefacts: two figuratively decorated tankards (*snelle*) (AHBT8245, AHBT8244), and a *trechterbeker,* decorated with incised leaf patterns (AHBT8221, s2-tre-1). Three *baartman* jugs are also imports, two being from Cologne (AHBT8224, AHBT8223, **Fig. 5. 1. (45)**) and the third from Frechen (AHBT8241). The latter has a slightly malformed foot which might indicate it as being a waster. The last jug is a blue and grey salt glazed Westerwald jug, with 'cut-glass' panels and gadroons on the lower half, probably dating from the early seventeenth century (AHBT8225). The only locally produced ceramics in evidence are one whiteware green and brown glazed cup and two clear glazed redware *papkommen* (AHBT8222, AHBT8242 and AHBT8243).

The majority of the glassware and ceramics give a fairly strong early seventeenth century date, but the number of early to mid-sixteenth-century vessels: a late waisted *maigelbeker* (AHBT8217), a low 'cabbage stem' (*koolstronk) cup* (AHBT8218) and four dark green footed beakers (AHBT8207, AHBT8219, and AHBT8226 - gl-bek-32, **Fig. 5. 1. (46)**) push the start of the pit's use back into the sixteenth century. Five facetted- and one egg-shaped lead glass goblets indicate that waste disposal was still taking place here into the nineteenth century, although these have not been included in the counts below.

The sheer quantity of glasses, particularly those of size likely to contain spirits, would suggest that this assemblage may not be from a domestic house, or not solely from one. The items might well indicate that an inn or public house was also disposing of broken glass waste in this cesspit (see 12. 4 for further discussion on this subject).

Fig. 5. 1. (47). Summary of drinking material from Bentinckstraat

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	30	Local wares (cups)	3
Standard beakers	15	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	3
Decorated beakers	10	Stoneware jugs	4
Stangenglas/pasglas	1	Faience or maiolica	
Goblets and flutes	11	Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)	1	Other ceramics (non-local earthenwares, teapots, industrial wares)	

5. 1. 7. Koningstraat (AHKON18)

The Koningstraat project is the most recent excavation studied from Arnhem. A cesspit was excavated on the corner of Koningstraat and Klarestraat in 2008.

The excavation revealed a fairly reasonable spread of material, particularly in the variety of different glass types. The cesspit is unusual for the fact that it does not contain any of the large stoneware jugs popular in most of the Arnhem sites, and instead produced four Siegburg *trechterbekers* (**Fig. 5. 1. (48)** and **Fig. 5. 1. (49)**). This, along with the presence of a sixteenth-century *maigelein,* establishes that the cesspit was mainly in use during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, and possibly earlier.

The other ceramic drinking items were represented by a redware bowl (AHKON1814 r-kom-8) and a whiteware cup (AHKON1815 w-kop-7, **Fig. 5. 1. (50)**).

The glass from Koningstraat was representative of several common glass forms from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Standard drinking forms that are present include a ripple-patterned *maigelein* (AHKON1807, gl-mai-1), two small prunted beakers, (AHKON1803 gl-bek-53), an octagonal *stangenglas* with milled threads (AHKON1809, gl-sta-

2), and two *wafelbekers* (AHKON1801, gl-bek-12). These last three items help identify the end of the pit's usage into the early seventeenth century.

The *roemer* is once again conspicuous by its absence, as not a single example was found at this excavation. Further discussion on *roemers* can be found in the conclusion to this chapter.

More elaborate glasses took the form of a large beaker formed from dark red glass, decorated with clear glass milled threads and rosette prunts (AHKON1802, gl-bek-8, **Fig. 5. 1. (51)**). This was accompanied by two *façon de Venise* goblets. One was little more than a fragment, but the other had a baluster stem and merese disc, painted with vertical enamel white ribs (AHKON1808, gl-kel-11, **Fig. 5. 1. (52)**).

Fig. 5. 1. (53). Summary of drinking material from Koningstraat

Glass		Ceramics	
Roemers/berkemeiers		Local wares (cups)	2
Standard beakers	3	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	4
Decorated beakers	4	Stoneware jugs	
Stangenglas/pasglas	1	Faience or maiolica	
Goblets and flutes	2	Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)	1	Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	

5. 1. 8. Conclusion

This chapter examines the differences and similarities in the seventeenth-century drinking material for ten domestic cesspits from Arnhem. All of the pits were used for the discard of human and domestic waste throughout parts of the seventeenth century, and most had extended periods of use in the preceding and succeeding centuries. The relationship between the cesspit and household has been difficult to investigate; apart from at the Musiskwartier, as no historical research pertaining to occupancy, household tax status or artefact inventories has yet been identified.

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the drinking artefacts discovered in excavations across Arnhem (F**ig. 5. 1. (56)**). The first notable feature is the quantity of the imported stoneware relative to regionally produced ceramics, such as lead-glazed redwares and whitewares.

Apart from pit S43-44 Musiskwartier, all of the cesspits contained a significant number of stoneware jugs and/or the slightly less common late sixteenth-century *trechterbekers*, from Germanic manufacturing regions. High quality ceramics appear only very rarely, and

include a few examples of maiolica and faience *papkommen* from Oeverstraat, Weverstraat, Wever-Bakkerstraat, and Bakkerstraat. The latter also reportedly contained a single porcelain tea cup, but no other porcelain was found.

In view of the quantity of imported stoneware, the quantity of glass seems rather low, with made plain forest glass, and imported *façon de Venise* elaborate glass making up less than 45% of the total drinking wares from the site (**Fig. 5. 1. (57)**). Most of the pits contain only a small quantity of glass, and only Bentinckstraat has a large number of pieces. If Bentinckstraat is excluded from the total, that percentage drops down to 34%. When compared with two other cities, this percentage of glass is notably lower than that found at Hoorn (59.6%) and Groningen (54.6%), even though a larger number of pits were sampled at Arnhem.

Glass would therefore seem to be therefore rarer in Arnhem than other cities, but still maintained a reasonable presence. Several pits contained glass items of real significance, including a winged and a snake-stemmed goblet (Weverstraat), the gilded *roemer* from Wever – Bakkerstraat and an engraved *tazza*-dish from Bentinckstraat. Some coloured glass items were also present, notably the red glass beaker from Koningstraat, several dark green footed beakers and a goblet from Bentinckstraat, and a blue and white *vetro-a-fili* beaker from S1 Musiskwartier.

These elite items are few, but surprisingly, utility glass is barely more common. One of the most interesting observations from these cesspit groups is the absence of *roemers*, one of the more ubiquitous drinking vessel types from the mid-sixteenth to mid-eighteenth century. As can be seen above, *roemers* of any type have been recovered from only three pits at Arnhem, and once more, Bentinckstraat proves to be exceptional in this regard. It appears that the *roemer* is less common in Arnhem than in other cities studied. One possibility is that its absence is due to its function for wine drinking. Given that we know Arnhem was not a city steeped in affluence at the beginning of the seventeenth century, it would not be a surprise that those living and working in the industrial and craft areas of the city were more commonly drinking beer than wine, and from cheap and easily available ceramic cups and tankards. However, this argument does not explain the appearance of a *façon de Venise* goblet or flute in all but one pit. Despite the apparent unwillingness or inability to drink wine on an everyday basis, it was still important to own at least one high status *façon de Venise* vessel in all of these households, perhaps purely as a status indicator, or one of several slowly acquired over time as fortunes improved.

At Bentinckstraat, the largest glass assemblage, we are able to see a correlation in the goblets: five of the eleven were all decorated with applied white threads. The glasses were not of the same type in other respects, with different shapes, stems and manufacturing techniques, but it is tempting to see this group as an early precursor of the 'matching set', or further evidence for the assemblage being of tavern material (see chapter 12. 4 for further discussion).

In terms of other material, it certainly appears that German stoneware is of greater importance, or at least greater ease of acquisition, than high quality glasswares in Arnhem

during the early seventeenth century. The proximity of the city to the German border and its position on the Rhine trade routes certainly makes this latter explanation a likely one.

Apart from Bentinckstraat, none of the cesspits are generously furnished with elite items. Certainly some material was likely to have been lost during periodic emptying of cesspits or through other methods of discard, but the general uniformity of material across the pits is telling. The relationship between elite and utilitarian finds support the conclusion that none of the households contributing to these cesspits were particularly well off. They were using and discarding the quantity and quality of vessels expected for those living in a small provincial town, albeit one with good access to traded goods from Germany and the Rhineland, but a town that also suffered significant periods of poverty (Borman 1993:71)

Fig. 5. 1. (54). Summary of sites and artefacts from Arnhem

	TYPE OF ARTEFACT	**AH MUS03 S115**	**AH MUS03 S1**	**AH MUS03 S62**	**AH MUS 03 S43-44**	**AH OV85**	**AH WB78**	**AH WE85**	**AH BA87**	**AH BT82**	**AH KON18**	**Total**
GLASS	*Roemers/berkemeiers*		1				6			30		**37**
	Standard beakers		2	3		1	5	2		15	3	**31**
	Table bottles and jugs											**0**
	Decorated beakers		1				1		2	10	4	**18**
	Stangenglazen						1			1	1	**3**
	Goblets and flutes	1	1	1		1	1	1	2	11	2	**21**
	Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk)*							1	1	1	1	**4**
CERAMIC	Local wares (cups)	7	5	4	13	4	11	12	3	3	2	**64**
	Local wares (jugs)			2		1						**3**
	Trechterbekers and tankards		7	1				1	2	3	4	**18**
	Stoneware jugs	5	7	4	1		9	7	6	4		**43**
	Faience and maiolica	1				2	3	3	1			**10**
	Porcelain		2						1			**3**
	Other ceramics (non-local earthenwares, teapots, industrial wares)							1				**1**
METAL	Beakers											
	Papkommen											
	TOTAL	14	26	15	14	9	37	28	18	78	17	**256**

Chapter Six

Friesland

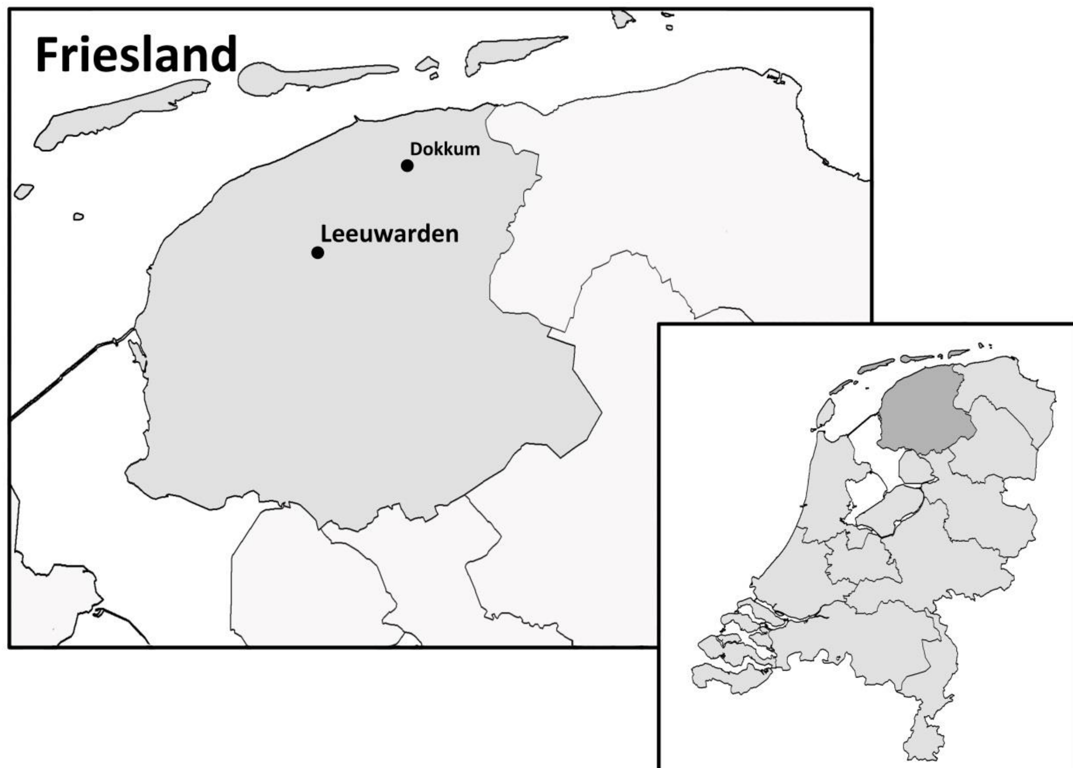

Fig. 6. (1). The province of Friesland. Cities from the primary database, discussed in this chapter, are marked in bold. Secondary cities are also marked; data from these is discussed in chapter 12.

6. 1. Leeuwarden

Leeuwarden is the capital city of the province of Friesland, in the northern part of the Netherlands. The city grew up on a small area of high ground along the river Ee, with occupation from the Carolingian period. During the tenth century, the channel of the Ee was altered and the river eventually dammed to prevent erosion of the land around (Schrijer and Dijkstra 2004:7). The town grew during the twelfth century, and during the thirteenth century, received its charter. Drawing on a large agricultural hinterland and good trade routes through the Middelzee estuary, the town prospered (Jager 1996:521). Despite the Middelzee silting up during the fifteenth century, Leeuwarden still retained much of its regional importance, particularly as a market town (Dickinson 1962:367).

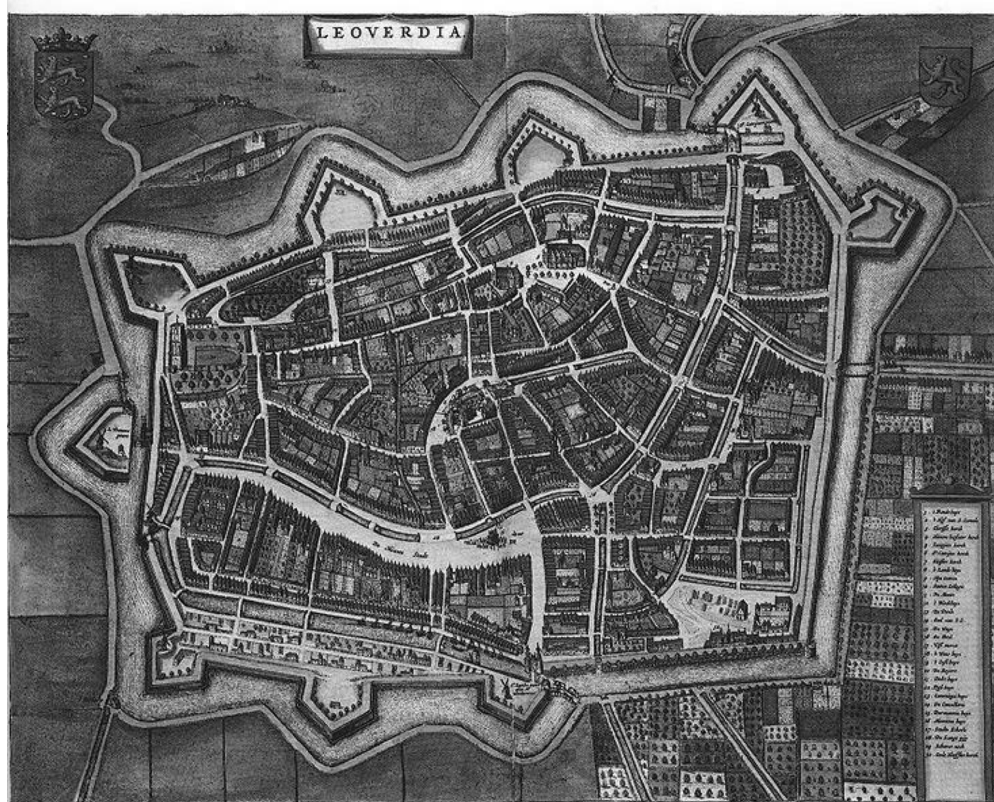

Fig. 6. 1. (1). Map of Leeuwarden in 1652 by Joan Blaeu. Public domain via Wikimedia Commons - http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ABlaeu_1652_-_Leeuwarden.jpg

Three excavations were examined from the city of Leeuwarden. These were generally rather small, containing few artefacts and no large pits. Speelmanstraat and Auckamastraatje also contained material deposited over a long period (two to three hundred years), meaning it is likely that they were frequently disturbed during the period of use.

Fig. 6. 1. (2). Table showing the breakdown of cesspits examined from Leeuwarden

Excavation and cesspit	**Site Code**	**Excavation year**	**Date range**
Speelmanstraat II	LWSM78	1978	1500 - 1825
Speelmanstraat VIII	LWSM82	1982	1500 - 1650
Speelmanstraat IX	LWSM82	1982	1550 – 1650
Provinciehuis	LWPH84	1984	1550 - 1625
Auckamastraatje	LWAK02	2002	1475 - 1650

6. 1. 1. Speelmanstraat (LWSM82)

The largest assemblages of material gathered in this survey from Leeuwarden came from Speelmanstraat, during excavations in 1978 and 1982. Three different pits were excavated during these two years.

Pit II, Speelmanstraat

Pit II was excavated in 1978, and contained a variety of material dating across a long period of time, from around 1500 to the early nineteenth century. From the earlier period, the sixteenth and seventeenth century , most common types of material were in evidence. Earthenwares were well represented, with four redware cups (**Fig. 6. 1. (3)**), and four whiteware cups and bowls being recovered, one of type w-kop-7. These were decorated in combinations of yellow and green coloured lead glaze. Fragments from five jugs were also recovered, three of white earthenware and two redware. One of the redware jugs, of type r-kan-41, was interesting in that it is only 60mm high, and therefore can be described as a miniature, probably a child's plaything (LWSM7823, **Fig. 6. 1. (4)**). Only one piece of faience, dating from the turn of the century, was recovered. This piece was a small teacup decorated with stylised flowers formed from blue dots on a white background (f-kop-1, LWSM7830, **Fig. 6. 1. (5)**). Other tea drinking ware includes two porcelain cups: one a small p-kop-3 painted with boats (LWSM7834, **Fig. 6. 1. (6)**), possibly a spirit cup, and the other a cup of type p-kop-14 with floral decoration, (LWSM7833, **Fig. 6. 1. (7)**).

The excavations revealed a very large quantity of stoneware; with sixteen different objects being represented. Manufacturing regions included Cologne, Siegburg, Westerwald and Raeren. The majority of pieces were too small to be identified within the Deventer system, although one Cologne jug decorated with applied oak leaves and acorns was complete enough to identify its type as s2-kan-39 (LWSM7810, **Fig. 6. 1. (8)**). Another cylinder jug, probably of type s2-kan-49, only survived as a small fragment, but on this the embossed text *"EVANGELISTE…"* could still be read (LWSM7811, **Fig. 6. 1. (9)**). This fragment bears many similarities in fabric and decoration to pieces made by Emonds Mennicken in 1586 (see a more complete example: RM Inv. BK-NM-10028). The assemblage also contained a piece from a sixteenth century *trechterbeker* with an orange ash glaze. The large quantity of stoneware is very unusual; but given that it was mostly fragmentary, it is highly likely that these pieces are all that remain from a long history of waste being cleared from the pit, when other less durable materials were destroyed.

This pit contained only two seventeenth-century glass vessels. The first of two beakers was a gl-bek-10 type beaker with network patterning (LWSM7821), and the second a piece from a colourless beaker with fragments of surviving blue and white enamel paint (LWSM7822). Six other glass objects date to the eighteenth-century or later. The two earliest pieces from this group are an early eighteenth-century gl-dek-10 type glass lid, with a solid handle ring (LWSM7832, **Fig. 6. 1. (10)**), and a small goblet from the same period with a solid mushroom stem, of type gl-kel-8 (LWSM7804). The remaining four vessels were solid lead

glass goblets, with facets or angular nodules stems (gl-kel-26, gl-kel-52 and gl-kel-56, LWSM7801, **Fig. 6. 1. (11)**). As well as glass, this pit contained a number of other eighteenth-century material, including two plain white European porcelain footed coffee cups with handles (ep-kop-1, LWSM7835), one creamware handled cup (LWSM7836) and one industrial stoneware cup with incised blue flowers (s3-kop-4, LWSM7837).

Fig. 6. 1. (12). Summary of drinking material from Speelmanstraat BP II

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers		Local wares (cups)	8
Standard beakers		Local wares (jugs)	4
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	1
Decorated beakers	2	Stoneware jugs	16
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	1
Goblets and flutes	4	Porcelain	2
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)	1	Other ceramics (non-local earthenwares, teapots, industrial wares)	5

Pit VIII, Speelmanstraat

The second two pits were excavated in 1982. The first pit is VIII, which contained much earlier material than the previous pit, mainly focussed on the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century. Six earthenware objects were found, comprising two redware cups (r-kop-12), and four jugs of white (LWSM8234 and LWSM8238), red (LWSM8202), and weser earthenware (we-kan- , LWSM8241, **Fig. 6. 1. (13)** and **(14)**). Similarly to the last pit, a large quantity of stoneware was recovered, as large and small pieces from a minimum of twenty-one stoneware jugs. Again, very few of these were in a complete enough state for much further discussion to be made. Likely origins for these jugs included Siegburg, Cologne and Raeren. One of the most complete jugs was from this latter manufacturing region, and rather unusually still had the latch from its pewter lid surviving. The jug had a single strap handle and was embossed with cherub heads and medallions containing profile faces (s2-kan- , LWSM8242, **Fig. 6. 1. (15)**). Only one glass item was recovered from this pit. This was a piece from the bowl of a *façon de Venise* flute glass (gl-flu- , LWSM8249, **Fig. 6. 1. (16)**).

Fig. 6. 1. (17). Summary of drinking material from Speelmanstraat BP VIII

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers		Local wares (cups)	2
Standard beakers		Local wares (jugs)	3
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers		Stoneware jugs	21
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	
Goblets and flutes	1	Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenwares, teapots, industrial wares)	1

Pit IX, Speelmanstraat

The second pit excavated in 1982 was Pit IX. This pit had a similar time range to VIII. Five earthenware cups were excavated, with yellow and green lead glaze. Two which had purple manganese speckling were of type r-kop-2 (LWSM8224). Again the pit contained a variety of stoneware, and again the majority was rather fragmentary. Nine different jugs were represented, (see LWSM8223, **Fig. 6. 1. (18)** for an example) along with two sixteenth-century *trechterbekers.*

In terms of glass vessels, the recovered objects were again mainly clustered around the late-sixteenth to mid-seventeenth century. Three soda glass beakers were decorated with *knobbelpatroon* (gl-bek-12b and gl-bek-12a, **Fig. 6. 1. (19)**). One additional beaker was a large, heavy vessel in dark green glass with a folded foot (LWSM8213, gl-bek-32, **Fig. 6. 1. (20)**). With a rim diameter of 112 mm, this vessel may have been large enough to function as a welcoming beaker. These vessels are discussed further in chapter 11. 4. 1.

Other evidence of more ostentatious drinking practice comes in the form of a soda glass lid for a *façon de Venise* beaker, with narrow waffle patterning (gl-dek- , LWSM8209, **Fig. 6. 1. (21)**). While nothing of the beaker was recovered, the size of the lid suggests it had a diameter of around 75 mm. Fragments from a single goblet were also recovered. This vessel had a bowl-shaped goblet with *mezza stampaura* ribs (LWSM8214). In contrast to the two pits above which contained no forest glass vessels, IX contained four berkemeiers of type gl-ber-1 (LWSM8211, **Fig. 6. 1. (22),** LWSM8210 **Fig. 6. 1. (23),** and LWSM8212).

Fig. 6. 1. (24). Summary of drinking material from Speelmanstraat BP VIII

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	4	Local wares (cups)	5
Standard beakers	3	Local wares (jugs)	1
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	2
Decorated beakers	1	Stoneware jugs	9
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	
Goblets and flutes	1	Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)	1	Other ceramics (non-local earthenwares, teapots, industrial wares)	

6. 1. 2. Provinciehuis (LWPH84)

The material from the Provincehuis was rather small and with little diversity. The pit contained two r-kop-2 vessels with yellow lead glaze, one of which was without a handle (LWPH8411, **Fig. 6. 1. (25)**). Several jugs were also recovered, including fragments from a hafnerware jug, decorated with internal yellow glaze with manganese speckling (ha-kan- , LWPH8406). Again, stoneware was the only significantly-sized material group, with a minimum of twelve jugs being recovered (see examples in **Fig. 6. 1. (26)**, and one piece

from a stoneware *trechterbeker*. All of the pieces were too small to associate with a code type, though pieces seemed to have originated from Frechen, Siegburg and Raeren.

Two pieces of forest glass were recovered from the assemblage. One was a piece from a multisided *stangenglas.* The second piece came from a *koolstronk beker*, decorated with thorned prunts and milled thread (**Fig. 6. 1. (27)**).

Fig. 6. 1. (28). Summary of drinking material from Provinciehuis

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers		Local wares (cups)	2
Standard beakers		Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	1
Decorated beakers	1	Stoneware jugs	12
Stangenglas/pasglas	1	Faience or maiolica	
Goblets and flutes		Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)	1	Other ceramics (non-local earthenwares, teapots, industrial wares)	1

6. 1. 3. Auckamastraatje (LWAK02)

The excavation at Auckamastraatje, by Archeologisch Diensten Centrum, took place in 2002 and 2003, prompted by major renovations of the Stadhuis (Schrijer and Dijkstra 2004:5). The town hall was built in 1715, and as the planned renovation to this structure was likely to damage earlier features, archaeological work was planned to record this data (Schrijer and Dijkstra 2004:7, 5). The previous building on this plot before the town hall was known as the Auckamastins, and the current cellar of the town hall dates from this mid fifteenth-century building (Schrijer and Dijkstra 2004:7).

The material from Aukamastraatje was recovered from several small pits, although some of these appear to have been in use concurrently as pieces from the same artefact were found in two different pits.

Five pieces of earthenware were recovered from Auckamastraatje, a redware cup with internal lead glaze dotted with manganese speckling (r-kop-17, LWAK0210, **Fig. 6. 1. (29)**), two w-kom-17 vessels and two other unidentifiable pieces. These cups were accompanied by pieces from six stoneware jugs. Unfortunately, the fragmentary nature of the jugs meant that none could be identified by type, but the fragments included a piece from a Siegburg jug with ash glaze and three dark brown glazed Raeren jugs, one which had cut-glass decoration and one with a solid frilled foot (LWAK0209, **Fig. 6. 1. (30)**). One of the largest vessels was the lower part of a biconical Westerwald jug in blue and grey glaze, with gadroons (possibly s2-kan-37, LWAK0203, **Fig. 6. 1. (31)**).

The assemblage contained two glass items. One was a forest glass *knoppenbeker* of type gl-bek-53; a beaker with small applied knops and milled foot ring (**Fig. 6. 1. (32)**). These

beakers are usually early to mid-sixteenth century in date. The second glass vessel was a plain soda glass beaker with a milled foot ring (gl-bek-8, **Fig. 6. 1. (33)**).

Fig. 6. 1. (34). Summary of drinking material from Auckamastraatje

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers		Local wares (cups)	5
Standard beakers	1	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers	1	Stoneware jugs	7
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	
Goblets and flutes		Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other (ceramics (non-local earthenwares, teapots, industrial wares)	

6. 1. 4. Conclusion

Three sites with five pits were examined from Leeuwarden. Speelmanstraat produced three pits, which between them covered over three hundred years of material use. Both pits IX and VIII demonstrate reasonably standard assemblages of material, with glass beakers, earthenware and stoneware forming the main body of the material. Some more elaborate vessels suggest access to luxury material was not beyond the reach of the seventeenth century inhabitants of Speelmanstraat. By the eighteenth century and pit II, more luxury material, in the form of lead glass and some small quantities of porcelain have become available. Earthenwares and stonewares are still of importance within the assemblage.

The material from Provinciehuis and Auckamastraatje also demonstrated similar material to the early pits of Speelmanstraat, with earthenware, forest and soda glass, and stoneware being the main components.

Stoneware was particularly predominant in all of the sites, making up between 33% and 75% of all of the assemblages. This might suggest that stoneware was a particularly important part of the drinking assemblage in this region. However, the nature of stoneware to survive as residual fragments from earlier cleared deposits should not be forgotten, as this may over privilege this material type.

Fig. 6. 1. (35). Summary of sites and artefacts from Leeuwarden

	TYPE OF ARTEFACT	LWSM82 II	LWSM82 VIII	LWSM82 IX	LWPH84	LWAK02	Total
GLASS	*Roemers/berkemeiers*			4			**4**
	Standard beakers			3		1	**4**
	Table bottles and jugs						
	Decorated beakers	2		1	1	1	**5**
	Stangenglas/pasglas				1		**1**
	Goblets and flutes	4	1	1			**6**
	Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk)*	1		1	1		**3**
CERAMIC	Local wares (cups)	8	2	5	2	5	**22**
	Local wares (jugs)	4	3	1			**8**
	Trechterbekers and tankards	1		2	1		**4**
	Stoneware jugs	16	21	9	12	7	**65**
	Faience and maiolica	1					**1**
	Porcelain	2					**2**
	Other ceramics (non-local earthenwares, teapots, industrial wares)	5	1		1		**7**
METAL	Beakers						
	Papkommen						
	TOTAL	**44**	**28**	**27**	**19**	**14**	**132**

Chapter Seven
Utrecht

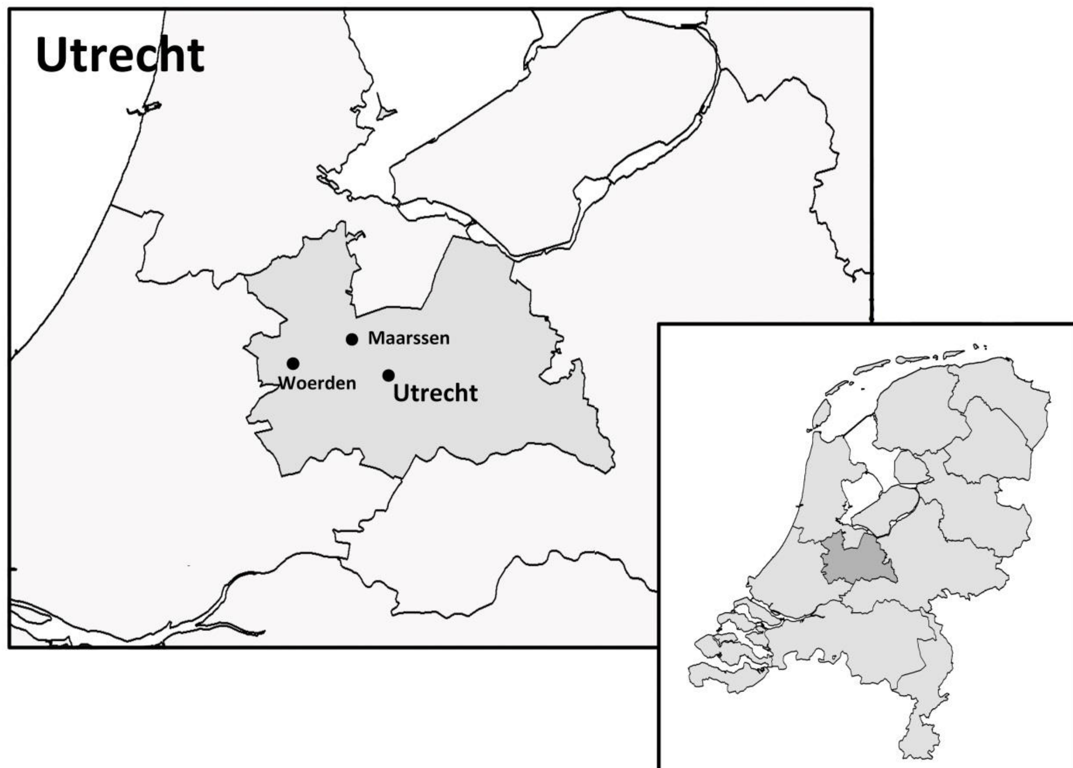

Fig. 7. (1). The province of Utrecht. Cities from the primary database, discussed in this chapter, are marked in bold. Secondary cities are also marked; data from these isdiscussed in chapter 12.

7. 1. Utrecht

Utrecht is the principle city in the province of the same name, and lies in the very centre of the Netherlands, in between four major rivers. It enjoyed a position of importance throughout the later Middle Ages due to its position as a centre of religion in the north, and played a vital role in the initiation of the Spanish Revolt, and in the formation of the Republic (Gutkind 1971:99).

The first settlement in the area grew up around a Roman fort, constructed in 58 AD, and lasted for several centuries. As early as 690 AD, the Church already began to use the town as a base, when the first bishop of the Frisians established his see in Utrecht, building a fortified castle there. This was cemented by the construction of what may be the earliest church in the northern Netherlands; St Martin's, in 720 AD. This authority base and the relative security it offered, lead to a growing population and Utrecht soon developed into the principle trading town in the region (Gutkind 1971:99). This was further improved by the destruction the town's main economic rival, Dorestad, in the ninth century. Utrecht reached the height of its prosperity during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and it

received its town charter in 1122 (Gutkind 1971:99). By 1140, the town have achieved what was to remain its primary layout for several centuries, with the cathedral and two main canals forming the heart of the town, which was bounded by a wide moat and city walls (Gutkind 1971:100). Despite the increasing prosperity, very little town expansion took place in the Middle Ages, with the increasing population filling up the space inside the town boundaries (Gutkind 1971:27).

The main industry of town during this period was cloth weaving, which continued to thrive for several centuries, giving rise to several important craft guilds. During the thirteenth century, competition from the cities of Amsterdam and Dordrecht led to a downturn in Utrecht's fortunes, and by 1304, the power of the bishops over the secular development of the town began to be challenged. At this point, the increasing population began to put demands on the space available inside the town walls. Land not owned by the church began to be divided into smaller plots for the construction of narrow buildings, and larger areas of land were divided up by new streets (Gutkind 1971:28).

The Spanish rule of the town began in earnest in 1528, when Charles V was given control over the city, and constructed the castle of Vredenburg to cement his authority. In a sign of changing times however, the castle itself did not even last fifty years, as an angry mob of Dutch women brought about its destruction in 1577 (Gutkind 1971:99). Two years later, the city hosted another landmark moment in the history of the revolt against Spanish when the Union of Seven Provinces, which paved the way for Dutch independence, was drawn up in the city. During the sixteenth century, an expansion was made to the city area to house some of the still growing population. This area, called the Weerdt, lay to the north of the city on the western canal, and had its own small extension of the city wall (Gutkind 1971:100).

During the seventeenth century, Utrecht's fortunes were generally good. Despite their role in denying the authority of Spain, the power and influence of the Bishops was less easily cast aside, and the process of Calvinisation did not really begin until after 1618 (van Deursen 1991:252). Much of the land lands and property was still in the hands of the Catholic church and patricians (Gutkind 1971:27). Much of the century was occupied with urban redevelopment in order to house the growing population, and improve the image of the town. In 1632, an edict was issued to the effect that any newly built houses in the important areas of the town should have a minimum of three stories in order to create a sense of stateliness and prosperity about the area and its inhabitants (Gutkind 1971:32). This was all part of a comprehensive programme of renewal and rebuilding within the town walls, initiated by one Burgomaster Moreelse, which took place between 1640-1670. This programme included the demolition of old housing rows, the further laying out of new streets, and the construction of houses in the centre of previously enclosed building blocks. The widths of the streets were also regulated, in order to use the space with maximum efficiency, as well as create a sense of urban harmony. Standard streets had a fixed width of twenty to twenty-four feet, where particularly large and majestic streets, such as the Zuijlensteeg, were permitted up to forty-three feet in width. These changes allowed the town to remain reasonably static, and with some well managed open spaces, into the middle of the eighteenth century (Gutkind 1971:101).

The establishment of the university in 1636 proved a major boost to the town's intellectual status (Kamen 2000:215). However, success was not always guaranteed; during the *Rampjaar* or 'disaster year' of 1672, Utrecht was invaded by the forces of Louis XIV, who occupied the city for eighteen months, and attempted, unsuccessfully, to restore the city to its former Catholicism (Haley 1972:93).

Fig. 7. 1. (1). Map of Utrecht in 1562, by Joan Blaeu. "Blaeu 1652 - Utrecht". Licensed under Public domain via Wikimedia Commons - http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Blaeu_1652_-_Utrecht.jpg#mediaviewer/File:Blaeu_1652_-_Utrecht.jpg

Five excavations have been studied from Utrecht. These excavations varied considerably in size, with both Geertebolwerk, Walsteeg and Nieuwe Kamp being large, complex assemblages and Jan Meijenstraat and Achter Clarenburg representing a smaller quantity of artefacts.

Fig. 7. 1. (2) Table showing the breakdown of cesspits examined from Utrecht

Excavation and cesspit	Site Code	Excavation year	Date range
Achter Clarenburg 11-15	UACB75	1975	1600 – 1675
Jan Meijenstraat	UJMS79	1979	1550 - 1675
Walsteeg	UWAL94	1994	1550 – 1750
Nieuwe Kamp	UNIE03	2003	1500 - 1700
Geertebolwerk	UGBW98	1998	1550 - 1850

7. 1. 1. Achter Clarenburg 11-15 (UACB75)

Achter Clarenburg is a narrow street lying in the western part of the old town of Utrecht. Excavations at Achter Clarenburg were undertaken between November 1974 and February 1975 after the demolition of buildings standing on plots 11, 13 and 15 on that street (Hoekstra 1979:3). It appears that three buildings on these plots were initially constructed in the fifteenth or early sixteenth century, and remained relatively undisturbed until major renovations took place during the eighteenth century (Hoekstra 1979:7). A cesspit was discovered in the yard area behind the house constructed on plot 13. The pit (D) was a large, brick built round pit, which is thought to predate the construction of the houses in this area, due to its position and contents, of which the earliest items dated to the 1400s. The pit remained in use as a waste dump into the nineteenth century (Hoekstra 1979:5).

The material which appears to have been deposited in the cesspit during the seventeenth century is not particularly representative of a usual household waste deposit, as it contained no glass drinking items. Local earthenware ceramics made up the majority of the assemblage, with two redware cups of types r-kop-1 and r-kom-4, glazed with yellow and clear lead glaze, respectively, and two whiteware cups, of types w-kop-1 and w-kop-27, both glazed yellow (**Fig. 7. 1. (3)**). The remainder of the assemblage contained two stoneware jugs, one tan and orange salt glazed jug (s2-kan-12, UACB7508) and one blue and white glazed Westerwald jug, decorated with panels of flowers (s2-kan-14, UACB7501). This vessel is particularly unusual in that its pewter lid, a common feature of stoneware jugs, was still in place (**Fig. 7. 1. (4)** and **(5)**). Pewter lids were often removed from damaged jugs before discard, in order for the pewter to be recycled, and are therefore rarely found in archaeological contexts. This particular lid is imprinted with the initials “H.E.D”, as well as with stamps displaying the numbers ‘11’, ‘12’, ‘13’ and ‘14’.

The final artefact from this assemblage was an egg-shaped faience cup on a raised foot (UACB7509, f-voe-). This vessel is painted with stylised dark blue flowers and a pattern of crosses and circles on the foot. This vessel may have been used for drinking spirit alcohols (**Fig. 7. 1. (6)**).

Fig. 7. 1. (7). Summary of drinking material from Achter Clarenburg

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers		Local wares (cups)	4
Standard beakers		Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers		Stoneware jugs	2
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	1
Goblets and flutes		Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	

7. 1. 2. Jan Meijenstraat (UJMS79)

There has been a long history of archaeological research in Wijk C in Utrecht. The excavation at Jan Meijenstraat was one of the largest undertaken, and ran from 1979 - 1981. The archaeological work in this area was prompted by plans to redirect a buried water course which had been discovered by previous excavations in 1974 (de Groot 1981:44). These water management works allowed for a large open area, 4000m^2, to be studied, stretching from Waterstraat to the Stadsbuitengracht.

The earliest activity in the district included the raising of a tenth-century dike, and the construction of a wharf, the ‘Waterstraathaven’. The post was closed in the eleventh century, although occupation in the area continued, with narrow divisions of land being made for building construction (de Groot 1981:49). Construction of stone buildings in the district coincided with the building of city walls in the fourteenth century, and structures in brick followed a century later. The area was characterised as being rather open during the sixteenth century, with the area beside the river being taken up by waste pits and sand quarrying areas, although the occupation density of the region began to increase from the end of this period into the nineteenth century (de Groot 1981:50).

Over 150 wells and cesspits were located within the excavation area. The majority of these were dated to the eighteenth- and nineteenth centuries, although some earlier sixteenth- and seventeenth-century pits were also discovered (de Groot 1981:50).

Only a small quantity of seventeenth-century material remained, although this still represented a reasonably diverse assemblage. Three white earthenware cups with green lead glaze were recovered, of types w-kop-16 (UJMS7907, **Fig. 7. 1. (8)**), w-kop-11 (UJMS7922), and w-kop-27 (UJMS7910). These were accompanied by a small type of redware cup, r-kop-4, which was decorated with yellow lead glaze forming wave patterns along the exterior rim (**Fig. 7. 1. (9)**, UJMS7914). This vessel appears to be burned on the foot, suggesting it may have been used as a heating or cooking pot at some point. Two rather unusual vessels were ‘mug’ style handled redware beakers, decorated with yellow lead glaze, forming thick stripes on the exterior (r-bek-5, UJMS7906, **(Fig. 7. 1. (10a) and (10b)**). These are the only vessels of this type found in this survey.

The assemblage also contained two red earthenware jugs, of type r-kan-29 and r-kan-53 (UJMS7921, **(Fig. 7. 1. (11)**). The jugs were decorated with splashes of clear-yellow glaze on the upper body. Their rough form suggests they date from the late sixteenth century.

Three stoneware vessels were recovered from the pit. The first, while identified by the excavators as a *kannetje*, it actually appears to be a mustard pot, and as such is not included here. Two other stoneware jugs were present, including a white glazed Siegburg jug with 'cut-glass' decoration on the body and large applied lion masks. The jug is of type s2-kan-69 (UJMS7912, **(Fig. 7. 1. (12)**), and probably dates to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. The second stoneware jug from this assemblage is also particularly noteworthy. This jug is of type s2-kan-5 (UJMS7911), with purple salt glaze, with additional details picked out in blue and grey. The body of the jug is covered with stamped floral

decoration, with four different kinds of flower heads, attached with combed plant stems (**Fig. 7. 1. (13a)**). The flower heads are picked out with patches of blue glaze. The front of the jug has a round medallion containing a coat-of-arms and the date 1685 (**Fig. 7. 1. (13b)**). The coat-of-arms is made up of a shield topped with an urn. The shield contains three herrings, which was the heraldic symbol for the town of Enkhuizen. The medallion is edged with the text: *'QUOD GENUS ET PROAUUS ET QUE NON FECIMUS IPSI VIX EA....IA'*. This has been identified as a phrase from Ovid's Metamorphoses [Book XIII; 140-1] *Nam genus et proavos, et quae non fecimus ipsi, Vix ea nostra voco*: 'Now, as to race, and ancestry, and whatever we have not personally achieved; I hardly call those things ours' (Translation from Kleine 2000). Scenes from classic works like *Metamorphoses* were popular in seventeenth century Dutch artworks, with images from the work appearing in paintings such as *Orpheus and the animals* by Paulus Potter (1650, RM Inv. SK-A-317) and *The Golden Age* by Joachim Wtewael (1605, MMA Acc. 1993.333). However the choice of this particular phrase in this context is interesting. The text seems to warn the viewer not to take credit for the successes of their ancestors, or for the fortune or misfortune of the position of their birth. The intimation is that the reader should break away from the successes of the past, and make their own mark on the world.

In addition to these stoneware vessels, the assemblage contained four faience cups: three f-kop-1 types and one f-kop-2. One cup (UJMS7916, **Fig. 7. 1. (14)**) is decorated with an imitation of a Chinese landscape, in blue. Cup UJMS7917 (**Fig. 7. 1. (15)**) is also tin-glazed, with an inelegant pattern of thick waves and thin lines. The third f-kop-1 type cup is decorated with blue and yellow paint. This cup has a scene showing a kneeling woman in a layered dress and wide brimmed hat harvesting plants (UJMS7916, **Fig. 7. 1. (16)**). The final faience cup UJMS7918 **(Fig. 7. 1. (17)**, is undecorated. The pit contained no porcelain objects.

The earliest glass from the pit was an early sixteenth-century *maigelen* (gl-mai-1), in good condition. The assemblage also contained several soda glass beakers, including a *knobbelbeker* (gl-bek-12a, UJMS7902, **Fig. 7. 1. (18)**) and a *bandwurmbeker* (gl-bek-33, UJMS7919). More highly decorated beakers included a gl-bek-34a beaker with applied milled threads and rosette prunts with blue beads (UJMS7903, **Fig. 7. 1. (19)**). This beaker dates from 1625-1675. There were also three *vetro a fili* beakers of type gl-bek-9a, dated to the mid-seventeenth century. Beaker UJMS7926 was formed of clear, white and blue glass. The second glass was more elaborate, with applied gilded stayr masks and rosettes with blue beads (UJMS7904**, Fig. 7. 1. (20a)** and **(20b)**). Beaker UJMS7905 is a *vetro a fili e retorti* glass formed from clear and white threads; however there is some level of insecurity in the provenance of this vessel; de Groot (1981:39) records the vessel as a part of the Jan Meijenstraat assemblage, whereas both Henkes (1994:177, 41.14) and Isings (1981:393) identify its find location as the Vredenburg Castle complex.

Only a single goblet was found in the assemblage, dating to the mid-sixteenth century. The goblet was a funnel shaped vessel with a nodule stem decorated with white *vetro a fili e retorti* lines. The pit also contained a high number of surviving metal artefacts, including two vessels. One was a pewter *papkom* with flat, lobbed handles, one stamped with a rose mark (**Fig. 7. 1. (21a)**). This was accompanied by a small pewter footed cup, probably a

spirit cup (**Fig. 7. 1. (21b)**). Four other metal artefacts comprised a tin tea strainer, probably eighteenth-century, and three miniature dolls' house plates with stamped designs.

Fig. 7. 1. (22). Summary of drinking material from Jan Meijenstraat

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	1	Local wares (cups)	6
Standard beakers	3	Local wares (jugs)	2
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers	6	Stoneware jugs	2
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	4
Goblets and flutes	1	Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	

7. 1. 3. Walsteeg (UWAL94)

The area around Walsteeg and the Mariaplaats is one of long historical significance, with evidence of Roman occupation, and a strong medieval presence in the form of several hospitals and later, the wealthy Maria Convent. By the mid-twentieth century however, the area was largely derelict, following the demolition of the Dominicuskirk. New redevelopment plans did not come into fruition until the 1990s, at which point an archaeological program was undertaken in advance of new construction (van Rooijen and Stafleu 1997:82).

This work helped to illuminate the continuity of occupation in this area. The excavation area covered four parallel house plots, numbered II, III, IV and V, stretching from the Mariaplaats to the Walsteeg. These appeared to have been relatively static since the second half of the 13th century, when they contained individual occupancy houses for the canons (van Rooijen and Stafleu 1997:91). All of the plots maintained their residential function into the seventeenth century, and there are two households, II and IV, which are of particular interest to this study.

The eastern most of the four houses, number II, was found to have an external kitchen constructed in the fourteenth century, with a cess-cellar and a large water cistern. The cess-cellar was replaced in the sixteenth century by a cesspit behind the kitchen, which remained in use until the end of the seventeenth century (van Rooijen and Stafleu 1997:95). While it is recorded that a quantity of seventeenth century material culture was recovered from this pit, only one vessel has been located for this study. This is a cylindrical stoneware jug, of type s2-kan-49, originating from Raeren. It is decorated with horizontal band friezes telling the apocryphal tale of Susanna and the Elders, and is dated 1584 (**Fig. 7. 1. (23)**). This vessel is identical to two others found in this survey; in context 558 of the Ursulaklooster in Delft, and from Wever-Bakkerstraat in Arnhem. For a discussion of the symbology of these vessel types, see Chapter 11. 4. 6.

The remainder of the material is thought to have been recovered in a second cesspit, initially constructed in the sixteenth century, in the alley beside house IV. This house was purchased by the artist Abraham Bloemaert in 1617. This pit went out of use at the end of the seventeenth century, and was replaced during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with a waste pit slightly further from the house.

The seventeenth-century pit contained a large quantity and variety of drinking artefacts. Five red earthenware cups were recovered, of two types, r-kop-2 and r-kop-35. These were accompanied by three whiteware cups; one each of types w-kop-9 and w-kop-19 with green lead glaze, and a w-kop-39, which was decorated with green and yellow glaze. The assemblage also contained two whiteware jugs, w-kan-16 and w-kan-2 (UWAL9466, **Fig. 7. 1. (24)**).

Stoneware was only a small proportion of this assemblage, with four jugs and a *snelle* tankard being recovered. Two of these were Frechen-made Baartman jugs of type s2-kan-32, and the third was grey-and-blue Westerwald jug, decorated with gadroons, of type s2-kan-37. Jug UWAL9474 (type s2-kan-71) is decorated with an applied pattern of rose flowers and leaves (**Fig. 7. 1. (25)**). The *snelle* tankard is of type s2-sne-1. This is a type of tall handled tankard produced in Siegburg during the second half of the sixteenth century, which were decorated with extremely detailed scenes from Biblical, mythological or allegorical sources, usually copied from engravings (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986:177). The vessel recovered from Walsteeg, which dates between 1575 and 1600, depicts three scenes from the story of Samson and Delilah, with recognisable images being Samson killing the lion and carrying away the doors of the temple (**Fig. 7. 1. (26a)** and **(26b)**). An identical example was recovered from Cologne in Germany, and is signed by the master potter Hans Hilgers (reproduced in Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986, page 181 Fig. 90. and page 182 Pl. 31). Although the Walsteeg example is too fragmentary for the same makers mark to be located, the similarity between both vessels is overwhelming.

One faience piece and two porcelain vessels make up the remainder of the ceramics from this pit. The faience cup (f-kop-1), with painted polychrome decoration of flowers and clover leaves, dates to the end of the seventeenth century. The two porcelain cups are of type p-kop-4 and are decorated with floral pattern and landscapes.

Glass was much better represented in this assemblage than ceramics, with over 64 vessels being recovered. Seventeenth-century beakers included plain vessel types, such as three examples of short, thin walled beakers, two of type gl-bek-5a, and one of type gl-bek-5b, which was decorated with blue prunted feet and an applied blue lip (UWAL9434). Mould-patterned beakers include several waffle-patterned beakers, one each of types gl-bek-12b (UWAL9435, **Fig. 7. 1. (27)**) and gl-bek-19a, as well as three *knobbelbekers* of type gl-bek-15a (UWAL9432, UWAL9433, **Fig. 7. 1. (28)**), one of which (UWAL9428) was decorated with blue prunted feet. The assemblage also contained several beakers decorated with wound threads. These include vessel UWAL9438 (gl-bek-43), a cylindrical beaker wound around the top with thin white threads. UWAL9429 is decorated with thin blue threads, while fragmentary beakers UWAL9420 and UWAL9423 have thick applied threads in *bandwurmbeker* style. Apart from the *wafelbeker* UWAL9435 which is dated from the last

quarter of the sixteenth century, all of these vessels date to the middle of the seventeenth century. The latest beaker types are four vessels of types gl-bek-6, gl-bek-25a, gl-bek-25b and gl-bek-7a. These are all examples of late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century thick-based beakers.

Two footed beakers were also recovered, one a barrel shaped footed beakers of type gl-bek-32 (UWAL9419), and the second is a pedestal beaker or short stemmed goblet, with a ribbed bowl (UWAL9441, type unknown). More unusual beaker types included a large beaker with applied milled threads with beaded rosettes (gl-bek-34a, UWAL9424, **Fig. 7. 1. (29)**), a *vetro a fili* beaker with white threads (gl-bek-9a, UWAL9439, **Fig. 7. 1. (30)**) and a miniature beaker, with a rim diameter of 44mm, with mould-blown honeycomb pattern and blue prunted feet (gl-bek-15a, UWAL9426, **Fig. 7. 1. (31)**). Another small beaker was decorated with an *ijsglas* surface and blue glass prunt feet (gl-bek-4b, UWAL9427, **Fig. 7 .1. (32)**). Two blue glass loops and two milled clear glass rings are all that remain from another rare vessel type, one with pendant rings (UWAL9430, **Fig. 7. 1. (33)**, see type 36 from Henkes 1994:156).

The presence of another elaborate *façon de Venise* beaker is evidenced by the survival of a beaker lid, formed of colourless soda glass (gl-dek-, UWAL9442, **Fig. 7. 1. (34)** and **(35a)**). It is decorated with moulded Neptune masks with gilding, and rosette prunts with embedded blue beads (**Fig. 7. 1. (35b)**).

The assemblage contained as many as twelve *roemers*, broken down into types gl-roe-2 (six examples), gl-roe-6 (two examples), gl-roe-7 (one example), gl-roe-9 (two examples), and one example of gl-roe-10 (**Fig. 7. 1. (36)**). Some of the *roemers* date to the last quarter of the sixteenth-century, although the largest group, the gl-roe-2 *roemers*, date from around 1640 - 1680. Several vessels are worth mentioning further in detail; UWAL9485 is a miniature *roemer* (base diameter 21mm), with a single row of thorned prunts (gl-roe-6, **Fig. 7. 1. (37)** and **(38)**). This *roemer* is thought to be a child's toy.

One of the two gl-roe-9 vessels, numbered UWAL9465, is a conical bowled *roemer* with a single row of large flat prunts. The bowl is engraved with a musical stave and the lyrics of a song in French (**Fig. 7. 1. (39)** and **(40a)**). The *roemer*'s form is somewhat unusual as it does not appear to have a foot ring. The glass is extremely devitrified, but two lines of the song and a musical phrase still survive, along with a line of text engraved around the pontil mark on the vessel's base. Although the language of the song is French, the script it is written in, and the degradation of the vessel have made it difficult to determine what the original text may have been. The most complete part of the engraving appears as part of **Fig. 7. 1. (41).**

Je m'en vais boire.... à la santé de Madame. Je vous le porte sus suis le bois à foy, fais, tout aimey que…
Pourquoy le faire….Je ne veux pas estre infame, ça qu'on en sorte, je fray raison ma foy, je suivrai...vos tre..

The text on the base of the vessel (**Fig. 7. 1. (40b)**) has been interpreted by Rauws and Kuypers (2002:422) as the name *"J. Mangelschots, Dixmudano, Flander"*. It is unknown if

this name relates to the owner of the vessel or the engraver; but it was common for engravers to sign their work in this way.

Other forest glass drinking vessels included two *stangenglas* and three *berkemeiers* of type gl-ber-1, all of which date from the mid- to late sixteenth century. One of the *berkemeiers* (UWAL9411) is of particular interest as it is a remarkably high-quality vessel with diamond engraving around the bowl, forming two lines of text and decorative curls (**Fig, 7. 1. (42a** and **b)**). A large part of the text is missing due to fragmentation of the vessel, but it is notable that the words *"finis"* and *"Conscientia"* are engraved perpendicular to the rest of the text and appear to be written in a different style. It is possible that the glass was decorated in two different events, or by different artists (**Fig. 7. 1. (43)**).

Nineteen goblets and flutes were recovered from the assemblage, of a number of types and styles. Some of these were relatively common, including moulded goblets, such as UWAL9448 (gl-kel-,) which has a long narrow honeycomb patterned bowl, and two goblets with nodule stems; UWAL9453, (gl-kel-13) a goblet with a ribbed hollow nodule stem) and UWAL9458, which has a quatrefoil nodule stem (gl-kel-14).

The assemblage also contained several fairly plain vessels of the more solid late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century English style (known as glass made *à la façon d'Angleterre)*. These included a single plain baluster stemmed soda goblet (gl-kel-38, UWAL9454, **Fig. 7. 1. (44)**), as well as a solid merese stemmed gl-kel-5 (UWAL9457), two eighteenth-century Silesian stemmed facetted goblets of type gl-kel-6 (UWAL9459, UWAL9460, **Fig. 7. 1. (45)**) and two goblets of gl-kel-2 types, with smooth stems (UWAL9461, **Fig. 7. 1. (46)**).

Other more unusual seventeenth-century *façon de Venise* goblet types were decorated with *mezza stampaura* on the bowls. These include UWAL9431 (gl-kel-36), a conical bowled goblet; UWAL9449 (gl-kel-33), which has a constricted bowl shape; and UWAL9446 (gl-kel-47), with its unusual eight sided bowl (**Fig. 7. 1. (47)**). Two snake-stemmed vessels were recovered from the assemblage. These elaborately stemmed *façon de Venise* glasses are seen as the most typical of the Venetian style (Henkes 1994:217). The examples from Walsteeg survive only as stems, but can be recognised as types gl-kel-65 (UWAL9450, **Fig. 7. 1. (48)**), a goblet with the stem formed of heart shaped twisted treads with perpendicular wings, and gl-flu-6 (UWAL9451, **Fig. 7. 1. (49)**), a flute with a stem formed of twisted threads curled around a central loop. Both of these vessel were made of colourless glass, without any coloured decoration. Two further vessels, one a goblet and one flute, were too fragmentary for further identification to be made.

The final goblet from this assemblage is noteworthy again for its diamond engraving (UWAL9456). The type code for the vessel could not be identified due to its missing stem, but the thickness of the base of the conical bowl suggests it is dated to late in the seventeenth-century. The engraving takes the form of a huntsman with a long spear chasing a deer through a landscape with trees (**Fig. 7. 1. (50)**). As discussed in Chapter 11. 4. 5., vessels with hunting scenes have been interpreted both as representations of a

typical Dutch scene, and as comments on the pursuit of love, and may well be related in some aspect to wedding or engagement ceremonial activity.

The assemblage contained pieces from two lead glass *karafe* bottles. One decorated with thick applied rings around the neck, and the second with a trefoil folded lip and frilled ring below.

Two further glass vessels from Walsteeg require some discussion; two glass dishes (*drinkschaal*). Glass bowls, dishes and eating utensils are rather rare within seventeenth-century Dutch households. Indeed, only two others have been recovered as part of this study, from Witmakkerstraat (MAWT9811, Maastricht) and Keizershof (DBHTK00198, 's-Hertogenbosch). Van Gangelen's 1988 survey into probate inventories found that, of 383 inventories which record glass artefacts, only nine include one or more glass plates or dishes (van Gangelen 1988:292-293). These vessel types might well be related to the *tazza* style stemmed dishes in their function as display or drinking vessels. *Tazze* have been found within this study at Bakkerstraat and Weverstraat in Arnhem (AHBA8715, AHWE8512), Geertebolwerk (UGBW9825, UGBW9826, Utrecht) and Voorstraat Kinesis (DVKS8167, Delft).

The first bowl (UWAL9455) is a *papkom* made of *lattimo* glass, with an opaque white colouring. It has two vertical folded handles, ribbed walls and a plain foot ring (gl-kom-1, **Fig. 7. 1. (51)** and **(52)**). Apart from its plain colour, this vessel is very similar to one suggested by Henkes to have been imported from Venice (Henkes 1994:236, 50.17). The second bowl (UWAL9462, gl-kom-2) is another soda glass vessel, made from colourless 'flecked glass', patterned with brightly coloured streaks in red, yellow and white, and with a folded foot formed from bright blue glass (**Fig. 7. 1. (53)** and **(54)**). Flecked glass was produced by rolling the hot glass paraison over flecks of coloured glass before being shaped, a similar procedure to the production of ice-glass (Henkes 1994:178). Flecked glass and marbled milk glass were both being produced in Venice from the mid- fifteenth century. The *lattimo* glass vessels became known as *vetro porcellano*, and grew in popularity after the seventeenth century when they, and vessels from flecked glass, were produced as a substitute for porcelain (Henkes 1994:178, 275). Flecked glass items are certainly rather rare earlier than this, with only a few fragmentary vessels being recovered (Henkes 1994:178, 42.1 - 3). The low quantities of porcelain in this assemblage might well indicate that these vessels were indeed substituting for it.

As demonstrated above the Walsteeg assemblage is both large and diverse, with the majority of the vessels remaining in very good condition. The material includes a large quantity of luxury glass items, including *façon de Venise* snake-stemmed goblets, and several engraved or rare pieces. The ceramics are less varied, with utility vessels making up the majority of the group, and with only two porcelain cups being recovered. Regardless of this, the cesspit of the Bloemaert household was certainly well furnished with luxury items of tableware for display.

In the century after the reformation, the Mariaplaats was known for being a Catholic district, with a number of Catholic families still practicing in the area, and even with a hidden church located on the same street. In addition, Bloemaert is known to have been a

practicing Catholic his whole life, and even produced paintings for the underground Catholic Church in Utrecht (van Eck 1999:73). The context of the artefacts in relation to this is extremely interesting; it is clear from the variety and quality of the glass vessels that the household of Bloemaert was using high quality artefacts. Being known to be a Catholic did not affect the family's ability to access and use luxury drinking vessels. Van Rooijen and Stafleu also note that a metal incense holder was recovered from the cesspit, indicating that the family's Catholic values could be recognised from their material culture (1997:103).

Fig. 7. 1. (55). Summary of drinking material from Walsteeg

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	15	Local wares (cups)	8
Standard beakers	12	Local wares (jugs)	2
Table bottles and jugs	2	Tankards and *trechterbekers*	1
Decorated beakers	11	Stoneware jugs	5
Stangenglas/pasglas	2	Faience or maiolica	1
Goblets and flutes	19	Porcelain	2
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)	4	Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	

7. 1. 4. Nieuwe Kamp (UNIE03)

During 2003, archaeological investigations were undertaken at Nieuwe Kamp in advance of planned construction work (van Veen 2010:7). Material from this site was not seen first-hand, but the publication by van Veen in 2010 was used to supplement the rest of the Utrecht material. Nieuwe Kamp is located in the south-east of the old city inside the medieval walls, in a low lying area known as the Oudelle. This area was probably used as agricultural land until the fourteenth century, when the Nieuwegracht canal and monastery of Maria in de Wijngaard were constructed. In the early fifteenth century, the site underwent significant further construction and alteration with the founding of a convent to the west of the Nieuwe Kamp. The use of the site by the Church was ended around 1580 as a result of the expropriation of the land during the reformation. The area was used for a short time as a military training ground, before being repurposed in 1603 as a military hospital. It is during this period that a large cess cellar was opened beneath Building D and a large quantity of material from the domestic areas of the site were discarded (van Veen 2010:7). The hospital was abolished in 1633, and the land sold to a number of private individuals for the construction of housing (van Veen 2010:8). The project, undertaken by the Team Cultuurhistorie, focussed on an area of 1750m^2 on the Nieuwe Kamp, as well as two building plots on the nearby Brigittenstraat (van Veen 2010:23).

A number of waste pits and cellars were discovered as part of the excavation. The context of the most interest to this study is Beerkelder 1, situated in Building D. The cellar of the building is recorded as being bricked up during the early seventeenth century in order to create a waste dump for the use of the hospital (van Helbergen and Ostkamp 2010:70). It

was estimated that up to 60m^3 of waste material was once contained within the cellar, but partial emptying during the mid-seventeenth century meant that only 50cm depth of material remained at the time of excavation. This layer still contained a significant number of artefacts; approximately 1,500 ceramic sherds. Two other waste dumps on the site, one known as the 'Zalfpottenkuil' and one comprising a layer of waste material lying to the east of Beerkelder 1 at the base of the wall, have been identified as containing material from the clearance of Beerkelder 1. This is due to fragments from the same vessels being found across all three dumps (van Helbergen and Ostkamp 2010:75). Therefore, the material from these pits has also been included in this discussion.

A substantial number of sixteenth-century vessels were also recovered from Beerkelder 1. It can be hypothesized from this that the cellar was in use as a waste dump from an earlier period than previously thought, or that old and unfashionable material was in use in the hospital during the early seventeenth century (van Helbergen and Ostkamp 2010:70). Of the seventeenth-century material, the majority of the ceramics are made up of earthenware. The total number of additional earthenware cups and bowls was estimated from the percentages of total 'estimated vessel counts' given in the published report, giving, for example, twelve red and whiteware cups and bowls, and twenty-six earthenware *papkommen*. Common forms of these vessels, such as r-kom-2 (**Fig. 7. 1. (56)**), r-kom-8 (**Fig. 7. 1. (57)**), r-kop-36 (**Fig. 7. 1. (58)**), r-kom-41 and w-kop-3 were recovered. Several of these vessels were decorated with yellow and green glaze. Another familiar form of whiteware vessel is w-kop-3 (**Fig. 7. 1. (59)**), of which only one example was found.

In addition to these forms were four other vessels, classified as r-kom-41 (UNIE0310, **Fig. 7. 1. (60a)** and **(60b)**), but with three handles instead of the more commonly observed one or two, such as UNIE0311. Drinking vessels with more than one handle are usually interpreted as vessels designed to be passed between drinkers, within a social context. The presence of these vessels within a hospital is therefore somewhat surprising. Given this, van Helbergen and Ostkamp have viewed these particular vessels in a different way, suggesting that the three handles are indeed to facilitate passing the vessel from person to person, but instead of being between carousers, the vessels were being passed from a nurse to a patient, and the additional handles used to support the vessel while the invalid drank or ate (van Helbergen and Ostkamp 2010:73).

Both related assemblages of the Zalfpottenkuil and Beerlaag I produced a similar mix of material. The Zalfpottenkuil contained two redware bowls and six redware porringers, as well as two whiteware bowls and two whiteware porringers. Beerlaag I contained a redware bowl and a whiteware porringer, as well as a redware jug. Both pits also produced stoneware, with fragments from a single stoneware jug being recovered from Beerlaag I, and the Zalfpottenkuil producing two stoneware jugs and a stoneware *snelle*.

Earthenware and stoneware jugs were also present in the primary assemblage of Beerkelder 1, in forms r-kan-33 (UNIE0304, **Fig. 7. 1. (61)**) and w-kan-17 (UNIE0311, **Fig. 7. 1. (62)**) as well as up to eleven unidentifiable earthenware jugs and five stoneware jugs.

The pit contained several maiolica and faience finds, the majority of which were plates. However, a maiolica *papkom* was recovered, decorated with an IHS monogram and cross

design (UNIE0313, see **Fig. 7. 1. (63)** for an artist's reconstruction of the complete vessel). An identical, and more complete, vessel was also recovered from another context on the site. These bowls, which are coded as m-kom-9, date between 1525 and 1575. Van Helbergen and Ostkamp have noted the popularity of these vessel types within sixteenth-century monastic complexes, and it is therefore possible that this vessel actually relates to the earlier use of the site before the hospital was opened (van Helbergen and Ostkamp 2010:70).

The final two ceramic drinking vessels from this assemblage which are slightly unusual are a werra-ware bowl (wa-kom-1, UNIE0336, **Fig. 7. 1. (64)**), and a weser-ware miniature dish (we-min-, UNIE0335, **Fig. 7. 1. (65)**). These ceramic types are imports from German production centres. Although not particularly associated with high status, these fabric types have nevertheless been less commonly found than Dutch earthenware counterparts. The miniature is thought to be a children's toy. These are discussed further in Chapter 11. 4. 8.

The Zalfpottenkuil contained small fragments from two maiolica jugs (m-kan-, UNIE0323). These are decorated with leaf motifs in blue and green on a white tin-glazed background. Despite their fragmentary nature, these vessels have also been dated to 1525 – 1575, and may again predate our period of interest.

A surprisingly small quantity of glass was recovered from the Nieuwe Kamp cesspits. Much of the fragmentary glass appears to have been discarded, or not subjected to further analysis, with only relatively complete vessels being recorded (Rauws 2010:93). These include an *ijsglas* beaker (gl-bek-4, UNIE0317) and two early seventeenth-century *wafelbekers* (gl-bek-19a, UNIE0321 and UNIE0323, **Fig. 7. 1. (66)** and **Fig. 7. 1. (67)**) from Beerkelder 1. This pit also contained a *slingerglas*, an eighteenth-century lead glass goblet with a solid stem containing twisted white threads (UNIE0318), as well as an unidentified goblet, and pieces from a *tazza* (gl-taz-1, UNIE0316). The *tazza*, a very unexpected find in this location, was diamond engraved with a female figure with leaf ornamentation (**Fig. 7. 1. (68)**). From the other two waste pits, only the Zalfpottenkuil contained any glass, the base from a single forest glass *noppenbeker* on open work foot (gl-bek-54, UNIE0320). This vessel is dated to the late sixteenth century (**Fig. 7. 1. (69)**).

Two final vessels from the Nieuwe Kamp are worth mentioning here, although both are from unknown contexts, so cannot be linked to the hospital with any degree of certainty. The first artefact is a miniature pewter *papkom*, probably a children's toy (UNIE0315). The second item is a large, almost complete teapot made from Asiatic stoneware, and dated from 1625 – 1700. This artefact is very unusual; very few seventeenth-century teapots have been identified in this study, and no items of this material. The teapot is of type s7-the-1 (UNIE0314, **Fig. 7. 1. (70)**).

The material from Nieuwe Kamp is mainly related to the domestic activities of eating, drinking and healthcare; plates and bowls, cups, salve pots and chamber pots. There are very few cooking items in this material, suggesting the cellar was used for the waste from the dormitories rather than the hospital kitchens (van der Kamp 2010:107). Another notable feature of the ceramics from this site is that a great many were of similar, if not

identical, styles, suggesting that there may have been a level of standardisation amongst the permissible material types within the hospital.

Fig. 7. 1. (71). Summary of drinking material from Nieuwe Kamp (all contexts)

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers		Local wares (cups)	61
Standard beakers	2	Local wares (jugs)	14
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers	2	Stoneware jugs	9
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	3
Goblets and flutes	2	Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)	1	Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	3

7. 1. 5. Geertebolwerk (UGBW98)

The medieval headquarters of the Teutonic Order (the 'Duitse Huis') lies on the western edge of the old town of Utrecht, between the streets of Springweg and Geertebolwerk. The Duitse Huis was constructed in 1348 as a residence for members of the Teutonic Order in Utrecht. The buildings complex managed to retain this purpose for several centuries until the site was forcibly sold in 1807 and converted into a military hospital in 1813 (Biesma 2000:7-8). A programme of restoration work and archaeological surveying began in 1993 (Klück 1995:5), and in 1995, members of the Teutonic Order moved their headquarters back into restored parts of the medieval building. Over the next five years, further work was undertaken in the old hospital, and in 2000 the newly converted luxury hotel, the Grand Hotel Karel V, was opened (Biesma 2000:69).

The complex had remained in the hands of the Teutonic Knights for 465 years, despite several years of turbulent history (Klück 1995:5). Across the country, other headquarters of the order suffered severe damage by looting, war and fire during the sixteenth century, and several were demolished during the reformation (Biesma 2000:30). The Duitse Huis in Utrecht, however, managed to survive and maintain a majority control of its assets, partially due to the influence of the House of Nassau, members of which played important roles in the order (Biesma 2000:30). However, the religious strife of the sixteenth century left the house with numerous financial problems, which were only exacerbated by events such as the severe damage caused by the infamous hurricane of the 1st August 1674. The result was that few knights of the order still resided in the house by the end of the seventeenth century, and it had instead become more frequently used as a guest house for receiving and housing visiting dignitaries (Biesma 2000:32). In the sixteenth century, these visitors included international guests such as Emperor Charles V and Mary, Queen of Hungary and the current regent of the Netherlands in 1545-6, Philip II of Spain, and the Dukes of Alva and Brunswick, as well as Prince Willem of Orange, Jan of Nassau, and Prince Maurice. The Earl of Leicester used the house as his official residence in 1586-1587 while

acting as Governor-General of the United Provinces: it is recorded that 22 barrels of beer were purchased by the house to celebrate the earl's arrival (Biesma 2000:56).

It was during this period that the house underwent alterations to create larger rooms and entrances, add more chimneys, and construct three new kitchens. In addition, a large waste pit was dug in the courtyard behind the house to collect the waste from the kitchen areas (Biesma 2000:57). It was the material from this pit which was recovered by excavations in 1998. The pit contained a variety of kitchen material, which includes drinking vessels of earthenwares, stonewares, faience and porcelain, as well as forest and *façon de Venise* glasswares. The pit clearly remained in use beyond the period of the Earl of Leicester's occupancy, as the majority of items date to the seventeenth century, and some mid nineteenth-century artefacts indicate deposition was still occurring during the hospital phase.

Several late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century earthenware vessels were recovered from the waste pit at the Duitse Huis. Redware cups were found in three types: r-kop-2 (two examples), r-kom-1 (two examples) and a redware beaker of type r-bek-11 (one example, UGBW9838). The two r-kom-1 vessels (UGBW9831, UGBW9832) were decorated with a swirling yellow glaze inside the bowl. Only one seventeenth-century whiteware cup was found, of type w-kop-3. The pit also contained a significant number of earthenware jugs, five examples of type r-kan-44 and one r-kan-19.

Stoneware jugs were also common in this assemblage; stoneware products totalling six jugs and a beaker. Three of the jugs were decorated with medallions and salt glaze; these were of types s2-kan-21, s2-kan-32 (**Fig. 7. 1. (72)**, and two unidentified jugs. A fourth jug (UGBW9834) was ash and lead glazed (s2-kan-68, **Fig. 7. 1. (73)**). These jugs may have been produced in Raeren, and probably date from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. The final jug was a white and blue Westerwald jug which was too fragmentary to be identified.

Several of these jugs were decorated with heraldic devices or coats of arms, although all of them were too fragmentary to identify the details. The two unidentified dark brown jugs were decorated with coats of arms or applied lions (UGBW9830), while the white and blue glazed Westerwald jug, displayed a heraldic device and a line of text, of which only the short phrase *"…KUNNICK…"* could be recognised (UGBW9841). The beaker, an unusual find within this study, was of type s2-bek-11, decorated with horizontal ribs. It dates to the end of the seventeenth century (UGBW9829).

Faience was relatively uncommon within this assemblage, with only two pieces recovered. These were an eight sided-cup (f-kop-4, UGBW9847, **Fig. 7. 1. (74)**) and an eight-sided bowl (f-kom-15, UGBW9814), both decorated with a Chinese landscape with figures. Porcelain was much more common in this cesspit group, with a total of seven items. Several of these artefacts suggest the presence of matching cup and saucer sets, a late phenomenon in the drinking culture of the seventeenth-century Netherlands. One complete set, with a matching cup and saucer was recovered (p-kop-11 and p-kom-6, UGBW9846). These were painted with matching blue floral designs.

In addition to these, three porcelain saucers in brown, white and blue were found (p-bor-6, UGBW9844, **Fig. 7. 1. (75)**). If they originally had matching cups, these are now missing. The remaining three porcelain cups were of types p-kop-1 with floral decoration (an example is UGBW9849, **Fig. 7. 1. (76)**), and two p-kop-9 (UGBW9850), eight-sided cups with lotus screens. Several of these porcelain items are very late in date, probably into the start of the eighteenth century.

The glass from this cesspit was again reasonably varied. The pit contained a few of the most common beaker types, including a *knobbelbeker* (gl-bek-15a, UGBW9815), a tear drop patterned beaker (gl-bek-12a, UGBW9816) and two plain beakers (gl-bek-5, UGBW9823). One rather more elaborate beaker was *vetro a fili*, with white threads on pale blue glass and ribbed walls (gl-bek-9a, UGBW9811, **Fig. 7. 1. (77)**). These soda glass beakers date from the beginning to the middle of the seventeenth century. Four additional lead glass beakers fall right at the end of the study period. Two of these are waisted conical beakers with thick bases (gl-bek-23, UGBW9824); the other two vessels are a small pedestal beaker (gl-bek-7a, UGBW9833), and a plain conical beaker (gl-bek-6, UGBW9807).

The forest glass wine drinking vessels from this assemblage are mostly of *berkemeier* type gl-ber-1, dating to the mid-sixteenth century, of which eight examples were found (UGBW9801–05; see UGBW9803 in **Fig. 7. 1. (78)**). Three later types of *roemer* were recovered from the pit. These vessels were a gl-roe-10, with thorned prunts dating to the first quarter of the seventeenth century (UGBW9806, **Fig. 7. 1. (79)**), and two raspberry prunted gl-roe-2 types, which were common from about 1640 to 1680. It is worth noting that all the *roemers* and *berkemeiers* are of extremely thin glass and appear to be of fine, high quality make.

Goblets are better represented than beakers in this assemblage, with ten examples being present. The earliest goblets were a gl-kel-11 vessel with a hollow baluster stem (UGBW9827), and a gl-kel-13 goblet, with a stem formed of a short ribbed nodule and merese disk (UGBW9820). In addition to these was a goblet of type gl-kel-34, a *slangenglas*, or ‘snake-stemmed’ glass. This green-glass goblet had a parabolic bowl and a stem formed of twisted threads (UGBW9817), thought to date to the late seventeenth-century. Only the hollow quatrefoil stem remains from what might have been a gl-kel-14 goblet (UGBW9812).

These goblets were accompanied by fragments from two tazza dishes. The first tazza (UGBW9825) was decorated with white *vetro a fili* in straight and twisted threads. The second (UGBW9826) was decorated with *vetro a reticelli*, or ‘lace glass’, also in white in applied rings. Apart from the snake-stemmed glass, these *façon de Venise* goblets all date from the first half of the seventeenth century.

The assemblage from Geertebolwerk was reasonably varied and contained several luxury items. Particularly notable are the two *vetro a fili* and lace glass tazza dishes, the snake stemmed green glass goblet, and the presence of porcelain vessels. Matching saucer and cup sets is also a very unusual, and the *roemer* and *berkemeiers* in this assemblage are all of extremely high quality.

Fig. 7. 1. (80). Summary of drinking material from Geertebolwerk

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	11	Local wares (cups)	10
Standard beakers	7	Local wares (jugs)	6
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	1
Decorated beakers	2	Stoneware jugs	6
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	2
Goblets and flutes	8	Porcelain	11
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)	2	Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	

7. 1. 6. Conclusion

Five excavations from the city of Utrecht were examined. Achter Clarenburg contained no glass drinking items, which seems to indicate that the material was not particularly representative of usual household use. The material did contain some unusual items; a stoneware jug with its pewter lid still attached, and a faience spirit cup. Jan Meijenstraat was excavated as part of a large open plan excavation which located a number of closed wells and waste pits. Particularly noteworthy finds from this pit include two redware 'mug' style drinking beakers, which are not of a type found anywhere else in this study. A stoneware jug in excellent condition from this pit was decorated with the rarer purple manganese glaze which only began to appear after 1665 (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986:221-222). This jug was decorated with combed flower patterns, and a medallion containing a line of text from Ovid's Metamorphoses. Three faience cups were also recovered, two in imitation porcelain designs and the third in polychrome depiction of a harvesting woman, a typically Dutch scene. The glassware from this pit is rather elaborate, with three *vetro a fili* beakers, one with gilded lion masks, and a *vetro a fili* goblet. Geertebolwerk housed the headquarters of the Teutonic knights in Utrecht, and therefore it is no surprise that the excavated assemblage was both reasonably varied and contained several luxury items, particularly related to ostentatious drinking. Particularly notable are two *vetro a fili e retorti* glass tazza dishes and a snake stemmed green glass goblet. The presence of porcelain vessels is also an indicator of luxury, particularly matching cup and saucer sets. The material also contained eleven *roemer* and *berkemeiers,* all of extremely high quality.

The excavations from Walsteeg are particularly interesting as it is thought that some of the material came from a known household, that of Catholic painter Abraham Bloemaert. The material was varied and luxurious, producing stoneware decorated with Susanna and the Elders, and Sampson and Delilah, three teacups, and sixty four glass vessels, including mould blown, *vetro a fili*, pendant ring, and ice-glass beakers, two miniature glass vessels, twelve *roemers* and nineteen goblets and flutes. Of the *roemers*, two were engraved, one with a musical stave and a song in French. Two flutes had twisted snake stems, and an additional goblet was engraved with a hunting scene. Two drinking bowls were also found

which are extremely rare; one of *lattimo* glass and the other of flecked glass. This assemblage was extremely rich and well preserved.

Nieuwe Kamp was the site of a military hospital in the early decades of the seventeenth century, and therefore presents an interesting addition to the group of domestic sites so far examined. Three waste dumps from this site produced material from the period of the hospital’s use, and provided a large quantity of earthenware and stoneware, the majority relating to assisted eating and drinking activities. Very few pieces of glass were recovered, and it is possible that these vessel types were not being used by the patients of the hospital at all, but the staff.

Fig. 7. 1. (81) Summary of sites and artefacts from Utrecht

	TYPE OF ARTEFACT	UACB75	UJJMS79	UWAL94	UNIE03	UGBW98	Total
GLASS	*Roemers/berkemeiers*		1	15		11	**27**
	Standard beakers		3	12	2	7	**24**
	Table bottles and jugs			2			**2**
	Decorated beakers		6	11	2	2	**21**
	Stangenglas/pasglas			2			**2**
	Goblets and flutes		1	19	2	8	**30**
	Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk)*			4	1	2	**7**
CERAMIC	Local wares (cups)	4	6	8	61	10	**89**
	Local wares (jugs)		2	2	14	6	**24**
	Trechterbekers and tankards			1		1	**2**
	Stoneware jugs	2	2	5	9	6	**24**
	Faience and maiolica	1	4	1	3	2	**11**
	Porcelain			2		11	**13**
	Other ceramics (non-local earthenwares, teapots, industrial wares)				3		**3**
METAL	Beakers		1				**1**
	Papkommen		1		1		**2**
	TOTAL	**7**	**27**	**84**	**98**	**66**	

Chapter Eight
Drenthe

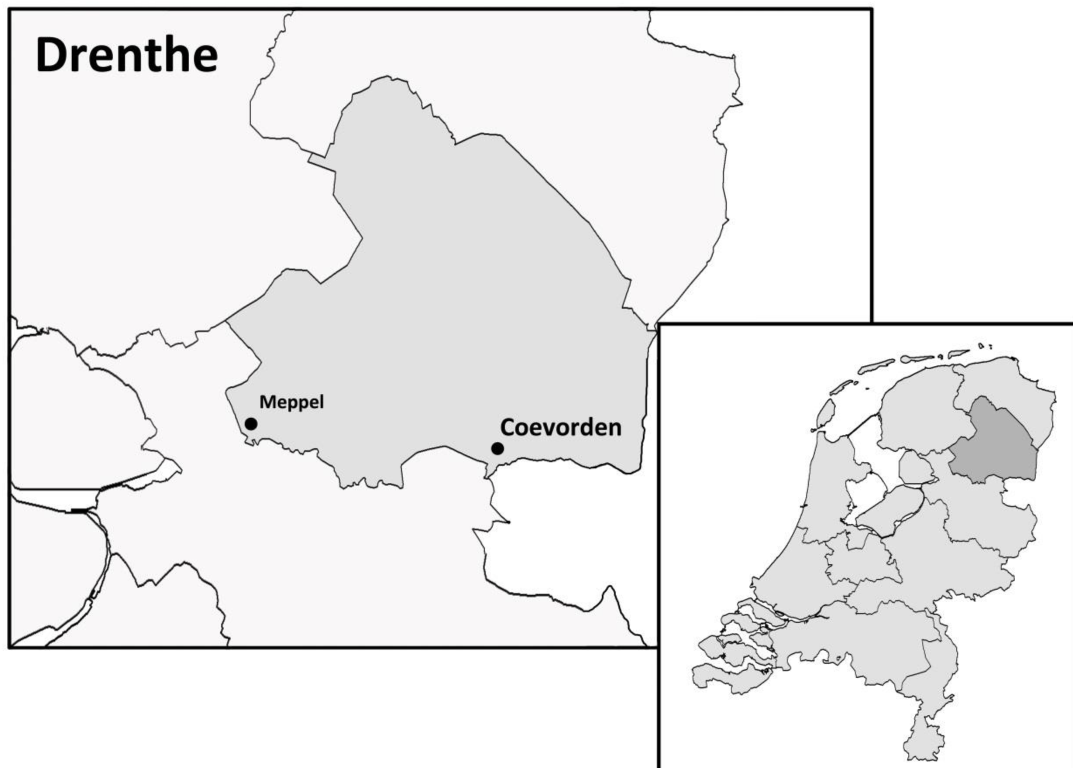

Fig. 8. (1). The province of Drenthe. Cities from the primary database, discussed in this chapter, are marked in bold. Secondary data taken from other pits in the same city, and from the town of Meppel, is discussed in chapter 12.

8.1. Coevorden

Coevorden is the largest city in the municipality of Coevorden, in Drenthe. Drenthe was historically known to be the poorest province in the United Provinces. The region, which is low lying and boggy, was initially part of the estate of the Bishop of Utrecht. However, by the end of the revolt, it was considered to be of such little financial and political worth that it had no representation within the States General. While the region still paid fees to maintain its internal political autonomy and gain some military protection from the Republic, it largely remained an unspoken eighth addition to the official 'seven' United Provinces (Haley 1972:67). The town of Coevorden, which lies near the German border, grew up in the eleventh century to defend a narrow area of dry land in the boggy landscape of this region. The castle at Coevorden, which lay at the junction of two major thoroughfares, was constructed in 1143 to protect this area and the episcopal lands (Molema 2004:10). The town of Coevorden was already fortified with a moat and ramparts during the middle ages, and by 1450, this was upgraded to a canal and large palisade rather

than a traditional city wall (Molema 2004:15, 17). The town was involved in many disputes over the centuries, and was destroyed several times in the years leading up to the Eighty Years' War, and again in 1592 (Molema 2004:17). This had a serious effect on the economy and population of the town. During the seventeenth century, the rebuilding of the town and fortifications took place between 1605-1613, and the opportunity was taken to construct the new town to an "ideal" city plan as a star fort (Molema 2004: 17, Gutkind 1971:42). This form was mainly concerned with the military purpose of the city as a defensive fortress rather than its function as a peacetime town (*ibid*). The new town was built on a raised up mound, with two tiers of seven bastions, numbered for the seven United Provinces. These defences took up nearly five times as much area as the main part of the town and citadel. The streets, which were laid out in a radial-concentric pattern led to a main town square (Gutkind 1971:42, **Fig. 8. 1. (1)**) Despite these significant fortifications, the city was captured twice during 1672 (Molema 2004:17).

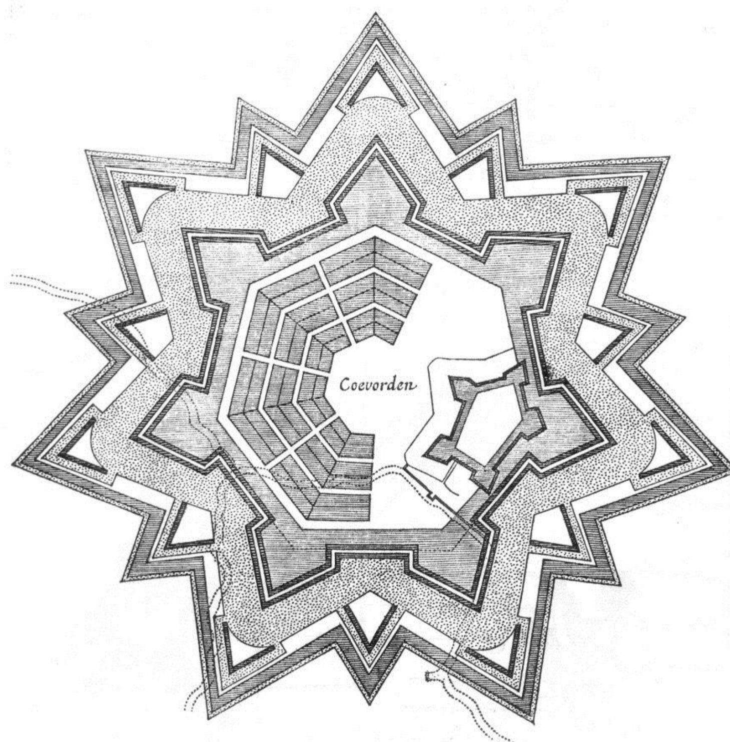

Fig. 8. 1. (1). A 1647 plan of Coevorden city after the building of the fortress. "Coevorden" by Markus Schweiss - Own work. Licensed under Public domain via Wikimedia Commons - http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Coevorden.jpg#mediaviewer/File:Coevorden.jpg

Excavated material from only one excavation was able to be seen from Coevorden, although some secondary data was gathered from other excavations in Drenthe. These will be discussed further in chapter 12.

Fig. 8. 1. (2). Table showing the breakdown of cesspits examined from Coevorden.

Excavation and cesspit	Site Code	Excavation year	Date range
Landschrijvershuis IV	DRCE91 IV	1991	1600 - 1650

8. 1. 1. Landschrijverhuis

In 1991, a small excavation was undertaken in the main square of Coevorden. The work, undertaken by Stichting Archeologie en Monument (SAM), was done in advance of the excavation of foundations for a new town hall (Lenting and van Westing 1993:156). An oval cesspit was discovered approximately one meter from the walls of the original seventeenth-century Landschrijvershuis. The pit, which was only partially excavated, was brick built and had a diameter of 1.95m by 1.5m. The contents of the pit was highly compacted and little remained. The extension of the building and property in the mid-seventeenth century may have been the point at which this pit went out of use. By the eighteenth-century and later the building functioned as an infirmary. From the lower two levels of the cesspit, a small quantity of pottery and glass dining, drinking and cooking wares were recovered (Lenting and van Westing 1993:158-159).

Two earthenware cups were recovered, both with internal green lead glaze. One earthenware jug, with tripod feet was found. Although this jug resembled the form of a round bellied pipkin, the absence of burning on the base, pouring spout and green glazed rim suggests this item would have been used as tableware instead of in the kitchen (Lenting and van Westing 1993:161-162). In addition to these, a bowl of weserware was also recovered, decorated with *ringeloor* slip decoration, in yellow and green (DRCE9115). Only one piece of stoneware was recovered, a Westerwald style jug with grey and blue salt glaze, possibly of type s2-kan-7. It was decorated with incised bands of garlands and foliage.

The glass from this pit was slightly more extensive. One each of popular types *knobbelbeker* and *wafelbeker* were recovered, both of soda glass in reasonable condition. Two additional beakers were more unusual. The first was beaker DRCE9111 (gl-bek-34a), decorated with milled '*passen*' threads and rosettes with blue beads. The second decorated piece is very unusual. This vessel is a red, white and blue *vetro a fili* twisted threads, with gilded lion mask prunts (gl-bek-9a, DRCE9112, **Fig. 8. 1. (3)** and **(4)**). While vessels of this kind were made in Antwerp at the end of the sixteenth century (Lenting and van Westing 1993:165), the particular form of lion mask stamp used on this vessel has been identified as belonging to the Twee Rozen glasshouse in Amsterdam (**Fig. 8. 1. (5)**), (M. Hulst, *pers comm*. 17 Jan 2012, and see also Hulst 2013). This would give a date for this vessel sometime after 1621.

Several wine glass drinking vessels were recovered. One goblet decorated with *mezza stampaura* style decoration was almost complete. The goblet had an elegant bell shaped bowl, with *mezza stampaura* ribs on the lower part, and hollow baluster stem (gl-kel-36, DRCE9108, **Fig. 8. 1. (6)**). The second goblet survived only as a disk-shaped foot. The main part of a *façon de Venise* flute glass bowl was also recovered, although the stem and foot were missing (gl-flu- , DRCE9109, **Fig. 8. 1. (7)**). The remainder of the wine-drinking material was formed of three turn of the century roemers. Two were of type gl-roe-6, with oval bowls and rows of thorned prunts, and the third was probably of type gl-roe-15, which has a short bowl and raspberry prunts.

Further evidence for conspicuous drinking activities takes the form of three forest glass *stangenglazen* 'pipe' glasses. Two were octagonal with diagonal wrythern ribs and applied milled blue *'pas'* threads. These are coded as type gl-sta-2 (DRCE9106, DRCE9107). The third vessel was a cylindrical glass with colourless milled threads (gl-sta-4, DRCE9105). All of these glasses probably date from the late sixteenth century.

Two serving dishes were also recovered from this site, namely a 25cm wide sgraffito and slipware serving dish, and a white faience *plooischotel* dish which was 29.5cm wide. While not drinkingware, these items suggest a certain level of affluence (Lenting and van Westing 1993:162-163).

Fig. 8. 1. (8). Summary of drinking material from Landschrijvershuis

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	3	Local wares (cups)	2
Standard beakers	2	Local wares (jugs)	1
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers	2	Stoneware jugs	1
Stangenglas/pasglas	3	Faience or maiolica	
Goblets and flutes	3	Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	1

8. 1. 2. Conclusion

While it is difficult to draw much in the way of conclusions given the small amount of material recovered from Coevorden, it is interesting to note the level of variety within this small assemblage. The presence of everyday drinking wares such as red earthenware cups contrasts with the elaborate nature of the red, blue and white *vetro a fili* beaker with its gilded prunts. Mid-range material, such as stoneware and imported weserware ceramics are present, and while not found in the drinking assemblage, faience flatwares were also recovered. This suggests that the user of the cesspit at the Landschrijvershuis had access to a wide variety of vessel types, as well as to some expensive and ostentatious drinking items. In this instance, Drenthe's position as an isolated backwater does not seem to be in evidence, although the absence of porcelain in what is clearly a relatively wealthy mid-seventeenth century material group, might hint towards this.

Fig. 8. 1. (9). Summary of sites and artefacts from Coevorden

	TYPE OF ARTEFACT	DRCE91 IV	Total
GLASS	*Roemers/berkemeiers*	3	**3**
	Standard beakers	2	**2**
	Table bottles and jugs		
	Decorated beakers	2	**2**
	Stangenglas/pasglas	3	**3**
	Goblets and flutes	3	**3**
	Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal/koolstronk)*		
CERAMIC	Local wares (cups)	2	**2**
	Local wares (jugs)	1	**1**
	Trechterbekers and tankards		
	Stoneware jugs	1	**1**
	Faience and maiolica		
	Porcelain		
	Other ceramics (non-local earthenwares, teapots, industrial wares)	1	**1**
METAL	Beakers		
	Papkommen		
	TOTAL	18	**18**

Chapter Nine
Groningen

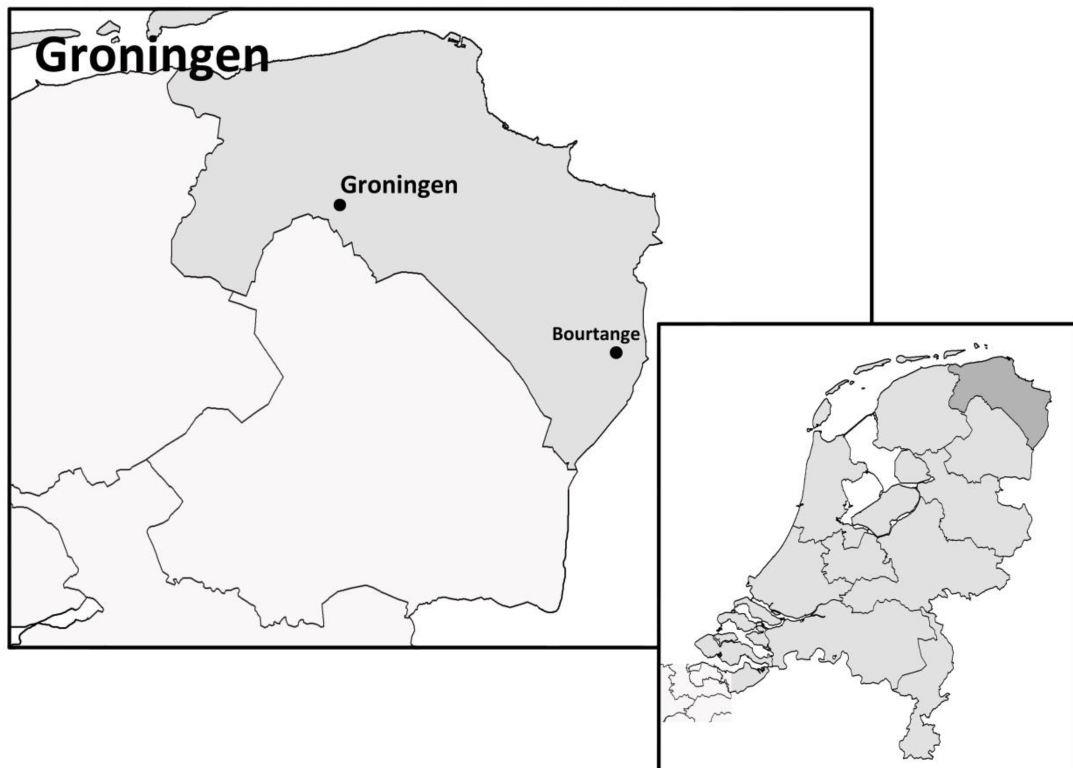

Fig. 9. (1). The province of Groningen. Cities from the primary database, discussed in this chapter, are marked in bold. Secondary cities are also marked; data from these is discussed in chapter 12.

9. 1. Groningen

The city of Groningen is situated in the north of the Netherlands, and is the capital of the province of the same name. The town lies on the confluence of several rivers, and has particularly good riverine and canal links to other nearby towns, as well as its own small port (Gutkind 1971:38). The earliest historical record of Groningen dates from the ninth century, and the town spent many centuries under the rule of the Bishopric of Utrecht (Gutkind 1971:38). After breaking away from this control, the city began to increase its power and independence. Groningen became part of the Hanseatic League in the late 1200s and by the end of the fourteenth century, the town had its own city walls and controlled a large hinterland, including the province of Friesland to the west.

One influence on the development of the town which marks it as different to many of Netherlandish towns is Groningen's lack of medieval craft and merchant guilds. This meant that the governing power of the city remained with the aristocracy and Burghers for much longer than in other areas (Gutkind 1971:38). During the sixteenth century and the Netherlandish Revolt, Groningen initially supported the interests of the Spanish, but was

captured by Prince Maurits in 1594, and became part of the United Provinces (Alma 1992:15). The seventeenth century was generally a period of growth and expansion for the city, with much of the open spaces and garden land which still remained within the city walls being developed into housing (Gutkind 1971:39). In 1614, the city's university was established (Kamen 2000: 215). The city came under siege in the *Rampjaar* of 1672 by the forces of the Bishop of Münster, although eventually the army withdrew. In 1698, the city expended a huge amount on rebuilding the fortifications, which now had seventeen bastions, one representing each county (Gutkind 1971:39).

Fig. 9. 1. (1). Map of Groningen in 1652 by Joan Blaeu. "Blaeu 1652 - Groningen". Licensed under Public domain via Wikimedia Commons - http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Blaeu_1652_-_Groningen.jpg#mediaviewer/File:Blaeu_1652_-_Groningen.jpg

From the beginning of the seventeenth century, the city government of Groningen was actively involved in promoting the development of cesspits and privies in order to improve the cleanliness of the town; and this included a developed municipal system for cesspit emptying (Carmiggelt *et al* 1987:20). Interestingly, it seems that the contents of emptied cesspits were not valued as fertiliser in Groningen during this period as it was in other cities. A regulation issued on the 11th September 1630 ordered that waste material be deposited by the eastern gates of the city (Carmiggelt *et al* 1987:20). A similar proclamation in 1712, declared that cesspit pit emptying had to take place at night, but that the contents were still to be added to a large dump; it is only by 1747 that records indicate cesspit waste began to be utilised as fertiliser (*ibid*). Carmiggelt *et al* also notes that by 1987, only seven cesspits had been excavated to any extent in Groningen; they identify this as an indication that cesspits were a limited, and late developing, phenomenon in Groningen (Carmiggelt *et al* 1987:21), although it is also noted that excavation in Groningen had not been widespread up to that point (van den Broek 1987:7).

All of the assemblages studied from Groningen were relatively small in comparison to groups from other cities. A total of five sites were studied.

Fig. 9. 1. (2) Table showing the breakdown of cesspits examined from Groningen

Excavation and cesspit	**Site Code**	**Excavation year**	**Date range**
Schoolholm	GRSH91	1991	1650 - 1750
Schoolstraat BPI	GRSS84 BPI	1984	1590 – 1665
Schoolstraat BPII	GRSS84 BPII	1984	1625 - 1800
Singelstraat	GRST93	1993	1580 – 1800
St Janstraat	GRSJ10	2010	1575 - 1700
Wolters Noordhoff Complex	GRWNC90	1990	1650 – 1710

9. 1. 1. Schoolholm (GRSH91)

The street of Schoolholm lies in the southwestern part of the medieval city of Groningen, on the western shore of the Drentsche Aa river. Construction on the western side of the street began in 1985 and several different areas were worked on over the next few years (Kortekaas *et al* 1992:119), with a significant excavation taking place in 1991 after the demolition of a school, and in advance of the construction of a retirement home (Kortekaas 1991:1). Beneath the school were discovered the foundations of fourteenth- to sixteenth-century houses of wood and stone, as well as two late-medieval houses which were demolished before the school's construction in the nineteenth century (Kortekaas *et al* 1992:120). Further information on this excavation is drawn from the site diary, which records the excavation of the cesspit (Drenth 1991: Dinsdag 17.9.1991). The contents of the pit was covered by a narrow layer of building debris, under which was sealed a layer of wooden planks and the cesspit contents. The deposit layer was approximately 30cm thick and contained several observable layers containing sherds of ceramic and glass, particularly on the south-east side of the pit (Drenth 1991: Dondersdag 19.9.1991).

The cesspit assemblage from Schoolholm was rather small, and therefore only contained a small quantity of each artefact type group. Earthenware drinking vessels were represented by three cups; one redware type r-kop-2 with yellow glaze (**Fig. 9. 1. (3)**), and two whiteware cups with yellow and green glaze. These were too fragmentary to be identified. Blackening within the interior of the redware jug suggests that it was used for some period as a brazier.

Stonewares were much better represented in this assemblage, with pieces from eleven different jugs being recovered. Although only one vessel could be identified by code type, the date range for the fabric types present is relatively wide, with sherds from ash glazed stoneware dating to the sixteenth century, and an almost complete 'P' *kruik* mineral water

bottle with salt glaze (s2-fle-11, GRSH9102, (**Fig. 9. 1. (3)** and **(4)**) probably dating from the end of the seventeenth century.

The assemblage contained two pieces of faience, one f-kop-1 decorated in blue with a Chinese landscape, and a faience jug in very good condition. The jug, of type f-kan-1, was also decorated with a scene in the style of Chinese porcelain, with figures and buildings (GRSH9103, **Fig. 9. 1. (3)** and **(5)**). In addition to these was a sherd from a porcelain cup, probably of type p-kop-12, decorated on the inside with flowering branches (GRSH9113, **Fig. 9. 1. (6)**).

Only four glass vessels were recovered from assemblage. Three of these vessels are lead glass, and therefore date from the late seventeenth to the early eighteenth century. The glasses are of types gl-bek-6 (two examples) which are engraved with floral decoration (GRSH9105, **Fig. 9. 1. (7)**), and a gl-bek-80 vessel, a thick-walled waisted beaker with vertical ribs. The fourth vessel from this assemblage is a network patterned beaker in an unusual shade of coloured glass; deep purple (gl-bek-10, GRSH9107 **Fig. 9. 1. (8)** and **(9)**). Henkes discusses a very similar vessel with a straight lip discovered in Delft (Henkes 1994:144, 32.3).

The clustering of the cesspit material to one edge of the pit strongly suggests that the pit was emptied at least once, indicating that the surviving material presented here is only a small proportion of the original total group. Very little is known about any potential occupants of the houses around the excavation area during the seventeenth century, although in addition to the drinking wares, the pit contained a number of other standard domestic items, including pipkin cooking pots, earthenware frying pans and faience plates.

Fig. 9. 1. (10). Summary of drinking material from Schoolholm

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers		Local wares (cups)	3
Standard beakers	1	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers	3	Stoneware jugs	11
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	2
Goblets and flutes		Porcelain	1
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	

9. 1. 2. Schoolstraat (GRSS84)

Excavations at Schoolstraat were undertaken after the demolition of late nineteenth-century buildings on the plots 10 and 12. Construction of student flats on these plots was intended to follow, as well additional renovation of buildings 36 to 40 on Poelestraat. The archaeological explorations took place in December 1984 (Carmiggelt *et al* 1987:9).

Several walls and foundations from buildings of various periods were recovered, along with two cesspits. The first cesspit was constructed up against the southern east-west foundation and would have been lying within the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century house. Cesspit 2, which was brick lined, lay up against the northern boundary of the excavation area and probably belonged to a building on Poelestraat (Carmiggelt *et al* 1987:14). The material from both cesspits was unusually dry, which is likely to have affected the preservation. In addition to this, the contents of the pits were neither excavated stratigraphically nor sieved, so identifying different depositional events is no longer possible. However, despite the apparently long period of use of the wells, the contained material culture was clustered in a small area, leading the excavators to conclude the material belonged to a relatively short period of deposition (Carmiggelt *et al* 1987:11, 25).

Cesspit one (BPI)

Schoolstraat BPI contained several pieces of earthenware ceramics. These included one w-kop-17 and two w-kop-6 (GRSS8428, **Fig. 9. 1. (11)**), as well as two pieces of German werraware. One of these two werra bowls was decorated with slip decoration in green and yellow, and the second with sgraffito incisions (Carmiggelt *et al* 1987:27). Fragments from three stoneware jugs were recovered, originating from Frechen and Westerwald. Only one was relatively complete, a small dark brown jug with mottled glaze (s2-kan-14, GRSS8426, **Fig. 9. 1. (12)**). One piece of faience was recovered; a cup decorated in blue with a floral pattern (f-kop-1).

The glassware from this assemblage included two mould-blown waffle beakers (gl-bek-19a) and a plain beaker with a milled foot ring (gl-bek-8). In addition as many as nine *stangenglazen* were recovered, which were all decorated with *passen* threads. These came in a variety of types, including cylindrical glasses with diagonal ribbing and blue threads (gl-sta-1, two examples), and seven or eight-sided glasses with ribbing and blue threads (gl-sta-2a, seven examples). The pit contained two wine glasses, a fragment of forest glass *roemer*, and a network patterned goblet with stem formed of high foot and two merese disks. This vessel was also in fragmentary condition. Much of the material from BPI was fragmentary in nature, but those pieces which could be identified mostly date to the early decades of the seventeenth century.

Fig. 9. 1. (13). Summary of drinking material from Cesspit one, Schoolstraat

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	1	Local wares (cups)	3
Standard beakers	3	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers		Stoneware jugs	3
Stangenglas/pasglas	9	Faience or maiolica	1
Goblets and flutes	1	Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	2

Cesspit two (BPII)

The material from the second pit at Schoolstraat displayed both similarities and several significant differences to that of the first pit. Earthenware ceramics were represented by a whiteware cup with yellow and green glaze, and a redware cup of type r-kop-39 with colourless glaze. In addition to these was a North Holland Slipware bowl decorated with rings of coloured slip. Pieces from two stoneware jugs, both with dark brown glaze, were also recovered.

In contrast to the first pit, BPII contained no faience but a large quantity of porcelain. This included eleven late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century blue and white porcelain cups decorated with oriental scenery or floral motifs (p-kop-1, GRSS8418, **Fig. 9. 1. (14)**), and four Batavian-ware porcelain cups with a brown exterior. These probably date to the early eighteenth century. In addition to these was a single polychrome cup with a large floral pattern in dark blue highlighted in red and gold, and with a gilded rim. This piece of Japanese *Imari* porcelain might date as early as the third quarter of the seventeenth century. The assemblage of BPII contained eight porcelain *schaal* dishes. One of these is illustrated in **Fig. 9. 1. (15)** (GRSS8438). Along with the other saucers, this may have originally been paired with tea cups of matching designs. One unusual vessel from this assemblage is a blue and white porcelain cup on a high foot (p-kop-4). This vessel was further decorated with overlaying floral motifs, rendered in a brown or black paint (GRSS8421, **Fig. 9. 1. (16)**). This secondary decoration took place after the vessel was fired; a decorative scheme known as *Amsterdams Bont* (Carmiggelt *et al* 1987:46). Little of this secondary paint layer has survived, and it is difficult to identify much of the decoration, although it appears to have been executed in a way to be sympathetic to the original design.

One similarity to the first pit is the relative abundance of *stangenglazen* and beakers with *passen* threads. Beakers GRSS8431 and GRSS8434 (gl-bek-34b) both had milled *passen* threads around the body, the former in blue and the latter in red glass (**Fig. 9. 1. (17)**). In addition to these, three examples of *stangenglazen* were recovered; these were of types gl-sta-1, cylindrical pillar glasses with applied milled blue '*pas*' threads (two examples), and one gl-sta-5 which was also decorated with blue threads but was more conical in form. This latter vessel is fairly unusual for a *stangenglas* in that it had a wound foot rather than a folded one (GRSS8407, **Fig. 9. 1. (18)**). These were all in fragmentary condition.

Other beakers found in this pit included two network patterned, soda glass beakers (gl-bek-37) and a *knobbelbeker* (gl-bek-12). One further beaker GRSS8408 was decorated with a white thread around the lip and three blue raspeberry prunt feet. All the beakers and *stangenglazen* can be dated to the first half of the seventeenth century. Pieces from two *roemers* were recovered. One could not be identified, but the other was decorated with alternating rows of raspberry prunts, and was probably of type gl-roe-1, a firmly mid-seventeenth-century model.

The pit contained only three goblets and a fragment from the bowl of a flute glass (GRSS8442). The first goblet is a plain, baluster stemmed goblet with a shallow bowl, of

type gl-kel-11; these were common throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. The second goblet is later in date; most likely an early eighteenth-century lead glass goblet with a smooth stem, of type gl-kel-2 (GRSS8401). The final goblet was very unusual, with a network patterned bowl standing on top of a very long hollow baluster stem (gl-kel-97 or gl-kel-42, GRSS8404, **Fig. 9. 1. (19)**). The glass has a total height of 217mm. Carmiggelt *et al* (1987:54) give this vessel a very late date of 1760 – 1810 although this author suggests a much earlier date of 1600 – 1650: goblets with elongated baluster stems from the first half of the seventeenth century are noted by Willmott (2002:60 – several English examples) and Henkes (1994:211 - kasteel Bleijenbeek, Asperen).

Fig. 9. 1. (20). Summary of drinking material from cesspit two at Schoolstraat

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	2	Local wares (cups)	2
Standard beakers	1	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers	3	Stoneware jugs	2
Stangenglas/pasglas	5	Faience or maiolica	
Goblets and flutes	4	Porcelain	25
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	1

It is clear from the material recorded above that the assemblages from both pits at Schoolstraat are distinctly atypical. With respect to earthenware and stoneware ceramics, both pits have a fairly standard breakdown of artefact types for a small sized cesspit, although there is a greater proportion of imported werraware than is usually common. However, where the pits demonstrate their unusualness is in the large abundance of certain artefact groups: BPI produced a large number of *pasglazen* (nearly 43% of the total assemblage), and BPII produced an even greater quantity of porcelain utensils (55%).

Fortunately, previous studies have identified several pieces of historical data regarding the occupation of the plots along Schoolstraat and Poelestraat. The material from cesspit BPI, is biased towards vessels for the consumption of beer, particularly communally, and therefore indicates that a tavern or ale house may be contributing to the contents of the pit. Evidence to support this was found by Carmiggelt *et al* (1987). A deed of April 23, 1621, records that Hendrick Melchers purchased part of the plot and resided there for several years, probably with his family. After he died in 1642, another deed transfered ownership of his property, and a third part of ownership of the neighbouring tavern, to Aijolt Hoedenborghs. Later in 1659, the residential part of the plot is occupied by Heine Egberts and his wife Annetien Hermans, and other parts of the building continue to be rented out to various brewers and their wives. The house on the corner of Schoolstraat (the street historically known as 'Achter de Muur') and Poelestraat is referred to as the house of *"Het Leersien"* ('the boot'), which reportedly hung outside the tavern. The building next door is recorded as also belonging to the tavern and was an annex of the guesthouse. In 1679 a

complaint was registered that the tavern was encouraging rowdy behaviour and the violation of the Sabbath (Carmiggelt *et al* 1987:41-42).

The first cesspit which was located behind these buildings is thought to belong to the residential annex of the tavern, although it is clear from the contents of the pit that the tavern did contribute to the material of the cesspit, with the large quantity of *stangenglazen* which were present, alongside a more representative group of domestic material.

The second pit lay at the back of the excavation area, and as such is thought to relate instead to a building round the corner into the Poelestraat. Unlike the first pit, which had a rather narrower time frame and one firmly placed in the seventeenth century, the material from cesspit two ranges from around 1640 to 1800 (Carmiggelt *et al* 1987:62). Again, the lack of stratigraphic data hinders the ability to recognise different periods of deposition. It is reasonable to assume that some of the porcelain, particularly the Batavian-ware and single lead glass goblet (GRSS8401), as well as the large number of ointment jars, pharmacy bottles and late smoking pipes, which were not recorded here, came from different periods of deposition to the seventeenth-century goblets, *stangenglazen*, beakers and *roemer*.

The seventeenth-century history of this property is less well known, as records are fragmentary. Aeltien Roeleffs Dorenbusch and Jan Hommens, lived in the house prior to 1688, and her sons Rudolph and Casper Hommens ocame into inheritance in 1695. Both Rudolph, a lawyer, and Casper, probably a merchant, were deceased by 1706 and the occupancy of the property again during this period is uncertain. In 1711 the house was occupied by Harmannus Woltgraf, a surgeon, and his wife Anna Maria Fockma, and by 1736, the property was bought by the apothecary Harmannus Christianus Reinders, and retained its use as a pharmacy into the twentieth century (Carmiggelt *et al* 1987:62 - 65). The eighteenth-century apothecary is likely to have contributed much of the medical material to the pit.

Despite this historical data, it is clear that much of the domestic drinking material from the pit dates to the early to mid-seventeenth century, a period during which nothing is known about the occupancy of the house. The early seventeenth-century goblets, beakers and *stangenglazen* were deposited during an earlier period of occupation to the porcelain and lead glass, with additional porcelain items, clay pipes and apothecary bottles being deposited later still. Large quantities of porcelain from the end of the century might possibly indicate another form of drinking establishment; a coffee-house, was operating there. However, this is not clear from the historical record.

One last point worth noting is that while vessels for beer in pit BPI; and beer and tea in BPII, are well represented, there is no evidence for wine drinking on the same scale. Vessels for the consumption of wine are rather more scarce; with only five goblets and flutes being recovered, and three fragments of *roemers*. Perhaps this demonstrates the difference between the material consumed in the tavern environment, and that used in a domestic setting.

9. 1. 3. Singelstraat (GRST93)

Excavations on the Singelstraat were undertaken in 1993 in advance of construction work to extend the Provinciehuis. The excavation was overseen by city archaeologist Dr Gert Kortekaas. Previous historical research along this street and along Schoolstraat, which runs consecutive to Singelstraat along the line of the historic 'Achter de Muur' road, had focused on identifying the line of the old city wall, as well as the position of a fifteenth-century powder tower (Havinga 2011:2) During the excavations, parts of the sixteenth-century city wall were recovered in several areas, as well as the footing of the tower (Stichtig Monument en Materiaal 1993:1). The excavations uncovered several cesspits, the most completely recorded of which was a very large cesspit, dating from the first half of the sixteenth century. The pit, the contents of which contained remarkable numbers of ink wells, book fittings and textiles, belonged to a famous Latin school (the 'Sint Maartensschool'), which was positioned near the old tower (Zimmerman 1998: 83). The tower itself had burned down during the sixteenth century (Stichtig Monument en Materiaal 1993:1), but the majority of Groningen's wall towers were rented out as workshops or living spaces, and the areas behind the wall came to be built up with small houses for the poor and needy (Tuin and Wieringa 2012:7). The Singelstraat tower had a short period of reuse as a metal-working workshop. By the seventeenth century, houses and buildings had been built up on the narrow area inside the old city wall, and several of these had cesspits (Stichtig Monument en Materiaal 1993:1). The pit examined by this study was a rectangular, brick built structure built into the corner of the city wall and the projection of the tower.

The cesspit contained a small quantity of domestic material, which included several earthenware cooking pots but no earthenware drinking vessels or jugs. Fragments from four stoneware jugs were the only drinking ceramics recovered. These formed two tan coloured salt glazed jugs, and two jugs decorated with blue and grey lead glaze and a brown interior. These vessels were too fragmentary for further identification.

Glass recovered from Singelstraat included beakers and goblets. Beaker types included a plain beaker (gl-bek-8a), a waffle beaker (gl-bek-19a, **Fig. 9. 1. (21)**) and two *knobbelbekers* (gl-bek-15b, GRST9307, **Fig. 9. 1. (22)**), one of which had blue prunt feet (GRST9306, **Fig. 9. 1. (23)**). These were accompanied by a small *lattimo* glass beaker also with prunted feet of blue glass (gl-bek-5b, GRST9304, **Fig. 9. 1. (24)**). The two *façon de Venise* goblets recovered were of type gl-kel-13, with the goblet bowl mounted on a hollow ribbed nodule and merese disc (GRST9303, **Fig. 9. 1. (25)**. One of these vessels was colourless, the other a pale green-blue. Another fragment of plain glass might have come from a flute, due to its shape and thinness.

In addition to these complete vessels, some small fragments of glass were recovered, which most likely came from a flattened oval bottle. The glass is an unusual dark plum purple colour, coloured with manganese, and moulded with a network or honeycomb pattern (probably gl-fle-84, GRST9301, **Fig. 9. 1. (26)**). It is interesting to note that the only other purple glass seen during this survey was also found in Groningen, at Schoolholm.

One other point of interest regarding the Singelstraat material was the earthenware cooking pots found within the assemblage. Two of these pots were decorated with small rosette prunts, identical to those found on many glass items from the same period (**Fig. 9. 1. (27)**). It is unknown if this is a deliberate attempt to emulate glass decoration, or just a further development of a popular decorative style.

Fig. 9. 1. (28). Summary of drinking material from Singelstraat

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers		Local wares (cups)	
Standard beakers	3	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs	1	Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers	2	Stoneware jugs	4
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	
Goblets and flutes	3	Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	

9. 1. 4. Sint Janstraat (GRSJ10)

The small-scale excavations at Sint Janstraat were prompted by the relocation of modern waste tanks, which were to be buried up to 3m underground in two places on St. Janstraat. This street lies perpendicular to the 'Achter de Muur' street-line of Schoolstraat and Singelstraat, which have both been discussed above. The area is just inside the edges of the medieval town. Archaeological survey was undertaken on two small areas before the tanks were fitted. At the second site, located just to the east of the intersection of St. Janstraat and Schoolstraat, the work uncovered the corner of a seventeenth-century building and its deep cesspit (Tuin en Wieringa 2012:1).

Historical research by Tuin and Wieringa (2012:11-14) have identified that the area behind the wall became built up over the sixteenth century as the city walls and towers lost some of their military function. They note in particular the construction of small houses and single roomed dwellings (*kamers*) which housed many of the town's poor, particularly war widows and priests. By the mid-sixteenth century, a substantial area along the wall was leased by one Edzart Rengers, who had negotiated to rent the area for ninety years. Rengers planned to construct a series of houses and *kamers* for the urban workforce in an attempt to deal with the housing shortage. Other such planned developments were also taking place elsewhere in the city at the time. However, it seems that after demolishing some standing buildings, Rengers' plans did not come into fruition, and in 1601, Elizabeth Rengers took over the lease. Although it is not recorded that any construction work was made during this time, a city map of 1616 shows a building was constructed on the corner of St Janstraat and Singelstraat (building C95). The house seems to have remained with the Rengers family for several years. Rembt Rengers was granted the lease in 1622, and after

his death, his son Sicco Renger might have continued to occupy the same house after 1644 (Tuin and Wieringa 2012: 14).

The assemblage from St Janstraat was one of the smallest included in this survey, which is likely to be due to the very small area of excavation, and the only partial sampling of the cess pit due to damage from a nineteenth-century drain which bisected it (Tuin and Wieringa 2012: 23). The group contained three redware cups, two of types r-kop-10 (**Fig. 9. 1. (29)**), and one cup of unknown type with green lead glaze. These were accompanied by two white earthenware cups. One was decorated with yellow glaze and the second with green glaze.

Other ceramics were represented by two stoneware jugs and a porcelain vessel. One stoneware jug was a blue and grey Westerwald jug with applied flowers and medallions. The other had a burnt orange glaze and was decorated with patterned ribs and embossed flowers (s2-kan- , GRSJ1006, **Fig. 9. 1. (30)**). The porcelain vessel is a relatively large tea bowl with eight sides. It is decorated in blue with Chinese style scenery and seated figures (p-kom-5, GRSJ1002, **Fig. 9. 1. (31)**).

Very little glass was recovered as part of this assemblage. The majority of pieces came from a small *roemer* of type gl-roe-6, with thorned prunts and a curved bowl (GRSJ1010, **Fig. 9. 1. (32)**). The glass is may have been used for spirits rather than wine, due to its small size. One additional fragment was retained, a colourless piece from the bowl of a *façon de Venise* goblet.

Fig. 9. 1. (33). Summary of drinking material from from St Janstraat

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	1	Local wares (cups)	5
Standard beakers		Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers		Stoneware jugs	2
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	
Goblets and flutes	1	Porcelain	1
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	1

The small quantity of material in this assemblage makes drawing conclusions particularly difficult. However, the presence of a porcelain cup and a piece of *façon de Venise* goblet go some way to supporting the historical data which suggests a relatively wealthy bourgeoisie family were contributing to this waste pit.

9. 1. 5. Wolters-Noordhoff Complex (GRWNC90)

The Wolters Nordhoff Complex lies in the centre of the old town just to the north-west of the Grote Markt and is enclosed by the streets Oude Boteringestraat, Broerstraat and

Poststraat, and the modern buildings of the university. The Groningen Central Library now stands on this block, but historically the complex housed the Wolters-Noordhoff publishing group. After the business left the site, the block stood vacant for several decades, until a project of restoration was initiated in 1984. This project intended to restore four buildings to the south of the block (Oude Boteringestraat numbers 10 to 14 and 24) and demolish another four at the north end of the street (Oude Boteringestraat 16 to 22) in advance of construction work for the building of the library (Broekhuizen *et al* 1992:1).

The project took place over the course of several years, and archaeological excavations were undertaken between June and August 1990. The work was carried out by the Archeologische Werkgemeenschap voor Nederland and was supervised by G. L. G. A Kortekaas (Broekhuizen *et al* 1992:2). Nine cesspits were excavated at the Wolters-Noordhoff Complex, of which eight originated in the late medieval period. The seventeenth-century pit, BPX, was constructed in the yard behind Oude Boteringestraat 16.

Good historical data has been gathered for the properties along the Boteringestraat, and specific individual occupants of number 16 have been identified (Alma 1992:20). The stone structure on this plot, built to replace the earlier wooden house, was constructed relatively late in the fifteenth century (Kortekaas and Waterbolk 1992:226) At the beginning of the century, the property was owned by Harmen Jansen and his wife, who sold the house after her husband's death in 1616 to Claas Jacobs. He was recorded as being a brewer, who occupied the house for an unknown number of years. The property was next owned by Johan Hendriks Zandt, and remained in his family until 1716, with ownership passing to Arnoldus Zandt, a solicitor, then to his children, and then grandchildren. The Zandt family were not living in the house at the very end of the seventeenth century, as 1695 to 1703 the property was rented to Johann Bernoulli, a mathematician at the University of Groningen (Alma 1992:20). As this pit was in use from the middle of the seventeenth century, it is likely that the material represents the waste of the Zandt family at some stage.

The cesspit BPX was a newly built brick structure at the time of its use, rather than a reused well. The pit measured approximately 2m by 3m, with a depth of 60cm (Kortekaas and Waterbolk 1992:221), and appeared to have remained largely undisturbed by later activity at the time of excavation (Kortekaas and Waterbolk 1992:218). BPX was discovered late on in the project, and therefore its complete excavation had to take place within a few hours: although it was noted that the majority of artefacts came from the lowest layer of the pit, the material was not excavated stratigraphically, and no sieving was undertaken (Kortekaas and Waterbolk 1992:221).

The cesspit contained a reasonably large quantity of material, with a minimum of 41 drinking-related artefacts being recovered. Earthenware ceramics were represented by two redware cups, of type r-kop-10 with colourless internal glaze (GRWNC9024, **Fig. 9. 1. (34)**) and three whiteware cups. These included two single handled cups with yellow and green glaze, (w-kop-1, GRWNC9025, **Fig. 9. 1. (35)**), and a double-handled *papkom* style bowl with internal yellow, and external green glaze (w-kop-7, GRWNC9023, **Fig. 9. 1. (36)**).

The pit also produced two plain white faience bowls, one of which is of type f-kom-3 (GRWNC9027, **Fig. 9. 1. (37)**). These vessels are likely to date to the third quarter of the seventeenth century. These were accompanied by a single porcelain tea cup, decorated with birds and flowers, in a style known as *kraaikoppen* (p-kop-10, GRWNC9028, **Fig. 9. 1. (38)**). No stoneware drinking vessels were recovered from this pit.

In contrast to this relatively small quantity of ceramics, glass vessels were well represented. Beakers included one plain vessel (gl-bek-21), eight with waffle-patterns (GRWNC9005 – 8, and GRWNC9029, gl-bek-19 and 19a), and one sixteenth-century *maigelbecher* with cross-hatched, rippled decoration (GRWNC9011). Two network beakers were also found, one of which had a waved foot ring (gl-bek-10, GRWNC9017, **Fig. 9. 1. (39)**; and gl-bek-32, GRWNC9032). Beaker GRWNC9012 also had applied decoration, in the form of thick, slightly curving ribs, and stood on both a foot ring and three colourless prunted feet (gl-bek-46, **Fig. 9. 1. (40)**). Three additional beakers were more unusual in their decoration; these included a beaker with lower half and base decorated with short *mezza stampaura* style ribs (gl-bek-76, GRWNC9013, **Fig. 9. 1. (41)**) and two beakers decorated with applied threads, each with five horizontal milled blue threads (gl-bek-33, GRWNC9003, **Fig. 9. 1. (42)**).

The pit contained four *stangenglazen*; an undecorated cyclindrical glass (gl-sta- , GRWNC9021), two nine-sided glasses with wrythern ribs and applied blue milled threads (gl-sta-2, GRWNC9020, **Fig. 9. 1. (43)**) and one seven-sided *stangenglas* with applied blue milled threads (gl-sta-2a, GRWNC9022). Other forest glass vessels included five *roemers*: one gl-roe-6 with thorned prunts (GRWNC9001, **Fig. 9. 1. (44)**) dating from 1600-1650, and one gl-roe-2 *roemer* decorated with raspberry prunts (GRWNC9004, **Fig. 9. 1. (45)**), dating from around the mid-seventeenth century. Both of these were reasonably complete; the other three *roemers* were too fragmentary for further identification.

A total of four goblets were recovered from BPX, one just as fragments. One common gl-kel-11 type goblet, with a plain *knop*-stem, was recovered (GRWNC9002, **Fig. 9. 1. (46)**). Another similarly shaped vessel had a higher bowl and was decorated with ribs, on the bowl, stem and foot (gl-kel-37, GRWNC9015, **Fig. 9. 1. (47)**). This vessel dates to the first half of the seventeenth century. The final goblet is dated much later than the other material, probably from the first half of the eighteenth century. The goblet has a conical shaped bowl, leading into a straight stem formed from spiralled red, white and colourless threads, and four small blue wings (gl-kel-60, GRWNC9009, **Fig. 9. 1. (48)** and **(49)**). The foot of the vessel and half of the bowl are missing.

The final three glass vessels from this assemblage are all jugs or bottles. The first is a wide flat-sided bottle (maximum diameter of 143mm), decorated with network patterning (probably gl-fle-84, GRWNC9018). This was accompanied by a small green glass bottle with thin walls and decorative ribs (gl-fle-57, GRWNC9030). The third bottle is rather fragmentary. It is made of very thin glass in a rich blue colour, with wide vertical ribs (probably gl-fle-35, GRWNC9016, **Fig. 9. 1. (50)** and **(51)**) Henkes *et al* (1992:368-9) draw attention to a similar bottle in the collection of the Museum Boijmans van Beuningen

(Inventory number: 645 a-b KN&V), although this example is described as a perfume bottle. The function of the WNC bottle is unknown.

The assemblage from the Wolters-Noordhoff Complex appears to be somewhat unbalanced, with a much greater variety and quality of artefacts appearing in the glass material than in the ceramics. However, a brief examination of the other ceramics recovered from the cesspit, items which were not related to drinking, shows a better degree of balance. The pit contained a large quantity of cooking wares in red- and white earthenware, as well plates and tableware (seven maiolica, seventeen white faience and eleven blue painted faience). It is possible that some of the smaller plates of faience were used as saucers for tea cups, although no tea cups of this material were recovered. One particularly notable vessel was a large maiolica plate, painted in blue with an 'fantasy' coat of arms, depicting a shield with five circles, foliage and a winged helmet (**Fig. 9. 1. (52)**). Van Gangelen and Helfrich (1992:301-2) draw a link between this type of decorative imagery and the need for those who were not gentry to demonstrate and consolidate their new found wealth and status. The main conclusion to draw from this is that drinking ceramics were less useful in demonstrating the status of the users of this cesspit than glassware or flat tablewares. This assemblage may be demonstrating a particular pattern of consumption in which beer and wine, and their associated glass vessels, were much more heavily in use than ceramic drinking wares like stoneware jugs, or vessels for tea, despite this pit dating to the period when tea was gaining popularity in most areas.

Fig. 9. 1. (53). Summary of drinking material from Wolters-Noordhoff Complex

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	5	Local wares (cups)	5
Standard beakers	11	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs	3	Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers	3	Stoneware jugs	
Stangenglas/pasglas	6	Faience or maiolica	2
Goblets and flutes	4	Porcelain	1
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	

9. 1. 6. Conclusion

This chapter compares the material from six cesspits from five sites in the city of Groningen. The majority of the pits contain a relatively small quantity of material in comparison to pits excavated from other cities, with the pit from BPX on Wolters-Noordhoff Complex and BPII from Schoolstraat containing the most number of drinking artefacts, 41 and 45 artefacts respectively. Not only are the Groningen pits rather small, Carmiggelt *et al* (1987:21) note that very few cesspits have been found or excavated from the city, suggesting that waste deposition may have taken place in a different way in this city during the seventeenth century for the majority of people.

Several of the cesspits examined in this survey came from a narrow geographic area within the city. Schoolstraat and Singelstraat, which produced three cesspits between them, lie along the historic street of 'Achter de Muur', the road which, as its name suggests, ran parallel to the city wall on the north-east edge of the old town. The street of Sint Janstraat, which also produced a cesspit, runs perpendicular to these streets towards the city wall. This area is known to have been plagued by poverty and overcrowding during the nineteenth century (Havinga 2011:1), and it is apparent from the frequency of the 'kamer' style single-roomed house in this area that the area was already subject to some of the same social pressures in the seventeenth century (Tuin and Wieringa (2012:11-14). However, the material from all four of the cesspits in this area, although not abundant, is reasonably varied, with some more valuable vessels being recovered, including goblets and porcelain.

The cesspits from Schoolstraat are particularly unusual, in that they both contain a large proportion of one artefact type; BPI contains nine *stangenglazen* and BPII produced twenty-five porcelain cups and saucers. This material demonstrates a notable variation in the deposition patterns seen elsewhere in this study, and it has been concluded that the cesspits, as well as receiving material from a domestic house, were also being used to discard material from a tavern, and possibly later a tea-drinking establishment.

The two additional sites of Schoolholm and Wolters-Noordhoff Complex were located in different areas of the city, with the WNC housing block being situated to the north-west of the main town square, and Schoolholm lying to the south of the old city near to the river. The cesspit from Wolters-Noordhoff Complex provided a reasonably well furnished, but unbalanced, assemblage. The quantity and quality of drinking glasses proved to be much higher than the ceramic drinking material from the same pit. However, evidence from the cooking and flat tablewares, as well as the historical records, suggest that the household was well off, and it may be due to the limited assemblage size which prevented other wealth indicators being recovered. It is possible that tea and Rhenish wines, indicated by porcelain or faience cups and stoneware jugs, were not being consumed in this household in quantities high enough to produce significant waste.

The pit at Schoolholm was rather small and seems to contain just a small portion of the original contents, as pit clearance had taken place at some point after deposition. This pit contained fragments from eleven stoneware jugs which, in comparison to the remaining quantity of other artefacts, is a surprisingly large number. In contrast to the WNC pit above, it is possibly that greater quantities of wine were being drunk at the Schoolholm household to create this deposit, although what seems more likely, especially due to the presence of relatively unusual items such as the purple glass beaker and faience jug, is that the assemblage initially contained a much greater quantity of material, much of which may have been of good quality. The larger part of the assemblage, particularly fragile glass items, did not survive the periods of pit emptying, and the wide range of stoneware would seem more in proportion if the remainder of the waste material had been recovered.

In general terms, the material from Groningen displays several characteristics which mark it out from other city groups. There is generally a low quantity of certain material types,

notably tin glazed wares and *roemers* from these assemblages. *Roemers*, which are a popular drinking vessel types in the cities of Holland and elsewhere, are notably rarer in Groningen, where they make up less than 6% of the total material, in comparison to the 10 – 13% which is noted in the other city groups. This is especially unexpected as *roemers* were being manufactured in Groningen during the last decade of the seventeenth century, a period in which several of our cesspits were still active (Henkes 1994:255). Additionally, the proximity of the city to the German border and its historic trading routes might also have led to an ease of acquisition of German-made products, although this seems not to be the case for *roemers*. Tall *pasglazen* and *stangenglazen* on the other hand are highly abundant in Groningen, with 13% of the total assemblage formed of these vessels, in comparison to 1-2% as seen in the majority of other cities. Admittedly, the high number of these vessels recovered from the tavern pit of BPI at Schoolstraat does affect these numbers slightly, but even if this pit is removed from the total, *stangenglazen* still make up 8% of the remainder. *Stangenglazen*, like *roemers*, were originally a German forest-glass product, although during the seventeenth century both were also manufactured in the Netherlands (Henkes and Stam 1988:198-202). The abundance of the *stangenglas* in comparison to the near absence of the *roemer* suggests a difference in drinking activities.

Fig. 9. 1. (54). Summary of sites and artefacts from Groningen

	TYPE OF ARTEFACT	GRSH91	GRSS84 BP1	GRSS84 BP2	GRST93	GRSJ10	GRWNC90		Total
GLASS	*Roemers/berkemeiers*		1	2		1	5		**9**
	Standard beakers	1	3	1	3		11		**19**
	Table bottles and jugs				1		3		**4**
	Decorated beakers	3		3	2		3		**11**
	Stangenglas/pasglas		9	5			6		**21**
	Goblets and flutes		1	4	3	1	4		**13**
	Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk)*								
CERAMIC	Local wares (cups)	3	3	2		5	5		**18**
	Local wares (jugs)								
	Trechterbekers and tankards								
	Stoneware jugs	11	3	2	4	2			**22**
	Faience and maiolica	2	1				2		**5**
	Porcelain	1		25		1	1		**28**
	Other ceramics (non-local earthenwares, teapots, industrial wares)		2	1		1			**4**
METAL	Beakers								
	Papkommen								
	TOTAL	**21**	**23**	**45**	**13**	**11**	**40**		**153**

Chapter Ten

The Generality Lands – North Brabant

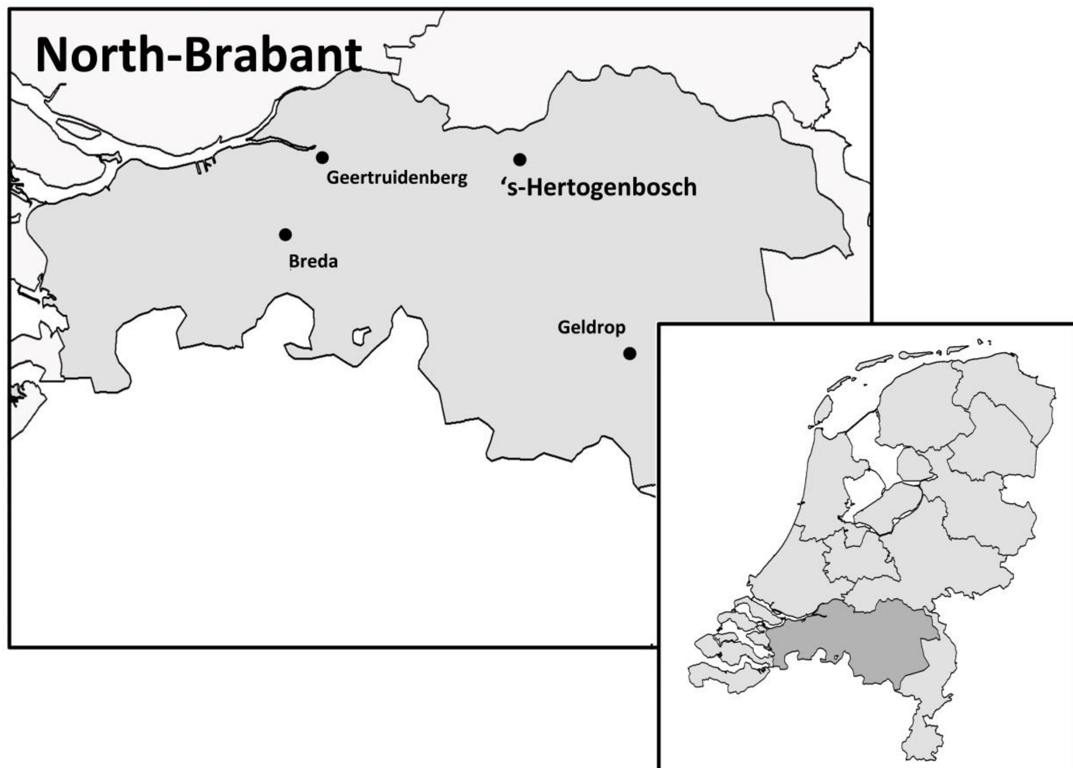

Fig. 10. (1). The province of North Brabant. Cities from the primary database, discussed in this chapter, are marked in bold. Secondary cities are also marked; the data from these is discussed in chapter 12.

10. 1. 's-Hertogenbosch

Two provinces which were not one of the seven United Provinces of the Republic have also been included in this study. These are the provinces of North Brabant and Limburg, known as the Generality Lands. These areas, which lie to the south of the main Republic and border the modern day Belgium and Germany, were not part of the 1579 Treaty of Utrecht, but were captured from Spanish control between 1629 and 1637 (Haley 1972:72). Although both provinces remained under the control of the Republic through parts of the century, they continued to be viewed as captured territories and were denied representation within the States-General (*ibid*). This control was finalised under the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, through which the United Provinces retained control over North Brabant and the city of Maastricht in Limburg (see Chapter 12.2) (Gutkind 1971:19).

North Brabant remained alienated throughout the seventeenth century, due to its Spanish links, giving its people a sense of 'otherness' from the northern provinces, and to the large Catholic population which resided there (Pollman and Spicer 2007:7-8, Haley 1972:92). Large numbers of immigrant workers from Brabant, Flanders and Walloon were to be

found, and even encouraged into, the cities of the United Provinces, particularly Delft, Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Alkmaar at the end of the sixteenth century (van Deursen 1991:33). Despite this, much of the antagonistic attitude towards these Spanish Netherlanders continued, and even strengthened into discrimination (van Deursen 1991:37). Van Deursen notes a number of contemporary sources which discuss the jealousy and distrust of the northern Dutch towards their Flemish and Brabant neighbours, particularly with regards to the latter's image of good manners, refinement and cleanliness (van Deursen 1991:40). Instead, these virtues were seen in the Dutch writings as the trappings of haughtiness and excess. When summarising from seventeenth-century writer E. van Reyd, van Deursen states that; "The Hollanders defended themselves by exposing the other side of this refinement. As soon as the desire for luxury appeared on the scene at the end of the sixteenth century, the Brabanters were blamed for it" (van Deursen 1991:41). This obviously has interesting connotations on the Dutch attitude towards their own wealth and relationship with luxury, in shifting the blame for the growing drive for material culture onto a 'foreign' source already considered to be a negative influence on their greater northern neighbours.

The city of 's-Hertogenbosch lies in the province of North Brabant, close to the border of Gelderland and in low-lying ground between the rivers of the Aa and the Dommel. The town, originally Bois-le-Duc, was established as a small village in 1172 to control the area around the lower Maas, and quickly monopolised on their 1185 town charter and exemption from Rhine tolls to became a significant trading town (Sarfatij 1977:207, Gutkind 1971:105). The town walls, added in the twelfth century, were damaged and rebuilt several times during the town's history, with land and water gates eventually being added, the two converging rivers being formed into a moat, and finally a harbour being constructed in the fifteenth century (Gutkind 1971:105-106).

The main driving forces in the town's development were two-fold. The first of these was the most obvious, the town's place in both local and long distance trade. The second feature of the town, as evidenced by the continual improvement of the walls, was defence. The highly strategic position of the town on the Rhine and Maas, and near the Gelderland border was what gave 's-Hertogenbosch its advantage in trade, but also made it extremely valuable as a stronghold. This resulted in frequent attack and besiegement. For this reason, the city design incorporated military elements of barracks and magazines, as well as agricultural land for food production during sieges (Gutkind 1971:107). The city fortifications were again improved during the Twelve Years' Truce, with two new bastions and ramparts being added (De Cauwer 2008:65). The fortified city was considered so impregnable it was known as *Moerasdraak*, the dragon in the marsh (De Cauwer 2008:64).

'S-Hertogenbosch flourished until the early sixteenth century and the beginning of the Eighty Years War. The city supported the Spanish Hapsburg interests and was unsuccessfully besieged several times by Calvinist forces of the Republic. The city was finally forced to surrender to Frederick Henry of Orange after a three month siege in 1629 (De Cauwer 2008), van Deursen 1991:209, Haley 1972:110), and became part of the Generality Lands controlled by the States General. In 1672 the city was again besieged by the forces of Louis XIV, but managed to successfully hold off the invading force.

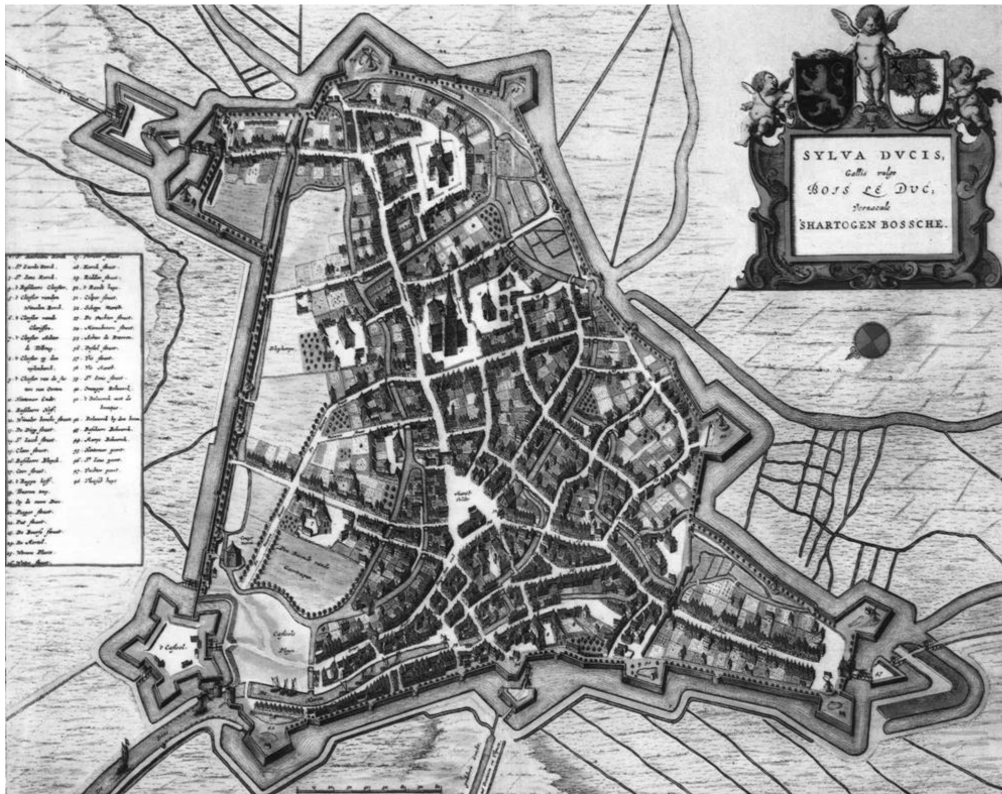

Fig. 10. 1. (1). Map of of ‘s-Hertogenbosch in 1652, by Joan Blaeu "Blaeu 1652 - 's-Hertogenbosch". Licensed under Public domain via Wikimedia Commons - http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Blaeu_1652_-_%27s_Hertogenbosch.jpg#mediaviewer/File:Blaeu_1652_-_%27s_Hertogenbosch.jpg

Until the Reformation and the following centuries of war, ‘s-Hertogenbosch had developed into a prosperous city, with a number of crafts and trades flourishing there. Glassmaking was also an important industry in the town, with the first glassworks being opened in 1656 by wealthy Catholic Merchant Willem van Bree and veteran glasshouse owner Henri Bonhommes (Vos 2012:117). Merchants and craftsmen benefited from an important role within the community by achieving wealth and status, reflected in stately architecture and unusually large land plots (Gutkind 1971:106, 108). A number of high status areas of the city which once housed medieval and post-medieval buildings, were targeted for excavation over the past few decades, and several were revealed to have cesspits.

Three large assemblages, and one smaller group of material, were examined from ‘s-Hertogenbosch, excavated from the streets In Den Boerenmouw, Volderstraatje, the Keizershof and Postelstraat. These pits all belonged to high or middle status households and contained a great quantity of material in a very wide range of artefact types.

Fig. 10. 1. (2). Table showing the breakdown of cesspits examined from ‘s-Hertogenbosch

Excavation and cesspit	Site Code	Excavation year	Date range
In Den Boerenmouw	DBBM89	1989	1500 - 1650
Volderstraatje	DBVO93	1993	1450 - 1750
Keizershof	DBHTK00	2000	1600 - 1700
Postelstraat BP G	DBPO78 BP G	1978	1500 - 1550
Postelstraat BP H	DBPO78 BP H	1978	1550 - 1775

10. 1. 1. In Den Boerenmouw (DBBM89)

The glass and ceramic drinking material from In Den Boerenmouw indicates a high status residence, both in its quality and quantity. However, little information is known about the 1989 excavations, as the site has not been published. A brief description of the excavation was made in a zooarchaeological report by E. Esser (1997:1-5, cited in Kerklaan 2012:36). According to this report, several properties, originating in the Middle Ages were discovered, one of which had two cesspits, numbered F8 and F86/87. The first pit contained material spanning 200 years, from 1450 – 1650. The pit was of reasonably large size, (3.5m x 3m) and appeared not to have been emptied during its use-life. The second pit was slightly smaller than the first (diameter of 1.4m), and in contrast to the first pit had been emptied, with a depth of $1.5m^2$ of original filling remaining. Sherds from the same vessels and the same faunal material were recovered from both pits, indicating that they had been in use for the same time. The depositional process which led to this spread of material across both pits however is unknown. Insufficient information was available to identify which pit the individual artefacts were recovered from; however, as many may have originated during the period of co-usage of these pits, the distinction is much less important than it might otherwise have been. The material is therefore treated below as a single deposit.

Earthenware products are well represented in this assemblage. Red earthenware cups and bowls were found of types r-kop-3 (one example, **Fig. 10. 1. (3)**), r-kom-14 (one example, **Fig. 10. 1. (4)**), r-kom-35 (one example), and sixteen vessels which were too fragmentary to identify within the Deventer Code. Four of these were decorated externally with yellow *ringeloor* decoration, and an additional two had internal slip decoration. White earthenware vessels were made up of one example each of types w-kop-1 (**Fig. 10. 1. (5)**), w-kop-9 (**Fig. 10. 1. (6)**), w-kop-22, w-kom-22 (**Fig. 10. 1. (7)**), w-kom-33 (**Fig. 10. 1. (8)**), and one vessel, possibly a w-kop-26 with a vertical handle and incised wave decoration (**Fig. 10. 1. (9)**). These were accompanied by a German hafnerware cup with yellow lead glaze. Earthenware jugs were also present in good quantities, with one r-kan-15 (**Fig. 10. 1. (10)**) and six unidentified jugs being recovered (see **Fig. 10. 1. (11)** and **(12)**). One other red earthenware vessel was an r-bek-2, a small jug or beaker with external ribs and lead glaze (**Fig. 10. 1. (13)**).

Stoneware jugs were present in generous quantities, with fragments from a minimum of twenty-four vessels being recovered. These are broken down into five recognisable types: one example each of s2-kan-16 (**Fig. 10. 1. (14)**), s2-kan-19, s2-kan-33 (**Fig. 10. 1. (15)**), s2-kan-55 (**Fig. 10. 1. (16)**) and sixteenth-century jug s2-kan-83, (**Fig. 10. 1. (17)**). The pit also contained pieces from nineteen unidentified vessels, including a stoneware beaker and a *trechterbeker* of unknown types, both from Siegburg fabrics (DBBM89134, DBBM89141). A number of different provenances for this material could be identified, with products from Raeren, Siegburg and Westerwald being apparent. Notable examples include a small baartman jug with salt glaze (s2-kan- , DBBM89133), a brown Raeren jug impressed with zig-zag gadroons (s2-kan- , DBBM89117), and the Raeren jug of type s2-kan-55 mentioned above, which was decorated with stamped flowers and gadroons (s2-kan-55, DBBM89102). Two jugs of particular interest depict coats of arms. One cream Siegburg jug was decorated with three applied medallions depicting coats of arms (s2-kan-16, DBBM89112, **Fig. 10. 1. (14)** and **(18)**), while vessel DBBM89121 had lion masks, and coats of arms supported by lions rampant, with all the decorative elements picked out in blue cobalt glaze.

The pits contained a few items of maiolica and porcelain. Maiolica vessels included a *papkom* double-handled bowl, a shallow dish, probably a saucer painted with still life items (DBBM8991), and a jug with flowers and grapes. The *papkom* dish is polychrome, and painted with a portrait of a man wearing a large hat and ruff style collar (m-kom-4, **Fig. 10. 1. (19)**, **(20)** and **(21)**). This vessel is similar to those identified by Ostkamp as wedding gifts, and it is possible that it was originally one part of a pair depicting husband and wife (Ostkamp 2004:128-129). Four pieces of porcelain were recovered, three cups and a saucer. One of these was a *kraaikop* 'crow' decorated bowl, painted with scenery and birds (p-kom-8, **Fig. 10. 1. (22)** and **(23)**). Another bowl, which probably dates to the eighteenth century, has very detailed decoration with hanging lamps and scrolls on the exterior, and plants and insects inside (p-kop-2, **Fig. 10. 1. (24)**).

The glass from the In Den Boerenmouw cesspits followed the observed trend for high status sites, in that a much larger quantity of glass drinking vessels were recovered than ceramic vessels. Beakers made up the vast majority of this glass material, with a minimum of ninety-five such vessels being identified. Plain beakers, without optic moulding or applied decorations beyond foot rings, made up twenty-two of this number, and types included gl-bek-8 (five examples), gl-bek-8a (two examples, see **Fig. 10. 1. (25)**), gl-bek-8b (six examples, see DBBM8909 in **Fig. 10. 1. (26)**), and gl-bek-5 (one example). One noteworthy example of gl-bek-8b, a thick walled beaker with a straight lip, was of particularly large size, with a base diameter of 150mm. In addition to the above undecorated examples, one straight sided gl-bek-8 beaker was decorated with gold enamel paint, depicting a repeating pattern of *fleur-de-lis* (gl-bek-8, **Fig. 10. 1. (27)**).

Optically blown patterns included twenty-six *wafelbekers*, all of early seventeenth-century types, including gl-bek-19/a, and fourteen *knobbelbekers* of types gl-bek-15/a. One *knobbelbeker* was decorated with blue raspberry prunt feet (DBBM89152). Several beakers with moulded ribs were also recovered, including types gl-bek-35a and 35b. Additional types of beaker included four *stapelbekers*; short, thick walled cylindrical beakers on a low folded foot, and decorated with a thick band around the upper part of the glass. Although

these vessel types generally date to the mid-sixteenth century, these particular examples are dated by Henkes to between 1575 and 1650 (Henkes 1994:106, 24.18). Three of these beakers are again decorated with gold enamel paint, in the form of thick parallel lines above the applied thread (DBBM8976). The other two vessels are further adorned with delicate gold painted foliage in this band (DBBM8914 and DBBM8915, **Fig. 10. 1. (28)**). The fourth *stapelbeker* beaker is unpainted (**Fig. 10. 1. (29)**).

Six beakers were decorated with applied threads. Four vessels, DBBM8906a and b (gl-bek-33) and DBBM8908a and b (gl-bek-45a) all had spiralling threads. One colourless beaker had applied parallel, red glass threads (DBBM8972). The final threaded beaker was a large forest glass beaker with thin threads wound around the top of the glass (DBBM89156). Other unusual vessels included a comet beaker with alternate blue and colourless comets around the base (gl-bek-29, DBBM89155) and a beaker of dark blue glass, optically blown with thick vertical ribs (gl-bek-35a, DBBM89166). Fragments from three different *vetro a fili* beakers were recovered. These included a colourless beaker with *vetro a fili* white glass threads in diagonal trails (gl-bek-9a, DBBM8921), a rim fragment of blue and white beaker, and a beaker formed of blue and white *vetro a fili* threads, crossing diagonally with applied clear threads (gl-bek-9, DBBM8973). Small fragments indicating that other high status vessels may have been present include two isolated gilded raspberry prunts, and one blue 'bead' from a raspberry prunt.

The pit also contained pieces from six sixteenth-century *maigeleins* and three *maigelbekers,* one with wrythern ribs and two with cross-hatching. Other sixteenth-century vessels included a *knotglas* (gl-kno-1) and a large *koolstronk* with round prunts and an openwork foot in very good condition (gl-koo-2, **Fig. 10. 1. (30)**).

Fragments from as many as twenty-eight *roemers* and *berkemeiers* were recovered from the two pits. These break down in to types gl-ber-1 (three examples), gl-roe-5 (one with a straight-sided bowl, and one with ribs), gl-roe-6 (one example), gl-roe-6b (four examples), gl-roe-7 (three examples), gl-roe-8 (two examples), gl-roe-9 (two examples), gl-roe-10 (one example), gl-roe-11 (one example) and eight examples which could not be identified. Three *roemers* were of particular interest. The first was a miniature vessel with a wound foot and thorned prunts, mounted on a small stem. This item is likely to be a child's toy (gl-min- , DBBM89149, **Fig. 10. 1. (31)**). Vessel DBBM8924, is a very unusual early seventeenth-century *roemer* made from soda glass. The vessel has an eight sided webbed bowl with a hollow cylindrical stem and two rows of alternating raspberry prunts in blue and colourless glass (gl-roe-8, DBBM8924, **Fig. 10. 1. (32)** and **(33)**, see also Henkes 1994: 198, 45.18). One additional soda glass *roemer* was also recovered from this pit; this vessel was a very unusual *roemer*/goblet hybrid, with a *roemer* with an egg-shaped bowl mounted on a wide flat disc topping a large baluster stem. The stem of the *roemer* is decorated with three blue raspberry prunts (gl-kel- , DBBM8925, **Fig. 10. 1. (34)** and **(35),** see also Henkes 1994:198, 45.19). The vessel does not seem to have a parallel in the Deventer Code system, though it is interesting to note the miniature beaker discussed above is also mounted on a stem, and several similar miniature *roemers* are discussed in Henkes 45.5 and 45.6 (Henkes 1994: 194).

This *roemer*/goblet is the first of a number of goblets recovered from the In Den Boerenmouw cesspits. Another goblet in good condition was a small gl-kel-14 soda glass vessel, with a ribbed *knop* stem and bowl (DBBM89146). The bowls from two parabolic goblets in dark green glass were recovered (DBBM89144); coloured glass vessels being very rarely encountered in this study.

The pit also contained two baluster stemmed goblets with gilded lion masks (DBBM8901, DBBM8903). These were both probably of type gl-kel-69, (**Fig. 10. 1. (36)** and **(37)**). The assemblage contained fragments from four examples of a goblet with figure-of-eight stems, formed from twisted ribbed wire, with large perpendicular wings and prunts, either of types gl-kel-65 or gl-kel-34 (DBBM89147). Pieces from at least five other goblets were also recovered. One piece may have come from a *tazza* or other shallow bowled goblet, and was engraved, possibly with floral patterns (DBBM8962). Another fragment of glass, a blue ridged cockscomb, also came from a goblet or flute, possibly of type gl-kel-95 (DBBM8978). Flute glasses were certainly present in this assemblage, as fragments from four different flute bowls were recovered, one of which was decorated with vertical ribs (DBBM89165, DBBM8940).

Several glass bottles and jugs were recovered, but only one could definitely be described as a table jug. This vessel was a tall jug or carafe with a curled handle and a long spout (gl-kan-3, DBBM89145, **Fig. 10. 1. (38)**).

Fig. 10. 1. (39). Summary of drinking material from the In Den Boerenmouw pits

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers, berkemeiers and *maigeleins*	33	Local wares (cups)	25
Standard beakers	77	Local wares (jugs)	8
Table bottles and jugs	1	Tankards, *trechterbekers* and beakers	2
Decorated beakers	18	Stoneware jugs	22
Stangenglas/pasglas	3	Faience or maiolica	3
Goblets and flutes	18	Porcelain	4
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)	3	Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	1

The material from In Den Boerenstraat clearly demonstrates, without any doubt, that the household contributing to the waste pits was both high status and affluent. The pit contains a large quantity of material which is both highly varied and of excellent quality and condition. Several completely unique items were recovered, such as the soda glass *roemers*, which have not been seen elsewhere in this study, as well as a number of rare high status vessel types, including the *façon de Venise* lion mask stemmed goblets and goblets with wings and colourless glass. In addition to this, several more utilitarian items have been decorated in such a way as to instantly ascribe them a more special nature, such as the gilded *fleur de lis* glass and *stapelbekers*.

Some other trends within the material are worth noting. A large number of *roemers* were recovered in a variety of styles, including those with round, flat and thorned prunts. No forest glass *roemers* were found with raspberry prunts; a style more popular in other areas. The only raspberry prunt decorated vessels were the two unusual soda glass *roemers*. This absence might be due to the relatively early date of the pit: Brongers and Wijnman (1968:19) note that raspberry prunt *roemers* only begin to appear in the visual arts after around 1630. In contrast to the large number of *roemers*, the assemblage contained no *stangenglazen*, which were abundant in pits of a similar date elsewhere in the country.

The high status of the material in the cesspit is also demonstrated by the presence of porcelain items. While it is possible that one of the porcelain pieces is an anomalous piece of later date, the *kraaikop* and saucers seem to be contemporaneous with the main body of the material, and represent some of the earliest pieces of porcelain from this study.

10. 1. 2. Volderstraatje (DBVO93)

The street of Volderstraatje in 's-Hertogenbosch is located on the southern edge of the old city, and runs perpendicular to the Buerdsepoort up to the south city wall. Excavations were undertaken during 1993 in advance of planned construction work of houses between the two streets. This area was known to be of importance as a textile centre during the Middle Ages, and much of the focus of the excavation was on identifying traces of the craft (Treling 1993:102). The earliest buildings located both along the Volderstraatje and Beurdsepoort dated to the early fourteenth century, during which time the area was densely occupied although residences remained of a varied nature (Treling 1993:104). The sixteenth-century cesspit (numbered F6) was discovered in the open land behind one of the small houses on the lane. The fill of the pit was found to be in two layers, with a primary deposit of late sixteenth-century material culture, with a secondary period of use taking place in the early seventeenth century, (R. van Genabeek 2011, pers. comm., 25th Jan). This layer produced the artefacts discussed below.

Seven red earthenware cups were recovered from the assemblage. These were of types r-kop-14 (five examples, decorated with yellow or green glaze, see **Fig. 10. 1. (40), Fig. 10. 1. (41)**), r-kop-42 (one unglazed example, **Fig. 10. 1. (42)**), and one r-kop-35, which may have been used as a cooking pot as it has a burned foot (see **Fig. 10. 1. (43)**). No items made of white earthenware were recovered from this pit, although four red earthenware jugs were recovered, with one example each of types r-kan-26 (**Fig. 10. 1. (44)**), r-kan-10 (**Fig. 10. 1. (45)**), and one r-kan-13, which was decorated with patches of green glaze, over laid with stylised leaves in yellow slip. The fourth piece was too fragmentary to be classified.

Two stoneware jugs in reasonably complete condition were also recovered; one was a small brown *baartman* jug from Frechen (s2-kan-73, **Fig. 10. 1. (46a)** and **(46b)**). The second jug was a tall cylinder jug of type s2-kan-49, produced in Raeren. These jugs are often decorated with impressed friezes around the centre. Other examples from this survey have been decorated with the apocryphal story of the Chaste Susanna. This particular example has seven screens, six with dancing couples and one with two pipe players (**Fig.**

10. 1. (47a) and **(47b)**). This particular style of decoration is known as 'peasant dance' or 'peasant wedding' panel jug, and the design is thought to have been adapted from an engraving by Hans Sebald Beham (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986:202). The design is known to be commonly found in the Low Countries and Germany, although there is a much greater level of variety in the peasant jug decoration than the Susanna jugs recovered in this survey, which are almost identical. For instance, the Volderstraatje vessel example has two lines of German text. The text above the figures is unreadable, while the lower text reads *'GERET : DU : MUS : DAPER : BLASEN : SO : DANSSEN : DEI : BUREN : ALS : WEREN : SI : RASEN ERI WE SPRICHT BASTOR ICH VER DANS (…)*'. There are other known examples of in the collections of several museums (BM Inv. M&ME 1981 10-2,12, BvB Inv. F 2391 and F 2719, and FMC Acc. C.2034-1928, see also numerous by Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986; 202-3, 205-6). All of these tend to have different alignments of figures, slight variations in the primary text, or do not have the second row of text at all. Conversely, the Volderstraatje example does not appear to have been dated, when almost all other examples are. Other variations from the Volderstraatje example include jugs which lack stamped decoration on the shoulders, or do not have arcaded divisions in the central panel for the figures to occupy. The inscriptions on the peasant dance jugs are all variations of a text Barber had translated as: 'Gerald, thou must blow lustily, so the peasants may dance as though they were mad. Faith, says the pastor, I will dance (away my cap with my cassock)' (Barber 1907:8), although the last section of the text has not been reproduced on the Volderstraatje jug. The origin of this text could not be identified, but the relationship between the imagery of dancing, music and drinking, and the impact of these on church matters, is one that will be commented upon further in throughout chapter eleven.

The assemblage contained two tea cups, one each of faience and porcelain. The faience cup is decorated with a geometric pattern of flowers in blue paint, (f-kop-1, **Fig. 10. 1. (48)**), and the porcelain vessel is painted with a landscape of boats and hills (p-kop-14, **Fig. 10. 1. (49)**).

Glass vessels were also present in the pit. A number of soda and forest glass beakers were recovered of a large variety of different types, although the fragmentary nature of the glass made some identifications uncertain. Two plain beakers of type gl-bek-8 were recovered, along with several optic-blown beakers, *wafelbekers* (gl-bek-19, four examples, see **Fig. 10. 1. (50)**), *knobbelbekers* (gl-bek-12/a, eight examples, see **Fig. 10. 1. (51)**; one example of gl-bek-15), and fragments from two ribbed vessels. These were accompanied by two six-sided *maigelbekers* with wrythern ribs (gl-bek-18). These are likely to be part of the sixteenth-century layer as they are significantly older than the rest of the material, which were all of early seventeenth-century types. Some vessels fall between these two date ranges, such as the prunted forest glass beaker (gl-bek-62, DBVO9302) and *koolstronk* (**Fig. 10. 1. (52)**), which both date to the latter half of the sixteenth century. Two other vessels might also belong to this period. These have survived poorly, with only the join between two paraisons being recovered (DBVO9308, DBVO9316). The double arches on each piece have radial air bubbles trapped between the glass, and have a slightly patterned surface. It is thought these pieces might be from the stem join of sixteenth-century footed beakers, such as gl-bek-48.

Other decorative styles on seventeenth-century beakers include several beakers with applied threads. These include types with thin, wound threads around the rim (gl-bek-66/43), parallel milled threads (gl-bek-34, two examples) and fragments from one network beaker (gl-bek-10). The presence of more decorated beakers are hinted at by the discovery of a single blue raspberry prunt which has come from a decorated beaker or goblet, and a small fragment of *lattimo* glass. A minimum of ten other beakers were recovered, but were too fragmentary in condition to determine more about their type.

A minimum of three goblets were recovered from Volderstraatje, although were too fragmentary to identify. One stem fragment, in lightly blue tinted glass, had a surviving merese disc, indicating its likely origin date within the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. This vessel may have been of popular goblet type gl-kel-11.

Fig. 10. 1. (53). Summary of drinking material from Volderstraatje

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers, berkemeiers and *maigeleins*		Local wares (cups)	7
Standard beakers	34	Local wares (jugs)	4
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers	8	Stoneware jugs	2
Stangenglas/pasglas	1	Faience or maiolica	1
Goblets and flutes	3	Porcelain	1
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)	1	Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	

The breakdown of the material from Volderstraatje demonstrates some interesting characteristics. The ceramics, though small in number, were of good condition, with the majority of the jugs and cups being mostly complete in a few large pieces. In contrast, the glass assemblage, which contained a larger number of artefacts, were in much more fragmentary condition, with the identity of some vessels being extrapolated from very small pieces. This trend, which affects the final composition of the assemblage by giving it a relatively high glass/low ceramic profile, might be attributable to the excavation and storage techniques being employed in ‘s-Hertogenbosch, which result in a large quantity of small glass fragments being recovered and kept, rather than purely restorable pieces.

Generally, the quantity of status glass items from the pit is low, with few goblets and a single porcelain cup being recovered. This latter item becomes more significant however when it is observed in relationship to the generally early date of the remainder of the assemblage. It seems highly anomalous that a household with a low quantity of status material should have access to Chinese porcelain at the beginning of the seventeenth century; an artefact type which did not come into general consumption until the end of that century. The porcelain cup has not been dated, but the presence of an almost complete eighteenth-century creamware bowl which was also recovered from the pit

might indicate that both of these vessels were deposited together in a later period of use, and do not relate to the remaining sixteenth- and seventeenth-century material.

Several other material types are noteworthy by their absence. Similarly to *In Den Boerenmouw* above, the pit contained no *stangenglazen.* Additionally, no *roemers* or *berkemeiers* were recovered, although a prunted beaker and a *koolstronk*, earlier cousins of the *roemer,* were found. Low quantities of wine drinking glasses of all types and periods might indicate that wine was not being consumed in large quantities by this household.

One interpretation by van Genabeek (2011, pers. comm., 25th Jan) is that the seventeenth-century layer had been emptied at the end of its use life, and that the ceramic and glass artefacts were thrown back into the pit after the useful organic fertiliser material had been extracted. This explanation would clarify why the concentration of material culture is so high in this part of the pit, and potentially why the glass items are so fragmentary in comparison to the more durable ceramics.

10. 1. 3. Keizershof (DBHTK00)

The Keizershof was a small town palace which stood on the Keizerstraat between 1526 and 1871, between Sint Jorisstraat and the Dieze river. Excavations in the area of the palace were undertaken in 2000 in advance of the construction of municipal council offices. Excavation revealed that the palace had been constructed on the plots of three or four older buildings, including a larger impressive building on the eastern end of the plot. Research has identified this as the ‘Lombard House’ (Janssen 2000:139). The earliest known occupation on the site is recorded in the historic record from the fourteenth century, which indicates that even at this time, the plot, which stood outside the city walls in an open area of land, was occupied by nobility or important town officials (de Bruijn 2003:29).

Arnoud van Diest, possibly brother of the bishop of Utrecht Jan van Diest, owned a large house in this area from 1330 (de Bruijn 2003:26). Another noble family, Hendrik van Moordrecht, alderman of the town, and his wife Katenna van der Aa lived there at least until 1367 (de Bruijn 2003:26). The excavations revealed a cobbled yard and buildings thought to be their residence at the west end of the Keizershof plot (de Bruijn 2003:27). In 1389, the building which stood here came into the hands of Philippus Jozello van Nano and Thomas Asinarius, who were wealthy money lenders originating from Lombardy. The house on the Keizerstraat became known as the Lombardenhuis, due to the continuing ownership by members of this profession which operated there until 1492, when the house was sold to creditors to pay off debt (de Bruijn 2003:28).

The house was refurbished under the ownership of Willem van Egmond and his wife, the latter of who lived there until 1506. After a brief period of ownership by the Norbertine Abbey of Berne and Arnd Gerardsz. Kemp, the house was finally bought by Hendrik Gerardsz. van Deventer in 1525 or 1526 (de Bruijn 2003:29). At this point the buildings on three or four plots along the street were converted into the large palace building, which

became known contemporaneously as one of the most important buildings in the city (Janssen 2000:139). Indeed, the building got its name from the two visits of Emperor Charles V in 1540 and 1545, as well as a number of other important guests, including his son Philip (later Philip II of Spain) in 1549 and Mary of Hungary (1539 and 1549), (Janssen 2008: 49, 54). Some of the material recovered from the mid sixteenth-century cesspit suggests that after Hendrick's widow died in 1564, the house and cesspit may have been at least partially cleared out (Janssen 2008:51). The ownership of the house during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is not known, except that the Keizershof is thought to have remained in the hands of high nobility and officials. The complex passed into the hands of the city during the nineteenth century and was finally demolished in 1871 (Janssen 2000:139).

The Keizershof palace was built with four wings surrounding a rectangular courtyard (Janssen 2008:49), which contained a large, many-sided tower with a spiral staircase (Janssen 2000:139). Excavation identified the kitchen in the western wing of the complex, which, by a drain and chute, fed into a large cesspit located below it (Kerklaan 2012:23). The pit itself (F200) appears to be initially constructed and used before the development of the palace by Hendrik van Deventer in 1526, as the earliest layer has been dated to the late fifteenth century. Several later layers of deposition were observable in the pit; the second layer dating from about 1620 to the middle of the century, after the palace conversion (Janssen 2008: 51). Despite several periods of emptying, ten layers of deposition could be identified, from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries (Kerklaan 2012: 23, 28).

The Keizershof assemblage is the largest seen in this survey, with over three hundred artefacts being recovered. These include significant quantities of vessels of all types, but particularly of status items and decorated vessels. Utility earthenwares are present in the form of cups, bowls and jugs, in both red and white fabrics. A minimum total of nineteen redware bowls were excavated, of types r-kom-6 (three examples); r-kom-20 (two examples); r-kom-35 (two examples, DBHTK00339, **Fig. 10. 1. (54)** and **(55)**); one example each of r-kom-40 and r-kom-36 (DBHTK00344, **Fig. 10. 1. (56)**); and three examples of r-kom-58. The remaining seven redware cups could not be identified. The majority of the cups had yellow glaze or slip decoration, although two vessels also had areas of green glaze. A smaller quantity of whiteware vessels were also found, with one w-kom-10 and two w-kom-15, all with green glaze. Four other vessels were present as fragments. In addition, the assemblage also contained three sixteenth-century hafnerware cups, of types ha-kop-1 and ha-kop-2, with yellow glaze.

Four redware jugs and one whiteware jug were also recovered from this assemblage, with two identifiable vessels being of type r-kan-57 and r-kan-12. The latter, which is probably of mid sixteenth-century date, is decorated with yellow slip on the shoulders in the shape of stars and arcs (DBHTK00336, **Fig. 10. 1. (57)**).

Stoneware was also well represented in this assemblage, with jugs and beakers being recovered. The beakers were of three different types, including two sixteenth-century unglazed vessels, one a barrel-shaped handled mug with applied and incised floral decoration (DBHTK00274), and the second a *trechterbeker* (s1-tre-4, DBHTK00263),with an

applied medallion, acorns and oak leaves. These vessels both originated from Siegburg. The third beaker is of a type known as *schepbeker,* a bowl shaped cup on a short pedestal foot. This vessel is decorated with salt glaze and dates to the early seventeenth-century (DBHTK00250). Stoneware jugs were also recovered from the assemblage, with as many as thirty-two examples being recovered. These vessels represented a number of different types and provenances of stoneware jug. The most common type is the s2-kan-55, of which nine examples have been recovered. This type is characterised as a hemispherical jug with a ribbed neck and single strap handle, (DBHTK00253, **Fig. 10. 1. (58)**). The majority of the type s2-kan-55 vessels are brown salt glazed jugs, decorated with stamped or incised floral decoration, originating from Raeren. One particularly notable example is jug DBHTK00256, which is decorated with a frieze of grotesque masks on the neck, and three appliqués on the body (**Fig. 10. 1. (59)**). These are detailed with a four-part coat of arms, which includes the emblems of a star and a jug, in a diamond, and surrounded in foliate patterns (**Fig. 10. 1. (60)**. A circular line of text runs around the applied medallions, bearing the text: *'+ IAN : IECHCAR : MARCHANT : DE : MONS : ET : MARIE : SA : FEMME :DEA'*, and the date 1604. The medallion has accidently been fitted to the jug upside-down. The text refers to a merchant named Jan Jechcar and his wife Marie, who were based in the town of Mons (Kohnemann 1982:103). This jug is particularly interesting as it gives some indication of the extent to which stoneware was able to be personalised. Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen (1986:218) refer to a number of excavated stoneware jugs marked by the symbol of an anchor or the initials 'PVA' as belonging to the stock of the merchant Pieter van den Ancker. The jugs were used as advertisements for the merchant's business and the spread of their finds locations from their area of origin in Frechen to London and Oxford, demonstrate the mobility of the vessels within the European trade network. Although no other jugs marked with the name Jan Jechcar have been found, it is likely these vessels played a similar role.

Other noteworthy examples of s2-kan-55 jugs were DBHTK00276 (**Fig. 10. 1. (61)**), and DBHTK00258 (**Fig. 10. 1. (62)**), both of which were decorated with 'cut glass' and stamped flower decorations on the upper shoulders, gadroons on the lower hemisphere, and applied medallions at the neck with grotesque masks. The first jug is of Raeren origin and has a light grey salt glaze with patches of brown. The second vessel has characteristic Westerwald glaze with grey salt glaze and dark cobalt zones.

Other types of stoneware jug include pear-shaped Raeren jugs of type s2-kan-29 of which five examples have been recovered, as well as two s2-kan-9 jugs, and one example each of s2-kan-11, s2-kan-16, s2-kan-17, s2-kan-30 (**Fig. 10. 1. (63)**) and s2-kan-70. Two Westerwald jugs were recovered, of types s2-kan-7 and s2-kan-37. Both of these jugs were decorated with grotesque masks just below a pouring spout and stamped flower patterns. One jug of Frechen origin was also found, of type s2-kan-32. This jug is a small Baartman jug with mottled salt glaze, cobalt blue patches and three applied medallions (DBHTK00257, **Fig. 10. 1. (64)**). The medallions on this early seventeenth-century jug are decorated with a stylized coat of arms, with three inverted chevrons inside a shield, surrounded by foliage. This might represent the coat of arms of the Holland town of Den Helder. Pieces from a further eight stoneware jugs were found.

Faience cups, bowls and jugs were recovered from Keizershof, most of which date to the latter half of the seventeenth century. Cups and bowls which were mostly decorated with imitation porcelain designs, with blue paint on white tin glaze, included f-kop-1 and f-kom-14. Two additional pieces, (f-kop-2) probably date from the eighteenth-century. Two larger bowls were of plain white faience, one ribbed bowl of type f-kom-5, and one with two horizontal handles in the style of a *papkom* (f-kom-2). Three white faience jugs were also recovered, two of which were of type f-kan-2. The assemblage, unusually for one of its size, seemed to contain no maiolica.

Porcelain was very well represented in this assemblage, with the vast majority of the vessels being dated to the mid-eighteenth century. As many as fifty-six drinking cups (p-kop-1, p-kop-4, p-kop-5, p-kop-8, p-kop-9, p-kop-333), bowls (p-kom-8), and saucers (p-bor-1, p-bor-6), were dated between 1725 and 1775. Vessel DBHTK00356 (p-kop-333) had a single handle, and may have been a chocolate or coffee cup. An additional seventy porcelain drinking vessels from this period were made up of bataviaware, a porcelain type which features a layer of opaque brown paint on the exterior of the vessels. Vessels are usually also decorated with blue designs on the inside, common patterns being floral panels or landscape scenes. Batavia ware vessels included types p-kop-1, p-kom-3, p-bor-1, and p-bor-6, (see **Fig. 10. 1. (65), Fig. 10. 1. (66),** and **Fig. 10. 1. (67)**).

Porcelain vessels dating from the late seventeenth- or first quarter of the eighteenth century are dramatically less common in this assemblage than pieces from the later period, although similar vessel types are represented. In blue and white porcelain, around twenty-nine pieces were recovered. Types include p-kop-1 (ten examples), p-kop-5 (five examples), and one example each of p-kom-6, p-kop-9, p-kom-8, and one unidentified piece. The vessel typed as p-kom-8 had additional decoration in the form of red and gold detailing, highlighting the blue floral design. This fragment may be from a Japanese *Imari* vessel. Blue and white porcelain saucers (p-bor-1) were also recovered (ten examples).

Although the use of these vessels cannot be definitively identified, the use of matching tea sets in the form of saucers and cups was growing in popularity during this period amongst the more wealthy, and many of these saucers may have fulfilled this role (see chapter 12. 6. 1). Only one piece of bataviaware can potentially be dated to this slightly earlier period, vessel DBHTK00295, a p-kop-1 decorated with a floral motif in blue on the inside and base, and brown on the exterior. The earliest two porcelain drinking vessels from the assemblage are likely to date between 1600 and 1650. The first is a small trumpet formed cup of type p-kop-3, a vessel type associated with the consumption of spirit alcohol, and known as a *pimpeltje*. The cup is decorated with blue leaf-blade patterns on the outside (**Fig. 10. 1. (68)**). The second early vessel is a p-kom-6 type dish of *Kraak* porcelain, with panels painted with two figures in front of a landscape. However, this particular form is less likely to have been a drinking vessel due to the shape of its rim, but may have been used as a saucer.

The assemblage from Keizershof contained some of the most elaborate excavated glass seen during this survey, and glass of all types has been recovered from this excavation in large quantities. Similarly to the porcelain, there are a large number of pieces which are outliers from the primary study period of the seventeenth century. This includes sixteenth-

century glass vessels, such as fifteen *maigelein* (gl-mai-1) and five *maigelbekers*, of types gl-bek-1, gl-bek-1a , gl-bek-2 and gl-bek-18. One beaker is worth noting as it appears to be a miniature, one of the earliest seen in this study (gl-bek-1a, DBHTK00117, **Fig. 10. 1. (69)** and **(70)**). Vessels dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century include nineteen smooth sided lead and soda glass beakers of type gl-bek-6, gl-bek-6b, gl-bek-7 and gl-bek-7a (**Fig. 10. 1. (71)**). Later eighteenth-century pieces include six beakers of types gl-bek-6, 6b and 7a, twenty waisted gl-bek-23 type beakers, twenty-eight gl-bek-25 and 25b, fourteen examples of gl-bek-38 (**Fig. 10. 1. (72)**), one gl-bek-26 with a gilded lip, and one gl-bek-84.

Returning to the seventeenth-century material, and starting with the simplest vessel type, the beaker, a minimum of seventy-five examples have been identified. Several plain beakers without foot rings or prunts were recovered; these fell into types gl-bek-5 and 5a (nine examples) and gl-bek-21 (seven examples, see **Fig. 10. 1. (73)**). One plain beaker had a milled foot ring (gl-bek-8), and one other had both a foot ring and prunted feet (gl-bek-14). Three other plain beakers could not be identified. The pit contained a large number of decorated beaker types, including common mould-blown beakers, *knobbelbekers*, (gl-bek-15, nine examples; gl-bek-15a, five examples; and gl-bek-15b, sixteen examples), *wafelbekers* (gl-bek-19a, two examples), and one example each of a ribbed beaker (gl-bek-59), honeycomb patterned beaker (gl-bek-70), and network patterned beaker (gl-bek-37a). One of the *knobbelbekers* with a 'teardrop' pattern was also ribbed (gl-bek-15b, **Fig. 10. 1. (74)**)

Other slightly more beakers include those with applied threads or prunts, or those raised on pedestal feet. Examples of the latter are the fragments of sixteenth-century French-style gl-bek-48 (DBHTK00207), and a conical footed beaker gl-bek-32 (DBHTK0073). Eight beakers were decorated with applied threads or prunts. One example of gl-bek-34 was decorated with applied *passen* threads, while one vessel had thin blue glass threads. Four comet-beakers were also recovered (gl-bek-29), three with colourless glass comets (DBHTK0062), and the second, decorated with waved comet trails dotted with small blue rosettes (DBHTK00119). Two late sixteenth-century beakers were decorated with rows of simple thorned prunts around the lower glass; the first a cylindrical beaker (gl-bek-40, DBHTK0003, **Fig. 10. 1. (75)**) and the second with a conical shape (gl-bek-53, DBHTK0053). The final decorated beaker from this assemblage is of type gl-bek-77, and has vertical stripes of *vetro a fili e retorti* lines in white (DBHTK00209). Unfortunately this vessel survives only as small fragments.

Fifty *roemers* and *berkemeiers* were recovered from the site, with *berkemeiers* making up the larger proportion; twenty-five late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century type gl-ber-1 *berkemeiers* were recovered. One of these vessels, DBHTK00160, was a piece from a miniature. The *roemers* were made up of mid seventeenth-century types: gl-roe-2 (one example, **Fig. 10. 1. (76)**), gl-roe-5 (one example); gl-roe-9 (thirteen examples, see **Fig. 10. 1. (77)** and **(78)**); and gl-roe-10 (two examples). Another eight were too fragmentary to be divided into type groups. Unfortunately, it is these unidentified vessels which provide some of the most interesting material. Two of the vessels were miniatures, one with thorned prunts and one with raspberry prunts (DBHTK0008), and three of the standard size *roemers*

were engraved around the bowl. DBHTK0066 was engraved with floral decoration and the letter ‘H’ (**Fig. 10. 1. (79)**), and DBHTK00232 had a stylised pattern of vines and grapes (**Fig. 10. 1. (80)**). From the third engraved *roemer*, DBHTK00214, a small fragment of text reading “…*t een wegh…”* survives (**Fig. 10. 1. (81)**).

Other forest glass vessels included three *koolstronken* and six *stangenglazen*. Two *koolstronken,* which are decorated with four narrow rows of oval prunts, probably date to the last quarter of the sixteenth century (DBHTK0075, gl-koo-, **Fig. 10. 1. (82)**. Vessel DBHTK00206 bridges the gap between the *koolstronk* and *stangenglas* types, being a tall pipe-glass style vessel, approx. 30cm tall, decorated with rows of small thorned prunts. The *stangenglazen* are generally fragmentary, although three vessels could be identified as gl-sta-2, two were eight-sided with applied milled *passen* threads; one of these was also decorated with wrythern ribbing. The third gl-sta-2 was cylindrical and decorated with milled threads. These *stangenglazen* are likely to date from the first half of the seventeenth century. One *lattimo* ‘milk’ glass fragment was recovered, and is thought to have come from a drinking bowl commonly known as a *drinkschaal* (DBHTK00198).

Goblets made up another large percentage of the glass material from Keizershof, with a minimum of one hundred and ten goblets and flutes being recovered. However, similarly to the discussion on beakers above, many of these vessels have an eighteenth- or turn of the century date. This includes five gl-kel-1 vessels (see **Fig. 10. 1. (83)**), eighteen gl-kel-2 (see **Fig. 10. 1. (84)**), one gl-kel-7, six gl-kel-8 (see **Fig. 10. 1. (85), (86)** and **(87)**), one gl-kel-9, one gl-kel-21, two gl-kel-26 (see **Fig. 10. 1. (88)**), three gl-kel-27 (see **Fig. 10. 1. (89)**), four gl-kel-32 and two gl-kel-54. The earlier of these vessels, some of the type gl-kel-1, gl-kel-2, gl-kel-7 and gl-kel-8, may have originated in the late seventeenth century. This could also apply to three examples of gl-kel-5, a goblet type with a hemispherical bowl and stem formed from a baluster topped by two round nodules. These vessels are usually dated to the very last two decades of the seventeenth century, (DBHTK0090, DBHTK0096, DBHTK00112, **Fig. 10. 1. (90)** and **(91)**). From a similar date originated the only example of gl-kel-28, a thick walled goblet with solid bulbed stem and folded foot. Eight other fragments of lead or solid soda glass goblets could not be identified by type, although one was engraved with oak leaves (DBHTK0060, **Fig. 10. 1. (92)**).

Of the remaining firmly seventeenth-century goblet types, one of the most well represented was gl-kel-11; a small nodule or baluster stemmed goblet which is one of the most commonly found types. Eight of these goblets were found, see DBHTK0076 (**Fig. 10. 1. (93)**), DBHTK00171 (**Fig. 10. 1. (94)**), DBHTK0091, (**Fig. 10. 1. (95)**). A very similar type of goblet, the gl-kel-13, which has a ribbed nodule stem, was represented by two examples, (see DBHTK00193, **Fig. 10. 1. (96)**). Four examples each were found of goblet types gl-kel-18 and gl-kel-34. These goblets are of a type known as *slangenglazen*, snake-stemmed glasses, made with stems formed from twisted threads. The four gl-kel-18 goblets have heart-shaped stems, with applied wings and curls in blue (see DBHTK00172, **Fig. 10. 1. (97)** and **(98)**). The goblets of type gl-kel-34 are similar, but with a twisted stem formed into a figure-of-eight, several with blue wings or with curls and prunts (see DBHTK00168 in **Fig. 10. 1. (99)** and **(100)**, DBHTK00154 in **Fig. 10. 1. (101)**, and DBHTK0051 in **Fig. 10. 1. (102)** and **(103)**).

A number of other winged or snake-stemmed goblets were found, including a goblet possibly of type gl-kel-93. This vessel, DBHTK00157, has a stem formed from three vertical, clear glass loops topped with blue rosettes (**Fig. 10. 1. (104)** and **(105)**). The final snake-stemmed vessel is one of the most spectacular from this assemblage, a goblet of type gl-kel-95, with a stem formed from twisted colourless threads, with a red and yellow spiralling centre, in a figure-of-eight on a ribbed *knop* stem, and topped with large blue wings and a seahorse's head with a blue comb (**Fig. 10. 1. (106a)**, **(106b)** and **(107)**). Two small goblets with stems formed from twisted ribbed threads and milled blue wings, possibly of type gl-kel-35, only survived as fragments of blue and milk glass curls (DBHTK0004, DBHTK0086), along with pieces from two other winged glasses (DBHTK00373, DBHTK00374), and a fragment of snake stem (DBHTK0064).

Other *façon de Venise* style vessels include those decorated with *mezza stampaura* ribs, DBHTK00174 (unknown type), DBHTK0063 and DBHTK00235 (both gl-kel-48, **Fig. 10. 1. (108)** and **Fig. 10. 1. (109)**). Three mid seventeenth-century baluster stemmed goblets were also recovered, of types gl-kel-42 (see DBHTK00175, **Fig. 10. 1. (110)**; and DBHTK00132, **Fig. 10. 1. (111)**). Another goblet which is likely to have had a baluster stem, although it is now missing, is DBHTK00176, a goblet with an eight-sided bowl with a webbed top (gl-kel-, DBHTK00176, **Fig. 10. 1. (112)**). Two other goblets with a multi-sided bowls and webbed tops were found, (gl-kel-, DBHTK00361 and DBHTK0024). Pieces from thirty unidentified goblets were also recovered, which included a ribbed goblet, a small baluster stemmed goblet and one goblet which is thought to be a miniature (DBHTK00203). Three flute glasses were also recovered; one of type gl-flu-3 (DBHTK00131), with a large baluster stem, and two of type gl-flu-6 which had stems formed from twisted clear threads (DBHTK00173), one of which also had colourless prunts and wings (DBHTK00365, **Fig. 10. 1. (113)**).

In addition to the goblets and beakers, the assemblage also contained five jugs and one decorative bottle. One of the earliest in date was the wide base from a sixteenth-century globular forest glass jug, with vertical ribs on the body and a frilled foot ring (**Fig. 10. 1. (114),** gl-kan-, DBHTK0071). One seventeenth-century vessel had a long narrow neck and small handle (**Fig. 10. 1. (115),** gl-kan-, DBHTK00182). This cannot with certainty be associated with drinking, as this bottle might have been storage for oil or perfume. Another soda glass jug or tankard from the same period had a large strap handle, decorated with four vertical ribs and curls at the top and base. This is the only remaining part of this vessel. Two later jugs were more complete. These are late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century jugs, one with a cylindrical neck decorated with thick rings, (**Fig. 10. 1. (116),** gl-kan-, DBHTK00146); and the second is a thick walled jug with a globular body, round handle and pouring spout on a raised foot (**Fig. 10. 1. (117),** gl-kan-1 or 7, DBHTK0058).

For the purposes of later discussion, the material from Keizershof was divided between a seventeenth-century group, and an eighteenth-century group. This does not necessarily reflect the periods of deposition, but the large volume of artefacts was easier to discuss and compare with other groups in this fashion.

Fig. 10. 1. (118a). Summary of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century drinking material from Keizershof

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers, berkemeiers and *maigeleins*	62	Local wares (cups)	28
Standard beakers	59	Local wares (jugs)	5
Table bottles and jugs	5	Tankards, *trechterbekers* and beakers	3
Decorated beakers	14	Stoneware jugs	32
Stangenglas/pasglas	7	Faience or maiolica	7
Goblets and flutes	68	Porcelain	2
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk,* miniatures)	9	Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	1

Fig. 10. 1. (118b). Summary of eighteenth-century drinking material from Keizershof

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers		Local wares (cups)	2
Standard beakers	88	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs	3	Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers	6	Stoneware jugs	
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	2
Goblets and flutes	43	Porcelain	156
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)		Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	

The assemblage of excavated material from Keizershof clearly demonstrates the very high status nature of the site, which was maintained over the course of several centuries. Even when the eighteenth-century material, lead glass and batavianware porcelain is excluded, the assemblage demonstrates a large number of elaborate and status items, suggestive of a wealthy and luxurious household, which the historical data supports. Many of the drinking vessels might also be thought of as display pieces, as they include barely functional, highly fragile elements, such as knotted snake stems and tall flute bowls, as well as decorative techniques such as engraving. In addition, the strong presence of functional plain beakers and earthenware ceramics support the conclusion that the Keizershof was a functioning residence in which every day eating and drinking activities took place, as well as feasts and status drinking displays intended to impress and satisfy important guests.

10. 1. 4. Postelstraat (DBPO78)

The artefacts from Polstraat were not available to be seen first-hand, although the catalogues published by Jacobs and Graas (1983) and Janssen (1983) were used to supplement the rest of the ‘s-Hertogenbosch material. Excavations at Postelstraat were undertaken in 1978, after buildings of a boarding school which had stood along the street

were demolished in 1976 in order for a housing construction project. This was eventually begun in 1979, and in the intervening period, a small excavation project was undertaken to investigate the earlier history of the street (Janssen and Zoetbrood 1983:74). Historical sources had previously identified the presence of a medieval 'refuge house' for the nearby Norbertine Priory, and an early seventeenth-century Capuchin monastery in this area. When not needed as a wartime refuge for the religious order, the refuge house was largely used as a guest house for visiting brothers. By the late fifteenth century, the house was rented out to tenants, with one important lodger from 1575 being named as Guy de Brimeu, a count of Megen (Janssen and Zoetbrood 1983:76). The refuge house was sold to the Capuchins in 1614, who after a brief period of occupation, constructed a new monastery and church at the rear of the same site. The Capuchin monastery was short-lived however, as the surrender of the city to the Calvinist forces of Frederick Henry of Orange in 1629 led to the expulsion of the monks and the confiscation of their land and property (Janssen and Zoetbrood 1983:74).

Excavation was able to identify some traces of the monastic buildings on the Postelstraat, above levels containing earlier occupation which included wooden twelfth to fourteenth-century buildings. Unfortunately, later building and demolition during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have obscured all remaining traces of earlier activity on the site, with the exception of the lower layers in some cesspits and wells. Many of these pits, including cesspit G and cesspit H, produced evidence of luxurious sixteenth and seventeenth-century material culture, including *façon de Venise* glassware, stoneware and maiolica (Janssen and Zoetbrood 1983:85). Unfortunately only a few vessels were recovered from these pits, and the complete catalogue of recovered material was not available. Despite this, some of the items recorded by Jacobs and Graas (1983) and Janssen (1983) were of enough significance to warrant further discussion.

Cesspit G, which was uncovered at the eastern end of plot 18b on the Postelstraat, contained several varied finds from the mid-sixteenth century. These include a fragment of maiolica, a small stoneware drinking jug of type s2-kan-45 with horizontal ribs (DBPO7814, **Fig. 10. 1. (119)**) and a Siegburg *trechterbeker* with incised decoration of leaves (s2-tre-1, DBPO7813). The glass finds included five standard *maigelein*, with a decorative mix of cross-hatching and ribs. A more unique item was the funnel shaped footed beaker (type gl-bek-48), which was decorated with vertical ribs and a gilded enamel line at the rim (DBPO7802, **Fig. 10. 1. (120)**).

The second pit, Cesspit H, was a large, rectangular pit lying in the eastern part of the excavation area in plot 18c. This pit contained material from the mid-1500s through to the nineteenth century, including several rather astonishing pieces of *façon de Venise* glass. One colourless *vetro a fili* beaker, of type gl-bek-9a, was decorated with alternating stripes of white glass, edged with gold threads, and of twists of gold thread. While this patterning is common in *vetro a fili* glass, the filigree of the vessels is usually formed of white and colourless glass, or from variations with blue and red glass. This more usual style of decoration, *vetro a fili* in white and colourless glass, was seen on the beaker lid recovered from this pit, however this vessel also had applied gold threads spiralling out from the

centre (DBPO7804, **Fig. 10. 1. (121)**). This lid was of type gl-dek-5, with a *knop* handle in the centre of the lid and was in very good condition.

Two large pieces from engraved *tazza* drinking bowls were also recovered. The first, a late sixteenth-century gl-taz-4, has a baluster stem formed from four gilded lion masks, and a wide shallow bowl decorated on the underside with a network pattern and concentric rings (DBPO7803). Although the vessel is relatively complete after restoration, the foot is missing and the glass is in poor condition. The second *tazza* is of type gl-taz-4, and has a long baluster stem engraved with trailing foliage. The bowl is also engraved with three surviving figures holding a tablet, a harp and a pair of calipers, above which, respectively, can be read the text *ARTIHMET, MUSICA* and *GEOMETRIA*, (arithmetic, music and geometry). This helps identifies the original engraving as a depiction of the seven liberal arts, based on an image by Nuremberg engraver Virgil Solis (1514-1562) (Jacobs and Graas 1983:245).

One additional glass vessel is recorded by Jacobs and Graas (1983:240), and this is a novelty vessel of a type known contemporaneously as a *drinkuit* (a 'drink-up') (DBPO7806). Danielle Caluwé gives them the name of 'stirrup cup' (Caluwé 2006:8). Such vessels contain a goblet-style bowl and a short stem, but no foot; the intention, of course, being to empty the glass in a single sitting without putting it down. Some of the most famous examples of this kind of vessel are the seventeenth-century bell glasses, also known as Duc d'Alf, and windmill glasses (for examples of bell glasses see Liefkes 2004:230, and Page 2004b:263, and windmill glasses on p. 261 and 262). The Duc d'Alf bell glasses relate to the practice of toasting, and may particularly have been used to ritually celebrate the end of the Twelve Year Truce (van Dongen and Henkes, 1994:12). Stirrup cups and bell glasses are rarely found archaeologically, making the example from Postelstraat a particularly special find. The beaker has a long bowl with a gentle inwards curve, on a short stem formed of a milled merese disc above a baluster, finishing in a small *knop* (**Fig. 10. 1. (122)**). The bowl itself is decorated with highly detailed engraving showing two knights in armour with shields and spears standing beside two trees. Both trees contain scrolls with lines of text, reading: *"ALST (G)ODT BEHAE(C)HT ...(G)ENUE(E)…CHT ",* and ...*"ET ...ES"*. Caluwé provides the translation of the more complete text as: 'If it pleases… God…..sufficient…' (Caluwé 2006:8). Drinking bells and stirrup cups are discussed further in Chapter 11. 4. 1.

The only additional material recorded from this cesspit were three early eighteenth-century lead glasses (types gl-kel-2, gl-kel-3 and gl-kel-10), and one late glass with a spiral thread stem (gl-kel-1).

The lack of historical and archaeological evidence from the later seventeenth century, or data about any other artefacts excavated from the Postelstraat cesspits obviously hampers interpretation of these finds. Although the finds from Cesspit H have all been dated to the mid-sixteenth century, it is likely that vessels of this quality continued to be used or displayed for a long period of time. Whether this means they were discarded by the occupants of the refuge house at the end of the century, or were vessels in use by the incoming Capuchin monks cannot be known. But the presence of several glasses of such high quality and unique nature indicates a consumer or consumers of high status, for whom the use or display of elaborate glassware was important.

Fig. 10. 1. (123). Summary of drinking material from Postelstraat (both cesspits)

Glass		Ceramics	
Roemers, berkemeiers and *maigelein*	5	Local wares (cups)	
Standard beakers		Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs		Tankards and *trechterbekers*	1
Decorated beakers	2	Stoneware jugs	1
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	1
Goblets and flutes	6	Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)	2	Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	

10. 1. 5. Conclusion

Four excavations were analysed from ‘s-Hertogenbosch. Two of these sites, In Den Boerenmouw and Keizershof produced extremely large assemblages containing a wide variety of material, characterised by elaborate, high status pieces of high quality. Postelstraat also produced several very unique pieces, and were more of the original material present, it might also demonstrate a similar material profile to In Den Boerenmouw and Keizershof. The excavation at Volderstraatje produced a smaller quantity of material than the first few sites, and presented a substantially poorer profile, with low quantities of vessels for the consumption of wine or tea being recovered. Despite the probability of pit emptying, however, the good size of the remaining sample makes the absence of these vessels less suggestive of post-depositional loss. With a sample size of sixty-one artefacts, more fragments would be likely if they were originally part of the assemblage. As such, Volderstraatje is considered a lower status site than the others examined from this city, although it is far from being poor. A very large proportion of the seventeenth-century material from Keizershof, (37%), can be considered high status. This is clearly significant in comparison to the other sites from this city; the In Den Boerenmouw assemblage is formed of 15% status objects, and Volderstraatje merely 11% (see chapter 12.2 for a more detailed discussion of how value and status have been assigned to artefacts).

Some interesting trends can be observed within the city group. Two of the large sites contain a large quantity of *roemers* and *berkemeiers*, the most popular style being the gl-roe-9, a short *roemer* with flattened prunts. This type, which is three times more popular here than other contemporary types, has not been seen as regularly in other cities. Perhaps this is a regional preference, or proximity to a manufacturer favouring this particular type. In addition, only one of the four sites produced any *stangenglazen*, with other toasting glasses, such as Postelstraat’s stirrup cup and the oversized beaker from In Den Boerenmouw, being in evidence.

Fig. 10. 1. (124). Summary of sites and artefacts from 's-Hertogenbosch

	TYPE OF ARTEFACT	DBBM89	DBVO93	DBHTK00	DBP078	Total
GLASS	*Roemers, berkemeiers, maigeleins*	33		62	5	**100**
	Standard beakers	77	34	147		**258**
	Table bottles and jugs	1		8		**9**
	Decorated beakers	18	8	20	2	**48**
	Stangenglas/pasglas	3	1	7		**11**
	Goblets and flutes	18	3	111	6	**138**
	Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk)*	3	1	9	2	**15**
CERAMIC	Local wares (cups)	25	7	30		**62**
	Local wares (jugs)	8	4	5		**17**
	Trechterbekers and tankards	2		3	1	**6**
	Stoneware jugs	22	2	32	1	**57**
	Faience and maiolica	3	1	9	1	**14**
	Porcelain	4	1	158		**163**
	Other ceramics (non-local earthenwares, teapots, industrial wares)	1		1		**2**
METAL	Beakers					**0**
	Papkommen					**0**
	TOTAL	**218**	**62**	**602**	**18**	**897**

The Generality Lands - Limburg

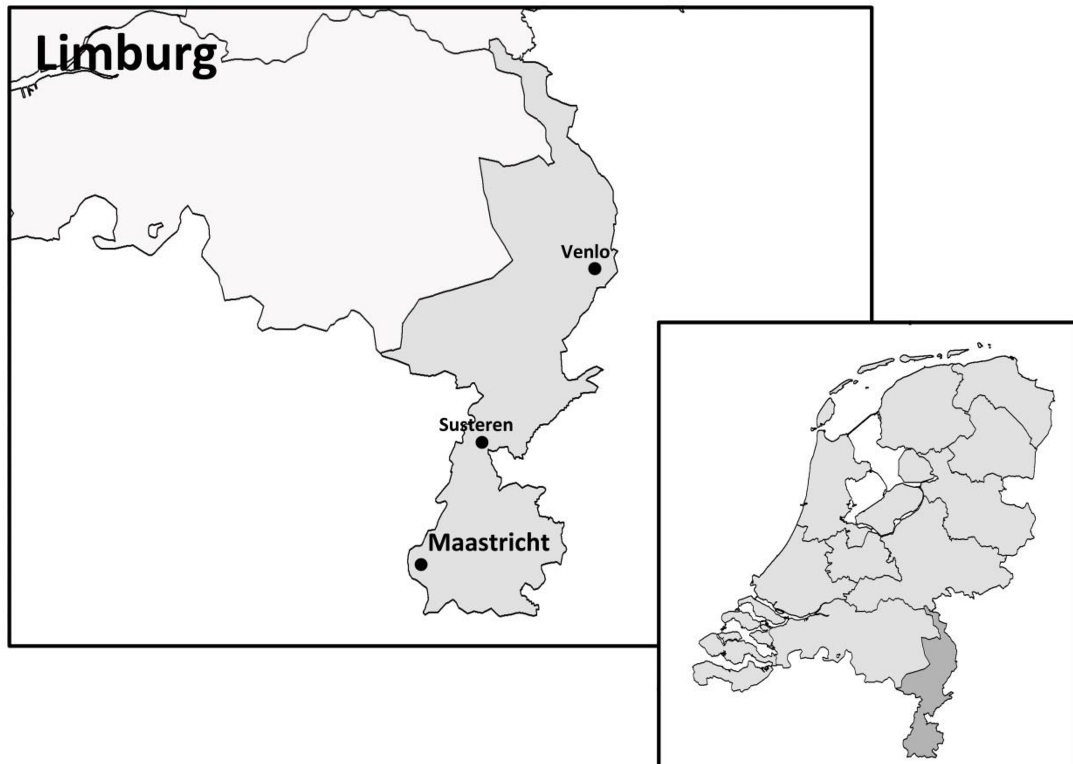

Fig. 10. (2). The province of Limburg. Cities from the primary database, discussed in this chapter, are marked in bold. Secondary cities are also marked; the data from these is discussed in chapter 12.

10. 2. Maastricht

The town of Maastricht lies in the province of Limburg in the Generality Lands, on the river Maas. A Roman ford, *Trajectum ad Mosam*, was located here from as early as 60 BC, and had developed into a settlement by the first century AD (Gutkind 1971:120). The town developed quickly, and by the third century had been provided with city walls. Between the fourth century and the eighth century, the town underwent several periods of both attack and prosperity, particularly when it played host to the Frankish royalty, bishops and the Maasgouw. By 779, the city was considered to be an important trading centre in the region, although it once again was destroyed after 880. During the tenth to twelfth centuries, both river and land trade allowed Maastricht to flourish again, as the town became the centre of a trade network from Germany to Flanders, France and Scandinavia. Stone city walls and a new river bridge were constructed during the thirteenth century, and the city walls received further renovations in the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries to include new areas of the town. By this latter period, the city had become much more fortified and hosted a Spanish garrison, with a large barracks being built in the seventeenth century. The increased fortification of the city coincided with a decline of the previously important cloth

trade, and the supply of the garrison and trade in arms became one of the city's major industries (Gutkind 1971:120).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, areas of Limburg and Maastricht remained under the control of the States General throughout most of the seventeenth century as captured territories from Catholic Spain. The 1648 Treaty of Westphalia confirmed the existing borders of the Netherlands, placing North-Brabant and parts of Limburg, including Maastricht, as territories of the Northern Netherlands (Gutkind 1971: 19). Maastricht was jointly controlled during this period by the Bishop of Liege and the States General (Liefkes 2004:239). However, the city was still part of a contentious area, and in 1673, during the Franco-Dutch war, the city was occupied by French forces. Despites these tensions, investigations into probate inventories in the seventeenth century have suggested that the city was a reasonably prosperous place for most of the middling sort during this period (Blijham 1998:59)

Glass was produced in Maastricht from 1645, and after 1657 the Den Bosch glasshouse, operated by Henri Bonhommes, became one of the longest running in the country. This glasshouse is likely to have been one of the main routes for glass made in the Southern Netherlandish and Antwerp-style into the Northern Netherlands (Liefkes 2004:239).

Fig. 10. 2. (1). Map of Maastricht in 1652, by Joan Blaeu. "Blaeu 1652 - Maastricht". Licensed under Public domain via Wikimedia Commons - http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Blaeu_1652_-_Maastricht.jpg#mediaviewer/File:Blaeu_1652_-_Maastricht.jpg

Two excavated sites were examined from Maastricht. The glass from Witmakersstraat has been previously published by Wim Dijkman (1991), but is discussed briefly here alongside the ceramics from this site. Only a small quantity of material was recovered from Hondstraat, although this covered a wide date range.

Fig. 10. 2. (2). Table showing the breakdown of cesspits examined from Maastricht

Excavation and cesspit	Site Code	Excavation year	Date range
Witmakersstraat	MAWT89	1989	1575 - 1700
Hondstraat	MAHD87	1987	1500 - 1625

10. 2. 1. Witmakersstraat (MAWT89)

The excavations at Witmakersstraat were undertaken in 1989 and 1990 by the *Gemeentelijk Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek te Maastricht*. The excavated area lay between Witmakersstraat and Kapoenstraat in the area known as the Jekerkwartier. A cesspit was discovered under the demolished remains of a monastery during emergency excavation work, and was quickly excavated (Dijkman 1991:8). The cesspit was found in a plot of land which supposedly housed a ‘gentlemen’s club’ during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century (Dijkman, *pers. comm.*), and contained a quantity of elaborate and elegant glassware.

The ceramics were generally less noteworthy, and contained three green glazed whiteware cups, of type w-kop-22, and three stoneware jugs. All of the jugs were rather fragmentary ash-glazed pieces, and could not be identified in the Deventer code. Two other more elaborate ceramics were recovered; these were a faience cup and jug. The cup, which was rather tall and may have been a coffee cup, was painted in Chinese-style patterns in blue with birds, flowers and a lake, and also was furnished with a single ‘wing-shaped’ handle (f-kop-11, **Fig. 10. 2. (3)**). This cup is one of the latest pieces in the assemblage, probably dating to the end of the seventeenth century. The jug, which had a narrow pouring spout, was also blue and white faience and had an Asiatic scene of flowers, trees and seated pairs of figures (f-kan-2, MAWT8915, **Fig. 10. 2. (4)**.

As mentioned above, the glass was substantially more plentiful and elaborate. Thirteen beakers were recovered. Four of these were the ever popular *knobbelbeker* (gl-bek-15a, MAWT8928). One each of several other types were found, including a gl-bek-43 with narrow applied threads around the rim (MAWT8923), a gl-bek-34a *pasbeker* with gilding and rosettes and blue beads (MAWT8908, **Fig. 10. 2. (5)**), and a comet beaker (gl-bek-29, MAWT8918). Three unknown beaker types also had coloured threads around the rim, in white and in blue, and another had colourless raspberry prunt feet. One of the most intact beakers was a pedestal beaker with *vetro a retorti* vertical ribs and raised pattern of *knoppen* on the lower goblet bowl (type gl-bek-48, MAWT8907, **Fig. 10. 2. (6)**). A more

fragmentary *vetro a fili* stem might have originated from another similar glass (MAWT8905, **Fig. 10. 2. (7)**). One highly unusual vessel remained as only a fragment; this piece was decorated with ice-glass patterning, and with an applied white glass network over the top (MAWT8917). This vessel, the pedestal cup and the prunted *pasbeker* are sixteenth-century designs, and were probably of Antwerp origin. The presence of another decorative beaker is suggested by the recovery of a single gilded prunt. As might be expected from a rich assemblage of glass, several wine goblets were also present. Four baluster stemmed goblets were identified, two with ribbed stems (gl-kel-13, gl-kel-37), one with a flat based bowl (gl-kel-11), and one with a lobed stem (gl-kel-14). Two winged snake-stemmed goblets were also found. The first is a heart-shaped stem of twisted threads with perpendicular wings (gl-kel-18, MAWT8906, **Fig. 10. 2. (8)**). The second goblet is of type gl-kel-34, and has a figure-of-eight formed of twisted colourless and white threads, decorated with pale blue wings (MAWT8904, **Fig. 10. 2. (9)** and **(10)**).

Other unusual glass vessels from this site included four *lattimo* glass drinking dishes, one of which had shallow ribs on the exterior (gl-dri-, MAWT8911, **Fig. 10. 2. (11), (12)** and **(13)**). These are extremely rare items from cesspit assemblages. Pieces from two glass jugs were also found, including MAWT8901, a *vetro a fili en retorti* jug in colourless and *lattimo* glass with a straight neck and a folded foot (gl-kan- , **Fig. 10. 2. (14)**). The second jug survived only as a small forest glass handle, one of several pieces of forest glass which were recovered. Forest glass vessels included two *roemers,* fragments from three *berkemeiers* and a *stangenglas* decorated with many small prunts. One *roemer*, with thorned prunts, was of type gl-roe-6, an early seventeenth-century type. The second has raspberry prunts, but had a distinct type of vertically pinched foot ring (gl-roe- , MAWT8903, **Fig. 10. 2. (15)**).

The drinking material from Witmakersstraat is clearly of highly unusual type. The vast majority of the material is of high status, with a focus on highly ostentatious forms of glassware and decoration, including gilding, ice-glass patterning, and *vetro a fili e retorti.* The assemblage would certainly have been very striking, with coloured and *lattimo* glass, as well as enamel painting, being visually arresting. Much of the drinking taking place at this site must have been somewhat grandiose, with many highly conspicuous vessel types, like drinking bowls and winged goblets being found. Few of the more utilitarian types of vessel were recovered. A discussion of the implications of this assemblage breakdown can be found in chapter 12. 4.

Fig. 10. 2. (16). Summary of drinking material from Witmakersstraat

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers	5	Local wares (cups)	3
Standard beakers	6	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs	2	Tankards and *trechterbekers*	
Decorated beakers	9	Stoneware jugs	3
Stangenglas/pasglas	1	Faience or maiolica	2
Goblets and flutes	8	Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)	4	Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	

10. 2. 2. Hondstraat (MAHD87)

Excavations at Hondstraat were undertaken in 1987. The majority of the material was mid- to late sixteenth-century in date, and was generally of good quality. Unfortunately not all of the excavated assemblage was available to be seen, and it is suspected that a greater quantity of ceramic and glass were originally present. Three almost complete *snellen* of white Siegburg stoneware were recovered. These were straight sided tall beakers of type s1-sne-1, and were decorated with highly detailed panels showing scenes probably based on the works of the Little Masters (Mientjes and Hermans 2013:59).

The beakers recovered from the cesspit were of common sixteenth-century types, including two small forest glass *maigelbekers* with cross-hatching pattern (gl-bek-2b), and one *knobbelbeker*. Fragments from three forest pedestal beakers were also found, along with a fragmentary *kuttrolf* flask, another popular sixteenth-century bottle type with a twisted neck (MAHD8704, **Fig. 10. 2. (17)**). One bottle which dates slightly later, into the seventeenth century, is a small oval bottle with honeycomb pattern (gl-fle- , MAHD8701). Fragments from a *koolstronk* style beaker with thorned prunts was also found (gl-koo-2, MAHD8703).

One of the more elaborate vessels from this group is a *slangenglas*, a goblet with a stem formed of coiled ribbed threads. The stem has a blue asymmetric highlight on one side (gl-kel-65, MAHD8707, **Fig. 10. 2. (18)**).

While the lack of any utility ceramics suggests that this cesspit assemblage is incomplete, several iconic sixteenth-century vessel types were recovered, including a *koolstronk, kuttrolf* bottle, and *maigelbekers*. *Berkemeiers* are the main type of popular glass but were not found here. This site, while incomplete and giving a rather small assemblage, does aid in giving an impression of which mid-range and status drinking vessels were in use in this city during the mid-sixteenth century.

Fig. 10. 2. (19). Summary of drinking material from Hondstraat

Glass		**Ceramics**	
Roemers/berkemeiers		Local wares (cups)	
Standard beakers	3	Local wares (jugs)	
Table bottles and jugs	2	Tankards and *trechterbekers*	3
Decorated beakers	3	Stoneware jugs	
Stangenglas/pasglas		Faience or maiolica	
Goblets and flutes	1	Porcelain	
Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk*)	1	Other ceramics (non-local earthenware, teapots, industrial wares)	

10. 2. 3. Conclusion

Two sites from Maastricht were examined, although little information was known about them. The cesspit at Witmakersstraat contained several highly decorated or unusual vessel types, including several pieces of *vetro a fil e retorti* and *lattimo* glass. This is likely a reflection of the proximity of the city to Southern Netherlands manufacturing centres, such as Antwerp. The building on the Witmakersstraat is reported to have been a social club of some sort, and the ostentatious and high status nature of the glassware and ceramics seems likely to support this conclusion. Further support for this can be found in the profile of the material (see chapter 12. 4 for an explanation of this method). While little is known about the excavation or site, the material from Hondstraat contains pieces of several popular vessel types for the sixteenth century, and therefore provides a useful backdrop to compare with the slightly lighter, and dramatically more elaborate, material from Witmakerstraat.

Fig. 10. 2. (20). Summary of sites and artefacts from Maastricht

	TYPE OF ARTEFACT	MAWT	MAHD	Total
GLASS	*Roemers/berkemeiers*	5		**5**
	Standard beakers	6	3	**9**
	Table bottles and jugs	2	2	**4**
	Decorated beakers	9	3	**12**
	Stangenglas/pasglas	1		**1**
	Goblets and flutes	8	1	**9**
	Other glass (*snelle, drinkschaal, koolstronk)*	4	1	**5**
CERAMIC	Local wares (cups)	3		**3**
	Local wares (jugs)			
	Trechterbekers and tankards		3	**3**
	Stoneware jugs	3		**3**
	Faience and maiolica	2		**2**
	Porcelain			
	Other ceramics (non-local earthenwares, teapots, industrial wares)			
METAL	Beakers			
	Papkommen			
	TOTAL	**43**	**13**	**56**

Chapter Eleven

Signalling Identity through the Material Culture of drinking

11. 1. Introduction

In the previous chapters, assemblages of material from fifteen cities in the Dutch Republic and Generality Lands have been presented. The households whose domestic waste has been examined ranged from brewers and potters to merchants, from hospital wards to the guest houses of emperors. With such a huge quantity and variety of drinking material recovered, a great many themes have emerged. The discussion of this material has therefore been divided into two chapters. The second discussion chapter, chapter twelve, will adopt a wider view point, and analyse the place of assemblages groups within their city and province. This will aid in the examination of intercity patterns and trends in artefact consumption, as well a discussion of the use of cesspit drinking assemblages to identify household status. The remainder of this chapter, chapter eleven, will examine, on an individual scale, the way in which these artefacts were used in the creation and communication of social identity. It will endeavour to recognise common identity signifiers displayed through drinking vessels, and the role vessels played in the rituals of gift-giving, rites of passage and in demonstrating religious and social allegiances.

The drinking wares which will be discussed in this chapter performed a multitude of practical and symbolic roles within the Dutch household, which far exceed their categorisation as implements of ‘drinking’. As will be demonstrated, the decoration and craftsmanship of many pieces were fundamental to their importance. Their place within the household assemblage transcended the practical, with many becoming aesthetic, display objects, providing a social commentary on areas which included economic standing, moral values, taste and fashion, social position, and, of course, identity (Pearce 1995:15). Elaboration in the decoration of drinking wares increased, and some few objects were removed entirely from their practical drinking function (Willmott 2005:127). This might occur either through the deliberate intention of the manufacturer who produced an impractical product that was too large or too delicate for use, or by the actions of the household, who, for whatever reason, transferred the object from the mundane to the extraordinary, and placed it on display. Cooking pots and pipkins that were given as wedding gifts in Schermereiland, for example, display no physical evidence that they were ever used over a fire, and despite their lack of monetary value are likely to have been ceremonial items (Thoen 2007:111).

Although indicators of use cannot be seen as easily in wares not associated with cooking, the protection of certain vessels can be seen in the numbers of diamond engraved *roemers*, elaborate *façon de Venise* goblets and porcelain tea-ware which have never faced damage or discard, possibly so treasured that they passed straight from the domestic collection to

curation within museums. However, the vast majority of archaeologically recovered items existed in a different sphere to the pure, transcended, 'dead' state of collection pieces, (Pearce 1995:24,25); operating somewhere in the landscape of significance between the practical, mundane vessel, the exalted ornament, and the ritual object. Even the humblest of objects, which appears on the surface to fulfil a purely practical role, cannot be viewed as devoid of symbolic power; "[e]ven purely functional things serve to socialize a person to a certain habit or way of life and are representative signs of that way of life," (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981:21). Indeed, there was a strong contemporary understanding of the symbolic power of artefacts, as demonstrated by the popularity of *vanitas* paintings, and the many examples in 'emblem books', which contained entreaties on the value of the humble, and of the moral influence of artefacts. Jacob Cats, writing in 1627, tells us that "there is nothing idle or vain in things", and that such utensils are "….silent yet speaking images, laughable yet not without wisdom, in which morality is almost tangible, for they contain a hidden power to punish inner defects" (Cats 1627:7, translated in van Dongen 2004:202). One of the most immediate ways in which artefacts communicated with users and observers were as signs of status and of identity. These two facets of personhood cannot truly be separated, and as Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen (1986:18) summarise, "One's position in the social order is an integral part of who one is, thus the signs of status are important ingredients of the self".

As outlined above, this chapter is concerned with the extent to which the symbolic significance of drinking vessels, and the ways that symbolism is understood by its contemporary audience, can be accessed through observation of the surviving artefacts. This chapter will ask what the mechanisms of displaying and negotiating identity through material culture are, and how these cen be manifested in the drinking material of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. This chapter is divided into four main sections. The first (11. 2) concerns the environment in which drinking vessels were used, and the audience of drinking under every day conditions and during celebrations. The next section (11. 3) investigates the way that the types and fabrics of drinking material, as well as their provenance, affected their social significance, and how their use might have been understood by a contemporary audience. Section 11. 4 investigates methods of identity construction and communication through vessels, including the place of certain vessels within various types of social and domestic ritual, and how specific decorative elements, including images and text, were used to transmit social messages and aspects of identity. The final section, 11. 5, discusses the way that contemporary notions of sentimental value, display and curation can be accessed through an analysis of the material culture.

11. 2. The audience of drinking

Van Deursen observed that "if there was any area where Hollanders achieved European fame, it was not in their deep religious faith, but their taste for beer and wine" (1991:100). This tarnished reputation was one that was well established by the beginning of the seventeenth century. Fynes Moryson, while travelling in the Netherlands during the 1580s, wrote that the Dutch would drink anywhere. "If he had no drinking partner, the Dutchman

would choose his own coat or hat as a boon companion, and drink himself so silly that he reached the same level of reason as the hat or coat" (Moryson 1592:63). Their extremes of feasting and drinking had led them to be considered "big-boned and gross-bodied" by much of Europe (Schama 1997:152), particularly in England where extreme alcohol consumption was even referred to as the Dutch manner of drinking (van Deursen 1991:100). Habington scornfully refers to the drinks of the Netherlands as "beare or that adult'rate wine/ Which makes the zeal of Amsterdam divine" (Habington's Castara 1634 in Elton 1812:186), and links the nature of Dutch drinking to sedition and the creation of malcontents:

> *"The least of these will make me onely thinke*
> *Him subtle, who can in his closet drinke,*
> *Drunke even alone, and, thus made wise, create*
> *As dangerous plots as the Low Country State;*
> *Projecting for such baits, as shall draw ore*
> *To Holland all the herrings from our shore."*
>
> (Habington's Castara 1634 in Elton 1812:188)

Was the Dutch drinker really a 'boorish malcontent' (Scodel 2002:210-213) and a torbid glutton, as described by his English neighbours? The reputation was without doubt firmly entrenched throughout the seventeenth century. Drinking in the northern Netherlands certainly occurred in a number of environments, from everyday consumption and special events within the home, to drinking at the tavern and tea-house, and most notoriously at the feasts which had become infamous in their excess: weddings, funerals, christenings, and carnivals. In order to understand the power of the social messages transferred through the material culture of drinking, it is necessary to have a more detailed understanding of the circumstances under which drink was consumed, and therefore also the intended audience of those messages.

11. 2. 1. Weddings, funerals, christenings and carnivals

The *kermissen* carnivals were an old tradition of the Low Countries, and the Dutch of the seventeenth century continued to merrily embrace the customary overindulgence of food, alcohol and dancing that went along with it (Schama 1997:152). As well as transcending class and social boundaries (all levels of society were involved, including church ministers), carnivals and markets allowed for an inversion of normal behaviour and social restraint, and were a permitted form of protest for communities, and of self-expression for individuals (Schama 1997:184, Kamen 2000:39-40). This, of course, included the excessive consumption of alcohol and food, as well as dancing, gambling, games, theatrical performances and other morally questionable activities, in addition to the freedom to mock and criticise the standard order of things; an activity Kamen describes as "necessary and integral" to the maintenance of peace and social order (Kamen 2000:40).

Popular images of carnivals, such as the paintings of Bruegel, show a chaotic frenzy of feasting, drinking and riotous behaviour. Some depictions, such as *The Fight between Carnival and Lent* painted in 1559, can be seen to demonstrate the all too pressing concerns of the Church over the conflict between religious and moral propriety, represented by the austere 'Lent' figure, and the hysteria of gluttony and hedonism to be seen unfolding behind the character of 'Carnival' (Schama 1997:153).

Despite the Catholic, or potentially even pagan, origins of popular carnivals and feasts, the Church was remarkably unsuccessful at prohibiting them. This was due, in part, to a lack of popular support from the powerful elite, but also the deep entrenchment of the events in public life. Most churches in the areas around Amsterdam did not hold services over the duration of the carnival, because everyone was at the city festivities (Kamen 2000:107). Attempts to suppress traditional events such as the Feasts of St Martin and St Nicholas, the Feast of Epiphany, and *Vastenavond,* the three days of feasting preceding Lent, ended in public disruption and occasionally even riot, and were generally quickly revoked (Schama 1997:183, 184). Even reformist writers and magistrates recognised elements of these public events as "legitimate customs of the Fatherland", to be defended against prohibitionist activities (Schama 1997:203), particularly those celebrations which focussed on military victories or unifying national events (Kamen 2000:107).

A major part of the enduring attraction of the carnival was the recent loss of social and leisure time which was a direct result of the Dutch Revolt. Whilst under the control of Catholic Spain it has been estimated that just under one third of the annual calendar was designated as rest days, devoted to saints and other feasts (Kamen 2000:39, de Vries 2008:87). In 1574, a synod banned all holy days for regions under the Reformed Church leaving just the Sabbath free, although six other days around Christmas, New Year and Easter were eventually also added (de Vries 2008:88). By 1650, this had resulted in around 600 extra work hours a year for many manual workers (de Vries 2008:89). In the home, the burden of household work was generally shared between all of its members, which contributed to the social norm of hard and constant work, with little relaxation time for anyone, including the children (Price 2000:110). The Sabbath became the only available time for non-work related activities, including socialising for the purposes of courting or strengthening bonds, and the fulfilment of social obligation to neighbours and relatives (Kamen 2000:38-39).

The only other opportunities for entertainments, leisure and the all-important fulfilment of the social hospitality obligation, occurred during occasions such as weddings, funerals, and christening feasts (Price 2000:111, Thoen 2007:73). The power of the social release these events offered can be seen in the frequency with which feasts and celebrations were organised, and the exuberant way in which they were celebrated by the Dutch at every level of society. Simon Schama gives us some idea of the number of occasions for which it was normal to celebrate:

> *"There were lying-in feasts, birth feasts, baptismal feasts, churching feasts, feasts when infants were swaddled and another when boys were breeched, birthday feasts and saints' days feasts….feasts on beginning school and beginning*

> *apprenticeship, betrothal feasts, wedding feasts, feasts on setting up house, feasts for departing on long journeys and feasts for homecoming, wedding anniversary feasts….feasts on the return of a grand cargo or the conclusion of a triumphant peace, on the restoration of a church…and on the setting of a family gravestone in its floor, feasts on recovering from sickness, feasts at funerals and burials and the reading of a testament…"* (Schama 1997:185).

Add to these the vast number of feasts to mark historic events and commemorations (Schama 1979:119), and it seems clear that there were very few major or minor rites of passage or anniversaries for which feasts were not appropriate. The celebration often involved the entire community, with ritual acts of hospitality and 'neighbourly kindness' (Kamen 2000:178). As with the carnivals above, the success of the party was measured according to the vast excesses undertaken in its name, particularly with relation to drinking (van Deursen 1991:101).

Baptisms were one occasion which became infamously associated with incredible excess, not only in quantities of food and drink consumed, but in terms of the lavishness of the decoration. As van Dongen observes, the power of status objects came into its own in celebratory events whereby one household could directly display its material success against another (van Dongen 2004:205). The house where the baptismal feast took place was adorned with all the family's most precious items including silver and porcelain. At the christening feast of Cornelis van de Myle's first child the buffet "glittered of gold, silver and mirror work", while guests were served no less than fifty different kinds of dish, including venison, pies, and mounds of fruits and pastries, and *"de meest gezochte wijnen"*, the most sought-after wines from goblets and flutes (Schotel 1867:44). Weddings during this period had also taken on a very public demeanour, including public announcements and huge ceremonies with friends and relatives in attendance (Thoen 2007:104).

These events were also celebrated with iconic drinks. At carnivals, fairs and feast days, specially brewed *kermisbier* ('carnival beer') was sold, or special beers named after the saint whose feast was being celebrated, (*Gregoriebier*, for example) (Laan 1994:98). The christening ceremony almost always included two specific forms of beverage, a specially brewed beer known as *kraambier* ('crib beer') or *kinderbier* ('children's beer'), as well as a wine-based caudle drink, known as the *kandeel* (Schama 1997:186, Laan 1994:97). The *kandeel* was made of Rhenish wine mixed with sugar, and was presented in a *berkemeier* glass or a brandy bowl with a stick of cinnamon tied with ribbons, coloured to indicate the sex of the baby. The drinker had to first stir the glass with the cinnamon stick before drinking and passing the vessel on (Schotel 1867:43, 46). Nor was the table wine at such events expected to be of an everyday level; the quality of the wine served at christenings was a matter of pride amongst new fathers (Thoen 2007:77). Christenings also involved particular drinking games, such as '*Hansje in de Kelder'* from specialist glasses (this tradition will be discussed further in Part 11. 4. 1).

The traditional drink of the wedding feast was a hippocras called the *bruidstranen* ('bride's tears') of watered Rhenish wine flavoured with cloves and ginger, although this gradually

fell out of fashion in some areas and was replaced by red wine, mixed with brandy or gin and sweetened with syrup (Schama 1997:185, Schotel 1867:263). *Trouwbier* ('wedding beer') was also made available for the guests at the feast (Laan 1994:98). Funerals were traditionally ended with the offering of wine to guests, and sometimes also a meal (Thoen 2007:81). Funeral meals were accompanied by a special beer, known as *troostelbier* ('consolation beer') (Laan 1994:97).

Christenings, weddings and funerals were also occasions on which the ritual of gift-giving played a role. More often than not, these 'gifts' were not physical objects, but took the form of prayers, toasts, poetry and specially composed songs, which were either written by the giver, or commissioned in honour of the recipient (Schotel 1867:45, Thoen 2007:81). The gift givers were then rewarded with a return of hospitality, in the form of food and drink. In addition, gifts of household utensils, either practical or symbolic, were tied very intimately to specific major rite of passage celebrations, of which weddings and christenings were two (Thoen 2007:82). The wedding presents were gifts to the bride and groom from family and friends, as well as gifts given to each other. These commonly included cooking ceramics, as well as linens and drinking ware, sometimes personalised with the couple's names (Thoen 2007:106). Christening gifts were brought from family members to the infant, with the most important, the *pillegift*, coming from the godparents. These gifts obviously embodied a strong metaphoric symbolism for both the giver and recipient regarding the transition to a new stage of life. Thoen notes strong links between the symbolic power of the object, and its economic power, or potential financial value, particularly with regards to the *pillegift*, which could be extremely expensive, with some gifts valued upwards of *f*300, even so high as *f*500 (Thoen 2007:106,119). The importance of alcohol and drinking vessels within the gift exchange network and the sphere of community ritual will be discussed further below in parts 11. 4. 1 and 11. 4. 4.

The greater the extravagance of weddings, funerals and christenings, the higher the honour for the people and families involved. No efforts seem to have been viewed by the celebrants as too outrageous; Schotel records a christening celebration lasting six full weeks, and leaving the house deeply in debt; something which was also often the result of funeral feasts (Schotel 1867:56). Financially minded or particularly cunning parents were known to wait until there were several children in the family ready to be baptised, and hold a single celebration to cut back on expenses (van Deursen 1991:107). Betrothal and wedding ceremonies were known to be equally extravagant as baptisms, if not more so. A middle-class wedding in the family of a playwright in 1632 is recorded as costing up to two thousand guilders, and even a peasant wedding could be as much as half that cost (*ibid*).

Unsurprisingly, this level of over-indulgence and lavishness also received a great deal of disapproval and moralistic commentary from reformists and writers, and not least from Church authorities. Moralist writer Jacob Cats compared the extravagance of wedding feasts to a market, where merchants advertise their wares (Thoen 2007:106). This tied into the ongoing campaign of reformists and Calvinists to control the dangerously deviant behaviour they saw around them, including sexual promiscuity, often encapsulated by dancing, violence, fighting and drunkenness (Price 2000:152, van Deursen 1991:85). Over the course of the century, several towns issued bans on certain common aspects of

celebrations, in order to attempt to control the extravagant spending, as well as the amount of drinking and morally-reprehensible behaviour taking place at them (Price 2000:110). Dancing was considered a vital part of the wedding celebration, but was another activity fraught with moral peril; church ministers on several occasions issued injunctions forbidding dancing at weddings (van Deursen 1991:89). In 1655 in Amsterdam, a law was passed to control the size of wedding feasts, with the number of guests limited to fifty, a maximum of six musicians, and a total duration of two days. In addition, wedding gifts were not to exceed 5% of the dowry (Schama 1997:186). In Leiden, a fine was issued for any woman who held large gatherings at the baptism of her child; she was permitted to hold a small meal for two neighbouring women and the midwife after they had attended church for the ceremony (Schotel 1867:44). Similar injunctions to limit the size of the christening party were passed in Groningen and Zutphen, the former limiting the group size to twelve, and the latter to eight pairs, with a fine for every person over this number (Schotel 1867:44-45). However, it was unlikely that any of these measures were particularly successful, as Schotel points out, people would rather pay the fines for breaking the sumptuary laws than be thought of to be miserly or mean by their neighbours and guests (Schotel 1867:290), and the cost of fines on exceeding the legal limitations were simply added to the overall cost of the event (Thoen 2007:106).

Unfortunately for the legislators, the pervasiveness of extravagant feasts at all levels of society could not be curbed, and by 1672, the rampant ostentation and excesses across the country were considered responsible for the disasters that befell them all during the *Rampjaar.* As a direct result, all ‘unnecessary’ banquets were banned (Schama 1997:187).

11. 2. 2. The Tavern

Taverns and inns played a very important role in the everyday drinking, socialising and interpersonal interaction of Dutch society. Although some households brewed their own ales, and all households consumed beers and wines within their own homes, alcohol consumption was linked to sociability and public interaction which, as well as the occasional celebrations mentioned above, took place on a day-to-day basis in the tavern (Kamen 2000:124). A number of different types of public drinking house were known from this period, many of which fulfilled different functions for different levels of society. High taxation also prompted the illegal sale and consumption of alcohol in a variety of houses, cellars and shops (van Deursen 1991:101-102). Although there was no strict division between the types of alehouse, the English terms of alehouse, tavern and inn have been used to describe the more common varieties of house (Smythe 2004:xx). Alehouses served the poorest levels of society, providing home brewed ale or beer at a low price. The businesses were usually set up in a domestic house, in a closed-off room or cellar, and provided some simple food and occasionally accommodation (Smythe 2004:xix), as well as tobacco (Schama 1997:189). The tavern occupied the next tier, by providing a wider selection of products to a better class of clientele. Taverns were located in towns or in the countryside, and in addition to beer and ales also sold wine (Smythe 2004:xx), sometimes in huge varieties. At the end of the sixteenth century, for example, customers in Antwerp’s

taverns were able to choose between thirty different varieties of wine from a number of regions and vintages (van Uytven 2007:106). Rural taverns provided the only major source of entertainment or regular public socialisation for farmers and village dwellers (van Deursen 1991:101) (**Fig. 11. 2. (1)**). The inn was the largest and most up-market type of drinking establishment, providing wines, spirits, hot food and accommodation to an array of patrons, which could include the higher classes (Smythe 2004:xx). The urban taverns and inns played an important part in public socialising for the elite, a role later taken over by coffee houses (*ibid*). The popularity of drinking-houses can be seen in the large numbers of these businesses which could be found in any urban centre. By 1613, Amsterdam could boast one alehouse for every two-hundred people, a total of five hundred and eighteen alehouses overall (Schama 1997:191), although barely a year later, up to one hundred and five of these had been declared illegal enterprises and had been forced to close (van Deursen 1991:102).

Fig. 11. 2. (1). *Boerenherberg* (detail) by Cornelis Dusart. (1690). RM Inv. SK-A-100. https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/.

The tavern remained at the heart of social interaction throughout this period, with usual activities involving drinking, singing, smoking, talking and gambling, on games such as dice, chess, and cards as well as dares and wagers on feats of dexterity or strength (van Deursen 1991:105) (**Fig. 11. 2. (2)**). The tavern also played a role in decision making, negotiation and concluding business. The Dutchman was known to “never make any decision, great or small, without pouring a generous drink,” (van Deursen 1991:102), although in Holland the law allowed any business decision or purchase concluded in a tavern to be revoked within a

day if either party felt they had made a poor decision due to drink (van Deursen 1991:106). Van Deursen also notes the frequent phenomenon of breaking of glasses; in moments of alcohol fuelled celebration, wine drinkers were known to hurl glasses against the wall and merely pay extra for their replacement at the end of the party (van Deursen 1991:102).

Fig. 11. 2. (2). A Peasant tavern scene. *Boerengezelschap binnenshuis* (detail) by Adriaen van Ostade (1661). RM Inv. SK-C-200. https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/.

Later in the seventeenth century, some of the clientele of taverns were drawn away by the introduction of coffee houses in many major towns. The earliest was probably established in Venice in around 1647, with similar houses showing up quickly after in England (around 1650 -52), France (1671, 1672 and 1698), as well as cities in the Netherlands including Den Haag in 1664, Amsterdam in 1672, Dordrecht in 1684, and Alkmaar and Leeuwarden in the following few years (van Uytven 2007:132, Bitter 2004:23). By 1692, twenty-four coffee houses were recorded in Amsterdam (Gawronski 2012:69). Coffee houses were known to be predominantly aimed at men, and attracted a refined clientele through their associations with a higher class of entertainment, including newspapers, board games, chess and billiards, reading, and conversation (van Uytven 2007:135). A coffee house in Leeuwarden showed performances of a costume ballet in 1683. However, not everything about the coffee houses was as refined; they also gained a reputation for having promiscuous female staff. Women were not usually welcome in these establishments, and their presence was beshrewed by several writers. In England, pamphlets were issued by a group of women, cautioning men against the excessive consumption of the drink (van Uytven 2007:135). Tea rooms, mainly catering to women and family-friendly tea gardens, as well as women's coffee houses did not begin to appear until the early eighteenth century, by which point tea had become a part of daily life (van Uytven 2007:144, Schama 1997:172), with coffee following not long after (Bitter 2004:23).

As van Deursen notes, much of the allure of the tavern, and the coffee house, lay in the freedom they offered the drinker from all external control: “There we find the Dutchman acting as he himself chose. There no boss, burgomaster, preacher or wife could lay down the law. He behaved according to his nature” (van Deursen 1991:97). Taverns, of course became infamous for this very freedom. Whether they were dens of “iniquity and idleness” (Kamen 2000:124), or the hideouts of thieves, gamblers and rebels (Smythe 2004:xx), the tavern, particularly those frequented by the worst sort of people, became synonymous with anti-social and dangerous behaviour in the minds of the preachers and the magistrates. The limitations on leisure and socialising time which were partially responsible for the riotous behaviour seen at carnivals and feasts also helped to drive the enduring popularity of the tavern. The powerful draw of the pub meant that Sundays came to be characterised by conflict between the antitheses of the tavern and the church (Price 2000:110). In a very visual demonstration of this competition, taverns were often set up in very close proximity to, or even opposite, churches (Schama 1997:202, van Deursen 1991:100). Once more, the indulgences of the common folk in the delights of the tavern, particularly on Sundays, drew fierce criticism from Calvinist opponents which tended to be accompanied by drives towards prohibition (Dibbits 2001:150), as well as legislation to control drunkenness, debt, prostitution and gambling. Very similar to the impotent attempts to limit the extravagances of weddings and carnivals however, these were seldom successful and often met with active opposition. Unlike civil authorities, which seldom acted to curb tavern activities, it was the Church that most purposefully condemned drunkenness in an effort to wrest Sunday activity back to religious devotion (van Deursen 1991:98). Successful legislation usually only occurred after taverns or drunkenness were found to be to blame for uprisings or disruptive behaviour on a large scale (Schama 1997:191).

As mentioned above, beer, wine and spirits could all be obtained at taverns or inns, although the price of the latter two often put them out of the reach of the common man (van Deursen 1991:102). Fynes Moryson, in his 1592 travelogue, describes some of the prices paid by himself and his companions for wine and beer across the Netherlands. In Leiden inns, he notes the common price of ten to fifteen *stuivers* for a meal with beer, and twenty *stuivers* or more for wine (Moryson 1592:43-7). In Harlingen, beer was bought for nine *stuivers*, and wine cost somewhere in the region of twenty-three. In Amsterdam, three pints of Spanish wine were charged at twenty-one *stuivers*; in Haarlem, he paid twenty *stuivers* but in Brielle only eighteen. In Dordrecht, the prices were even cheaper, with a pot of wine costing only twelve *stuivers*. Moryson attributes this to the city’s tax privilege as the main distribution centre for Rhenish wines into the country. However, for everywhere else Moryson notes the expensive cost of both beer and wine in comparison to his travels in the southern Netherlands:

> *“Heere* [in Rotterdam] *I lodged at an English-mans house; and paied for my supper tenne stiuers, for my breakfast two stiuers, and for beere betweene meales five stiuers: by which expence, compared with that of the Flemmish Innes, it is apparant that strangers in their reckonings, pay for the intemperate drinking of their Dutch companions.”* (Moryson 1592:48).

Being a native Dutchman, however, did not necessarily improve patrons' chances of paying a fair price, although efforts were in place in most towns to standardise volumes by fitting 'measure pegs' to ceramic and wooden jugs (Hendrikman 1994:60). In 1636, a French guest at an inn in Rotterdam noted the common practice of charging guests according to what the landlord thought they could afford. Soldiers and merchants paid a standard price, but a captain could be charged five times as much, and elite members of society, a prince or an ambassador could expect to pay up to a hundred times the standard price (van Deursen 1991:102). Breweries were also able to profit from the class divisions across the country, by producing beer at different grades and strengths, marketed to different social classes (Yntema 1994:87). Some patrons who bought wine in taverns may not have had the financial means to drink it regularly at home, and had to rely on a rare taste in the tavern when fortunes were good (van Uytven 2007:109).

11. 2. 3. The Home

Understanding the nature of consumption within the home is key to this study. The artefacts examined in the main body of this work were made up, for the most part, of material gathered from cesspits and cellars from domestic properties, and an understanding of how the household used drinking vessels will help to illuminate the symbolic processes at work within the material culture. Taverns, festivals and celebrations all provided environments which encouraged excessive indulgence in food and drink, as well as opportunities to engage in gift-giving, hospitality rituals, and in the competitive display of wealth and luxury items. The undertaking of these activities within the house were no less important, but took place in a more focussed and regulated manner, allowing the householder to assert the control over his immediate environment which he lacked in the larger world. Domestic artefacts: "could be freely discarded if they produced too much conflict within the self. Thus household objects constitute an ecology of signs that reflects as well as shapes the pattern of the owner's self," (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981:17). It is this 'ecology of signs', explored through the surviving artefacts, which will provide information on the formation of that self-identity. Both material culture and the home made up a "critical area of social and cultural transformation and a key arena in the emergence of modern social relations" (Johnson 1996:157).

One of the most important functions of the home is its place in the theatre of social interaction, acting both as a venue for the exchange of hospitality rituals, and as a showcase of status and respectability for its owners (**Fig. 11. 2. 3**). "[T]he home," writes Simon Schama, "was the irreducible primary cell on which, ultimately, the whole fabric of the commonwealth was grounded" (1997:386). The well-ordered household acted as a sign of balance and control from the individual within, to the society which it helped to form. The balance between private and public in the home had shifted over the course of the post-medieval period, as industry and workplaces began to shift into specialised locations, and became increasingly separate from the family living areas (Kamen 2000:163). This led to the privatisation of the family space, and the development of semi-public reception rooms (Kamen 2000:208). The rules of hospitality itself were altered by the changing

nature of the house as well as economic and social pressures, but remained no less vital, and a “primary obligation” of community interaction at all levels of society (Kamen 2000:178). The provision of hospitality was closely tied to the concepts of ‘reputation’ and ‘honour’, as well as correct behaviour, upon which most social prestige and status rested (Kamen 2000:121-122). Thoen notes that the exchange of hospitality remained one of the most important elements of the gifting culture (Thoen 2007:81). The honest and welcoming nature of the household, the cleanliness and neatness of the home, and the generosity of their table were all considered the lifeblood of their reputation. This obligation towards the provision of hospitality can be observed in the extravagance of the rite-of-passage celebrations discussed above in part 11. 2. 1, and was no less important, if somewhat more sedate, within the home.

Fig. 11. 2. (3). Drinking in the home environment**.** *Man en vrouw aan de maaltijd* (detail) by Gabriël Metsu (1650 – 1660). RM Inv. SK-A-249. www.rijksmuseum.nl.

Alcohol again played an important role in the construction of social bonds. It was expected that the arrival of visitors would be heralded with beer (Brown 2004:5), and those with full calendars of visits and social calls could expect to be drinking for most of the day (van Deursen 1991:101). Hospitality was also offered in return for assistance from the neighbourhood. *Bedebier* (‘thank you’ beer) was offered to friends who had helped the family with tasks such as moving house or home repairs, with some even more specific varieties, such as *pannebier* served after a house was successfully roofed (Laan 1994:98).

A major proportion of drinking and social display took place within the home. In late sixteenth-century Haarlem, an estimated total of 12,508 litres of beer was consumed every

day, only 4,000 litres of which was drunk in pubs. The majority two-thirds was consumed during the day-to-day activities of the home, often in a way that indicated it was thought of as a food (Schama 1997:191,199). Beer, of course, was the daily drink of adults and children across all social groups, served with the main meals of breakfast, lunch, tea and dinner; although the strength and kind of beer depended upon the means of the household (van Dongen and Henkes 1994:10, Laan 1994:97). Van Uytven estimates that daily consumption of beer during the first half of the century was around 0.8 litres (van Uytven 2007:172). Small beer (*dunbier*) was the breakfast drink for all classes, although in some areas mead, diluted milk or whey were also drunk with the morning meal (Schotel 1867:439; Schama 1997:172). Small beer was too weak to be taxed; it could be ordered in barrels directly from the brewery, though it was delivered by a third party to limit fraud, or bought in jugs or *pinte* from taverns and taken home (Yntema 1994:87, 90-91). Small beer took the place of water in most day-to-day drinking, though doubtless the poor also found it a useful source of additional nutrition. *Boerenkoffie*, the breakfast drink of farmers and labourers was made of warm beer, nutmeg and sugar, with some variations having eggs or brandywine mixed in (Schama 1997:199). The evening meals were accompanied by small or mixed beer for the poorer households, where the more well off consumed the stronger 'thick' beer (*dikbier*) or wine (Laan 1994:97).

Over the course of the century, an increasing number of varieties of beer, in different strengths and flavours, became available, including 'single' and 'double' beers, varieties of 'brown' and 'white' beer, or flavoured with syrup, herbs and different grain mixes, as well as imported beers from different areas praised for their distinctive taste or clear water (Yntema 1994:86, 87). Beer was also brewed in the home; a much cheaper way of providing for the household as the taxation was much lower and regulations less strict (van Uytven 2007:90).

Wine, due to its much higher cost, was considered a mark of social refinement, linked to the better things of life which were beyond the comprehension of the common sort (Brown 2004:7). Its status as an exclusive beverage can be seen in the Delft tax revolt of 1616, when increases in grain taxation made at the same time as a lowering of tax on wine led to suspicions of class-favouritism and violent demonstrations demanding the reversal of the tax privileges (van Deursen 1991:196). However, the increased purchasing power and growth of disposable wealth for the artisans and merchants of the bourgeoisie enabled them to begin adopting many of the habits and customs of the upper classes, including wine drinking (van Uytven 2007:108). While for some this might be limited to an occasional glass in a tavern, others fully embraced the culture of wine drinking and invested in well stocked cellars at home (van Uytven 2007:109). In the northern European countries, wine was available in over fifty varieties, imported from all of the Mediterranean countries, as well as the Rhine valley, and southern Netherlands. Wines were also sold at different strengths, with the strongest being the most desirable, as sack (sweetened wine) and *cuit*, (boiled, thickened and sweetened). Wine could be mixed with honey, sugar or spices (Harrison 1587:167).

Over the course of the seventeenth century, tea and coffee gradually gained availability and popularity, and an entirely new spectrum of material culture and social behaviours

began to grow up around their consumption. This extended from the popularity of coffee houses, the development of a household 'tea ritual' and the gendering of both drinks, to the appearance of domestic tea services and paraphernalia needed to incorporate these new habits into everyday life (van Dam 2004:63). It was not until the eighteenth century that coffee and tea really supplanted beer as the everyday drink for the majority of society (van Uytven 2007:139).

In chapter one, the discussion touched on the dichotomic nature of the consumption of goods and alcohol within this period, and the moral ambiguity which surrounded the expression of wealth and luxury. In 1673, William Temple, an Englishman travelling in the Northern Netherlands, highlights this disparity in relation to the houses and lifestyles of the bourgeoisie. It was generally the habit amongst many magistrates and public officials, drawing on the customs of their former regents, to live an unpretentious and relatively frugal life in a small townhouse with simple clothes, "the frugality of their living, grown universal by being (I suppose) at first necessary, but since honourable among them," (Temple 1673:111, 140). However, he very quickly notes that in contrast, the merchants are "troubled with no cares but those of their Fortunes, and the management of their Trades" (Temple 1673:140). As Kamen summarises, "this apparent austerity was only the prelude to the adoption of a neo-aristocratic way of life," (Kamen 2000:111), which resulted in more elaborate dress, the construction of new lavish houses and the acquisition of expensive possessions to fill them (Haley 1972:59-60). In such a climate, where social aspirations and mobility were high and sumptuary laws relatively absent (Kamen 2000:111), the result was the 'aristocratisation' of the middle classes, and their inevitable identification with the rank towards which they aspired, rather than their current position (Kamen 2000:118).

The main ways of negotiating and communicating the drive of the household's ambition for status or frugality, was through dress and the decoration of the house. The interior of the home appears in a vast number of Dutch genre paintings, giving a glimpse as to the importance of this space to the contemporary audience (Schotel 1867:1). Foreign visitors praised the beauty and cleanliness of houses and streets, one commenting that furniture and utensils were so ordered and tidy that they appeared to exist more for display than for use (Schotel 1867:4). Thornton links the proliferation of household goods and status furniture not just to the rise in personal wealth, but to the change in travelling habits of the upper classes, and the increase of sedentism, with the aristocratic household now occupying only one or two houses throughout the year, and as such requiring more permanent furniture. The stylistic development of increasingly delicate pieces followed soon after (Thornton 1978:4), and the presence of quantities of fragile, precious goods within the home creates the effect of stability and continuity, as well as grace and elegance (Dibbits 2001:107).

Permanent furniture also led to a greater level of specialisation in the rooms of the house in which each began to take on a specific, more limited, function. Hester Dibbits has found that through probate inventories it was possible to identify the different functions, levels of privatisation, and ascribed status of individual rooms. In the 1717 inventory of Laurentia

Suijker, for example, there were three different kitchens: the 'inner' kitchen contained three upholstered chairs of Spanish walnut, the 'living' or 'breakfast' kitchen had five brown chairs and an armchair, and finally the 'cooking' kitchen had five old chairs (Dibbits 2001:97). The kitchen was already imbued with special symbolic power as the heart of domesticity and the centre of female influence, and the provision of a show kitchen worked to aid the concealment of the untidiness and disorder of everyday cooking from visitors.

The development of these semi-public hospitality rooms within the house allowed the family to control the environment of visiting guests, and the objects and decorations which were on display to them. Schotel (1867:11-13) also draws attention to the number of ornamental locations within the house. The chimney piece was hung with paintings and artistic pieces, lit by silver candlesticks, the inlaid wood closet where the household's linens and porcelain dishes were displayed, and the *'pronksalet'* cabinet of exotic wood which stood at the foot of the stairs and held pyramids of porcelain, Venetian glass mirrors or Frisian clocks. These cabinets for linen, silverware and china were the pride and joy of the women of the household (Thoen 2007:108, Schotel 1867:406), and a keen indicator of the respectable nature of her home. Schotel notes that this vital piece of furniture should be found in all decent households, from the humble to the lordly, and Dibbits confirms that by the latter seventeenth century, chests or cabinets for linen were found in almost all houses for which probate inventories were made, and always stood in the 'best' rooms of the house. This is depicted in *Keukeninterieur* by Pieter Cornelisz. van Rijck (RM Inv. SK-A-868, **Fig. 11. 2. (4)**), in which stoneware jugs, pewter plates, gilded candlesticks and cups are all on display. Linen cabinets were also frequently adorned with cups or ceramic vessels (Dibbits 1996:133). The final area of display in the house was the buffet. This sideboard, which stood in the dining room, held the family's silver and glass tableware:

> *"….silver plates, bowls, spoons, knives, cups, decanters, tankards, silver-studded horns, lidded jugs, mostly with the family coat of arms, some with appropriate rhymes or sayings….a treasure trove of brandy glasses, flutes, roemers, jars, … gilded ware, goblets of green and white glass: on which coats of arms, images, tracery, sayings, and sometimes drawn letters were engraved with a diamond stylus"* (Schotel 1867:12-13, author's own translation).

The standard format of household feasting meant that the utensils remained on the buffet for display and were only passed to diners as they were needed. This meant that even purely ornamental objects or those not required for the meal could remain on display to guests throughout the event (Erkelens 1996:110) (**Fig. 11. 2. (5)**). The quote above presents a rather poetic idealised image of a household's goods, and the scale of such displays was of course dependent upon the means of the house. In the mid-seventeenth century, Gilles van Heussen Steffensz, residing at 28 Rapenburg in Leiden, had an entire room, a *kabinetkamer*, for his exotic artefacts, pieces of art, curios of nature and ornaments (van Dongen 2004:196). In contrast, the widow Willebroek, upon her death in 1761, owned possessions worth only three hundred guilders, but which included two decorative cupboards for linen and some pieces of porcelain (Dibbits 1996:139).

Fig. 11. 2. (4). *Keukeninterieur met de gelijkenis van de rijke man en de arme Lazarus* (detail) by Pieter Cornelisz. van Rijck (1610-1620). RM Inv. SK-A-868. https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/.

Fig. 11. 2. (5). Plates and glassware on display in a kitchen. *Medicijn tegen syfilis* (detail) by Philips Galle (c. 1589 - c. 1593). RM Inv. RP-P-OB-6838. https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/.

The collection and display of novelty and artistic items had grown in popularity amongst Dutch bourgeoisie during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, emulating the practises of French and Italian Renaissance aristocrats (Muensterberger 1994:209). The seventeenth century shows the increasing need for the adornment of private houses with status artefacts and works of art (Haley 1972:130). This ties into the standard model of elite emulation, through the adoption of fashions and goods which enforce social boundaries and hierarchy (Miller 1987:146-148). Many of the highly desirable display items in the home were demonstrably exotic or made of expensive materials; a method of demonstrating status and class aspirations, aspects of personal taste and fashion, as a means of 'storing wealth', and to demonstrate a number of facets of personal identity (Courtney 1997a:95, 101, Lucas 2004:17-18, Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981:17).

In the ways described above, the home became the main sphere for both expression and control, the expression of identity, wealth, status and belonging, and control over the dangers of overindulgence, luxury and gluttony. This control was demonstrated through the tastefulness of the family's material culture, and its appropriateness to their social position, as well as mastery of a complexity of table manners and domestic ritual which allowed them to suppress the dangers of immoral gluttony, excess, and the *overvloed* (Courtney 1997a:100, Schama 1997:150).

11. 3. Vessels as symbols

11. 3. 1. The meaning of materials, and the status of drinks

At its most basic level, the drinking vessel is a container designed to lift liquid to the mouth. Yet even when discussing pure function, before any decorative or stylistic examinations are made, vessels are determined into categories of suitability, often linked to their shape or material, which remain wholly irrespective of their actual ability to hold liquid. This appropriateness is highly dependant upon context.

This phenomenon, in terms of drinking, can be recognised during the later medieval period, when ceramic was used most commonly to make platters, jugs and cups, with very few pottery vessel types fulfilling the function of a bowl. Wood is likely to have been used frequently to make bowls and cups, though it is rarer archaeologically (Brown 2005:98). In addition, there was very little variation in the ceramics produced for different status groups, with precious metals, and to some extent glass, making up the entirety of the high status, luxury material (Courtney 1997a:102). The development of highly-decorated ceramics during the late medieval period has been interpreted as an attempt to promote ceramics as luxury items, and allow to them to begin to compete with metals on the consumer market (Verhaeghe 1997:30). The decline in the use of wooden utensils

coincided with a rise in affluence (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986:1). As the ceramic industry began to develop, ceramic vessels were produced in increasingly different forms, and from the fifteenth century, in an increasing spectrum of quality. These events have been grouped as a 'ceramic revolution' (Courtney 1997a:98, although see also Verhaeghe 1997:29-34). Glass also began to become more readily available, as Italian glassworkers began to move into northern Europe, and forest glass houses expanded. As a result, "the urban consumer was prepared to invest in more expensive, exotic materials as a means of displaying taste, refinement and sophistication," (Brown, 2005:99).

Conspicuous consumption, along with newly adopted social customs such as table manners and other trappings of civility, became tools used at all levels of society, increasingly insecure and fluid as they were, to demonstrate status and promote new identities (see Elias 1994). By the post-medieval period, the use of precious metals for tableware was still ongoing, but glass had now become the most desirable product. As William Harrison wrote in 1587:

> *"It is a world to sée in these our daies, wherin gold and siluer most aboundeth, how that our gentilitie as lothing those mettals (bicause of the plentie) do now generallie choose rather the Venice glasses both for our wine and béere, than anie of those mettals or stone wherein before time we haue béene accustomed to drinke, but such is the nature of man generallie that it most coueteth things difficult to be attained,"* (Harrison 1587:167).

Even later into the seventeenth century, glass was still able to hold its own against luxury products of porcelain and silver (van Dongen 2004:195). The varieties of drinking wares available are hinted at in this poem from seventeenth-century moralist Roemer Visscher:

> *"Het schrale water uit een koperen vlotele,*
> *Het groene wei uit een houten schotel,*
> *Het Poffen-bier uit tinnen flappers wichtig,*
> *De klare wijn uit roemers heel doorluchtig.*
> *Men maakt weelinge kandeel uit gulden stoopen schinken,*
> *Dan niet beter als mos uit een aerden kopken drinken."*
>
> "The rude water from a copper bowl,
> The green whey in a wooden dish,
> The raised beer from a bulky pewter lidded tankard,
> The clear wine from a *roemer* is made transparent.
> They make sumptuous *Kandeel* from golden cups as gifts,
> But there is no better drink like wine from an earthen cup."

(Dutch text quoted in Schotel 1867:332, author's own translation.)

This poem also begins to address the link between particular vessel or material types and certain drinks. Is whey drunk from wooden bowls because it is all the drinkers of whey can afford, or does this material type reflect a choice? Some links between beverage and cup

are made clear in the text; wine in a glass *roemer* is clear and beautiful, whereas the implication is that earthenware cups improve the drink in some other way, perhaps through temperature or taste. Initially, the import of German-made *berkemeiers* and *roemers* went hand in hand with the arrival of the Rhenish wines drunk from them. Red wines, however, did not look good through the green forest-ash glass, becoming dull brown. Colourless vessels of *façon de Venise* soda glass, which displayed the colour and clarity of the wine, became a vital component of the red wine drinking experience (van Dongen 2004:202). Goblets were available in a wide variety of different styles and complexities, presumably to suit all levels of wealth and drinking environments. At the beginning of the century the influence of Venice could clearly be seen on the types of goblets being produced, although over the course of the next hundred years, other styles developed and grew in popularity, and *façon d'Angleterre* began to show its impact. *Roemers* remained in use throughout the century, although there were regular stylistic changes.

Smaller versions of the standard *roemer* were used for imbibing spirits, particularly gin (Henkes 1994:254). Other vessels linked to the consumption of spirits included small dishes with flat handles, the forerunners of the modern-day *quaich* and porringer. Brandywine bowls were often made of silver, but pewter examples have been recovered from excavations, and it is likely that delftware and maiolica versions were also used in the same way. Very small, tall sided porcelain cups, known as *pimpeltje,* were also used for the consumption of spirits, although these are more rarely found archaeologically.

A number of different vessels were used in the process of drinking beers and wine. Beer was generally stored in barrels, and was decanted in smaller quantities into ceramic jugs. These stood on the table or buffet, and were used to top up the drinkers' glasses. (Yntema 1994:92, **Fig. 11. 3. (1)**). A similar process took place with wine, where glass bottles or barrels were used for storage, and stoneware, pewter or faience jugs used at the table or buffet to transfer wine into drinking glassware, or to hold water for diluting (van Dongen and Henkes 1994:3). A large number of ceramic jugs and flasks, sometimes with pewter lids still surviving, are recovered archaeologically. Complete pewter jugs, of the type often depicted in genre paintings, are almost never found outside museum collections (BvB Inv. Om 571 (KN&V)). These might have stood on the table in the home, or have been used directly as drinking vessels in taverns or less formal situations. Drinking directly from jugs is often depicted in paintings, particularly those showing carousing peasants; such as Brueghel's *Peasants Making Merry outside a Tavern 'The Swan'* (c. 1630).

Hot drinks of tea, and less commonly coffee and chocolate, also had their own associated material culture. The first large shipment of porcelain arrived in the Low Countries in 1602 after the capture of the Portuguese *San Jago.* Imports quickly increased, and the transportation of porcelain quickly became a major part of the VOC's trade (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986:9). As tea was initially very expensive, it was therefore drunk heavily diluted and in small quantities, from small porcelain cups (van Dam 2004:63). By the later part of the seventeenth century, it had become more affordable and more commonly used (van Uytven 2007:142), and complete tea services, with matching cups, saucers and

sometimes teapots, began to appear (see Bartels 2005:38 for examples, and chapter 12. 6. 1.).

Fig. 11. 3. (1). Pouring wine from a stoneware bottle into a glass. *Bordeel* (detail) by Jeremias Falck, Johann Liss and Gerard Valck (1655 – 1677). RM Inv. RP-P-1938-1079. www.rijksmuseum.nl.

As hot drinks began to work their way down the social scale, delftware manufacturers quickly caught on to the growing need for vessels to serve them, as well as to partake in the growing complexities of ritual and manners surrounding them (Gawronski 2012:77). Following the stagnation of porcelain imports after 1647, delftware began to be produced in matching set items, with imitation Chinese patterns (Erkelens 1996:13). Tea utensils and furniture are found more commonly in inventories towards the end of the century (Schotel 1867:397).

Coffee only came into use in the home at the very end of the seventeenth century, subsequent to commencement of trade with Mocha in 1661. It was still very much limited to the upper classes, partly due to its high cost, and to the additional complexity of its preparation (Bitter 2004:23). The beans were bought raw and roasted in the home, either in a cooking pan, or in a metal drum which could rotate as it cooked the beans. Roasters such as these were being sold in London as early as 1665, and fifteen years later, a new kind of jug with a built-in filter began to be produced. The fitted strainers were made of paper, fabric or metal (van Uytven 2007:137). Coffee was consumed from bowls or from saucers, possibly with a spoon, but eventually, specialist coffee cups of both porcelain and delftware with matching saucers, became available. These cups were somewhat larger and taller than tea cups (Bitter 2004:23), although the use of particular cup shapes for tea or

coffee was nor exclusive (Bartels 2005:38). By 1725, occasionally coffee cups also had a handle (van Uytven 2007:137). It was by about this time that coffee could be considered common in the Northern Netherlands, with the majority of households owning the required cups and utensils to consume it (van Uytven 2007:139). However, the rarity of excavated coffee utensils seen in this study suggests that during the seventeenth century, either this habit was not widespread in domestic contexts, or that a specific material culture had not yet formed around it.

Chocolate was rarer in the Dutch Republic than either tea or coffee. As the main trade route from South America into Europe was through Spain, chocolate became very popular in the Catholic countries of Italy, Spain and the southern Netherlands for several decades before it made its way into France in the 1640s, England in 1655 and later into the Dutch Republic (van Uytven 2007:128). Chocolate was also very prevalent in Flanders, with a monopoly on chocolate making in the Duchy of Brabant being granted in 1663. In Sheldt the first chocolate house was opened in 1660, followed by six others over the course of the next thirty years (van Uytven 2007:129). Despite the evident popularity of chocolate, only a very small proportion of the upper class were drinking chocolate in their homes, even during the final decade of the seventeenth century (van Uytven 2007:130). It remained a rare drink until the very end of the century, mostly due to its prohibitive cost, and its complex preparation which required specialist utensils, including special cups, cooking jugs and whisks (van Uytven 2007:129). The jugs were usually made of metal, and the handle-less porcelain cups used for the drink were sometimes placed in wire holders. It was not until the first third of the eighteenth century that chocolate became readily available to those outside the patrician classes, but by the end of that century it had already fallen out of favour against the competition of tea and coffee (van Uytven 2007:129-130).

More humble ceramics also had their role to play within the household. Earthenware vessels were made in the Netherlands in many regions, and were certainly not considered to be luxury items (Thoen 2007:113). These vessels, cups, bowls and the ubiquitous *papkom* porringer, were used in the everyday consumption of typically Dutch foods, particularly, as their name suggests, those with a high liquid or ‘pap’ content. The most common of these meals was the *hutsepot*, a stew made from small pieces of meat with root vegetables, grains and fat. These ingredients were cooked in earthenware pipkins and the meal was added to over the course of several days (Moryson 1592, III:97). In their own way, these vessels contained their own symbolic power, associated as they were with good, humble, familiar foodstuffs and traditional ways of consuming. Thoen suggests it was the very lack of economic value, tied into the fragility of the earthenware, which gave it its social resonance, representing the rude, fragile human form which served to contain the substance of true importance, the soul (2007:113).

This relationship between drinks and vessel types has interesting implications. For the archaeologist, it gives a rare opportunity to identify consumption on a very specific level from excavated remains. However, when considering this, it must be taken into account that specific vessel use was not likely to have been followed strictly. Van Dongen and Henkes (1994:3) suggest that distinctions in vessel use only occurred amidst the higher strata of society, and that the common people “set little store” in choosing the right glass

for a specific drink, instead using any vessel or container which was to hand. This will obviously affect the conclusions drawn about the consumption of drinks and use of the artefact. Some paintings also indicate that glass use was not strictly abided by; Pieter de Hooch's painting *A Company in the Courtyard behind a House* (c. 1663-1665) depicts a woman squeezing a lemon into a *roemer* of liquid. Yntema suggests that this indicates the woman was drinking beer from this wine glass, as lemon was a common addition to light beers (1994:86) (**Fig. 11. 3. (2)**). Additionally, as Carmiggelt *et al* point out in their 1987 excavation report, objects rarely have but one use, and their function is far from static, varying over time or between different users (1987:23).

Fig. 11. 3. (2). A woman possibly drinking beer from a *roemer* in *A Company in the Courtyard behind a House* (detail) by Pieter de Hooch (c. 1663-1665).
RM Inv. SK-C 150. www.rijksmuseum.nl.

However, in the majority of cases, the very display-focussed use and storage of the vessels in the house shows the significance of their visual power within the middle and upper classes. Where the relationship between specific vessels and their drinks was honoured, the vessels themselves could become symbols of the owners' ability to purchase those certain drinks, and therefore hinted at a certain level of status. Whilst some vessel types were undoubtedly symbols of status in their own right, due to their cost or exotic nature, this symbolism became even more powerful when combined with the status conferred by the drinks associated with them. Forest glass, for instance, was available reasonably locally and was less expensive than other materials (see chapter 12. 2 for a discussion on vessels costs). However, the association with *roemers* and wine-drinking meant their inherent status is likely to have been higher than a forest glass beer beaker, as beer was imbibed by all levels of society. Wine was considered to be a more socially exclusive product, which

carried with it numerous moral dangers, and particularly for the lower classes. Allowing wine to get into the hands of the less cultured could lead to inappropriate aspirations (Brown 2004:8). The lower classes were deemed incapable of understanding the value of the expensive items, such as the maid in Herrick's poem 'The Broken Cristall', who, after breaking the glass: "then smil'd, and sweetly chid her speed; So with a blush, beshrew'd the deed." (Brown 2004:9).

These opposed attitudes could be said to tie into the Dutch fear of over indulging, both in terms of food, and possessions. The homemade and the imported were both despised and elevated at the same time, for their rude plainness and for their extravagant, exotic nature. The material and fabric of the vessels played a key part in both their visual identity, through the linking of a particular vessel to a particular beverage, and in their symbolic nature, as signs of local manufacture, or of importation. The role of exotica is clearly important in the understanding and display of status during this period, as it requires significant investment of time, effort and resources to acquire, being both rare, and expensive (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981:30). The rise in renaissance collecting, as aristocratic collectors began to gather and display curios and oddities of nature, were all part of an attempt to understand and control the world about them (Pearce 1995:112).

During the sixteenth century, the rare and exotic came into the reach of people further down the social scale, through the popularity of Venetian glass and Italian and Spanish maiolica during the sixteenth century, and later Chinese and Japanese porcelain. By the turn of the eighteenth century, *façon d'Angleterre* glass was making its mark on the sphere of domestic utensils. Imported consumables of course also played a vital role, with tea, coffee, tobacco, rum, sugar, spices, German or Mediterranean wine and even English beer all becoming essential components in refined eating and drinking. Coffee houses were often set up by non-nationals, who understood the allure of the exotic that coffee offered their customers, and emphasised their foreignness through the decoration the rooms (van Uytven 2007:133). Thus we come to a significant pattern in material culture during this period; the initial distrust and suspicion of new things, leading to high status acquisition, and the eventual adoption and naturalisation of the rare and exotic into an entirely new, but also familiar, 'domestic' form. The concept of home, as a family dwelling, a position in society or as a national identity, begins to be conceptualised and demonstrated through the use and eventual adoption of an exotic 'other'. The traditional seventeenth-century Dutch passions, the tea cup, the tobacco pipe and the tulip; are, after all, all products of other lands which had become naturalised into a Dutch cultural landscape.

One way for the less well-off to access the power of the exotic without the associated cost of silver, glass or porcelain, were through 'imitation' material types, such as tin-glazed earthenwares or pewter (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986:18). Many of these were made in the same shapes as their more expensive counterparts, presumably to fulfil the same functional role. Delftware borrowed heavily from the influence of other pottery styles. Before 1620, maiolica and faience dishes were all produced with the smoothly curving profile which had been the style of sixteenth-century Italian dishes (van Dam 2004:17). Delftware faience also imitated a number of decorative motifs and patterns from

Italian maiolica, such as Madonna images, fruit or cherubs (see AHWB7814 (**Fig. 5. 1. (29)**) for an example of a maiolica dish with cherub decoration). These were sometimes combined with patterns drawn from the newly appeared porcelain; some vessels after 1620 began to imitate *Wanli* porcelain with its border decoration of Buddhist symbols. (Mees 1997:49, 54 – BvB A4343 and A4288 (KN&V)).

Tin-glazed manufacturers also adopted the shapes of porcelain pieces, with delftware after 1625 now being formed with a sharp shoulder on the back of plates and dishes (van Dam 2004:17). Porcelain patterns of floral and geometric borders were imitated on faience, but were frequently mixed with designs of Dutch origins, including hunting scenes or interiors. This mixing of styles did not seem to perturb customers, and delftware grew in popularity; by 1665, there were as many as twenty potteries in Delft producing porcelain imitation faience (van Dam:2004:31). Later on in the century, white *'blanc de Chine'*, polychrome Chinese and Japanese *Kaiemon* and *Imari* porcelains were also imitated (Mees 1997:49, for an example of the latter see matching cup and saucer set (DURS05136 **Fig. 4. 1. (11)** and **Fig. 4.1. (12)**). Delftware factories eventually started to produce matching dining sets in these patterns (Erkelens 1996:13).

This transfer of styles and designs went both ways. After the turn of the eighteenth century, European preferences began to alter not just the quantity of porcelain export, but also its design, with classical western shapes and styles of vessel being produced purely for that market (Draper 1984:53). It became possible to order porcelain decorated specifically in European designs (Gawronski 2012:77). During the Chinese civil war, Japan took over the main porcelain exportation to Europe. Although new Japanese decorative styles, such as the red and gold *Imari* porcelain did gain popularity, imitations of Chinese designs produced in Japan were also sold extensively (Erkelens 1996:110).

Indeed, after the initial acknowledgement that such a piece was 'exotic', it then seemed to matter less what the actual origin of the object was, as long as it continued to fulfil the visual image of how an exotic piece should look and function. This led to a gradual amalgamation of imported and local styles, which created an entirely new, entirely Dutch product. This shift, of course, was gradual and affected individuals differently, with some valuing the exotic import over the piece showing local influence, and *vice versa*. In some instances, the difference between locally made delftware faience and imported porcelain may have been of huge significance, as well as cost, to a contemporary audience. However, in some instances, both are referred to in probate inventories as 'porcelain' and by their function are considered the same (Dibbits 2001:13). One of the earliest known full services of delftware was produced on commission for Czech noble Wenceslas Ferdinand Lobkovic in *c.*1670 and was decorated with his monogram. Despite allegations that by the end of the century that *"boeren eten uit Delfts Aardewerk en geen fatzoenlyke lieden"* ('only peasants ate off Delft earthenware and not decent people') clearly this product was considered suitable for the tables of the aristocracy not long before this (Erkelens 1996:119). In a similar vein, glass manufactured *a la façon de Venise* in the Low Countries was considered just as valuable and high quality as the original Venetian product. In 1607, an Antwerp glassmaker reported that it was now nearly impossible to tell Venetian imports from locally

manufactured *façon de Venise*, and it has been suggested that the "provenance was often unimportant as long as the glass had the characteristic appearance, quality, and feel of real Venetian glass" (van Dongen 2004:194). Van Dongen also associates a sense of pride with the Dutch product, and in the budding industry's ability to emulate the technical prowess of Venetian masters. Page suggests instead that the patronage of Dutch glasshouses was also a reflection of developing Italophobia in Protestant regions (Page 2004a:4). It is likely that both reasons are partly responsible, and in either case, a similar process of cultural exchange that happened with porcelain took place with Venetian glass. Venetian glassmakers began to produce vessels particularly marketed to their Dutch buyers, and Schrijver (1963:101) even notes that in June 1621, twenty-six cargoes of glass vessels manufactured in the Netherlands were exported to Venice. The most commonly mentioned vessel produced for a Dutch market is the flute glass, which Lassels describes as a glass designed purely for the Dutch way of drinking (**Fig. 11. 3. (3)**).

> "[Murano glassmakers] seem to have taken measure of every nations belly and humour, to sit them with drinking glasses accordingly. For the *High Dutch*, they have *high glasses*, called *Flutes*, a full yard long, which a man cannot drink up alone, except his man, or some other, hold up the foot of this more than two handled glasse" (Lassels 1670:423-424).

Fig. 11. 3. (3). *Man wijst naar glas in linkerhand* by Theodor Matham and Petrus Scriverius (1627). RM Inv. RP-P-BI-5571X. www.rijksmuseum.nl.

He goes on to link *tazza* drinking dishes with the Italians, and glass tankards with the English and their love of toasts. Why exactly flutes were so suitable for the Dutch is not known, although Mees suggests their popularity related to the fashion of wearing wide ruffs, which was spreading through the Netherlands at this time (Mees 1997:13). Buechner draws parallels between the shapes of the flute and *stangenglas*, suggesting that these glasses fulfilled the same functional niche for two different strata of society (Buechner 1952:26). Henkes supports this by noting that flutes were sometimes also decorated with *passen* threads in the same manner as the *stangenglas* (Henkes 1994:151).

(Fig. 11. 3. (4). Goblet with a winged figure-of-eight stem. RM Inv. BK-1973-120. www.rijksmuseum.nl.

As well as imitating Venetian products, *façon de Venise* glassmakers were also known to create entirely new products. When manufacturing elaborate goblets for example, Antwerp and Amsterdam glassmakers sometimes abandoned the familiar baluster and 'cigar' form stem, traditionally decorated with wings and glass turns, and instead used twisted coloured glass rods to build the vessel stem, creating the derivative form of the *slangenglas* ('snake-stemmed glass'). While similar to the sixteenth-century Venetian 'seahorse' and knotted goblets, their twisted rod stems were constructed into figures-of-eight deocrated with wings and flourishes, as well as 'heart', 'coiled', and 'pretzel' shapes, and an array of other asymmetric forms (Henkes 1994:217) (**Fig. 11. 3. (4)**). These glasses are representative of the new northern European *façon de Venise* style, which instead of producing slavish imitations of Venetian products, invented new forms of their own devising. The extent to which the use of Dutch imagery on vessels and Dutch manufacturing represented early expressions of a unifying national identity will be discussed further in part 11. 4. 3.

The mimicry of vessel shapes can be seen across almost all material types. After all, the earliest ceramic plates and bowls were based on the shapes of metal and wooden dishes. Hollow-wares drew on the forms of their predecessors, German stonewares, and it was not until other cultural influences were introduced did shapes begin to change again (van Dam 2004:17). The link between silver, pewter and earthenware porringers and brandy bowls has already been mentioned, but these were also imitated in *façon de Venise* glass vessels. One example of a *façon de Venise* brandy bowl excavated from Alkmaar has two moulded

handles and is decorated with ice-glass patterning and gilded lion masks (Hulst 2013:37 fig. 25).

There are more specific influences of particularly archetypal forms imitated across material groups. Gaimster gives an example of a stoneware cup formed in the same shape as a forest glass *berkemeier*, complete with skeumorphic prunts (Gaimster 1997:136). One Raeren stoneware *berkemeier* from the last quarter of the century has small satyr masks in the place of prunts, similarly to those found on large glass beakers (F 2436 (KN&V)). Imitation *berkemeiers* and *roemers* were also produced in faience (F 10095 (KN&V)) and in silver by Jan van Millinghen, for example, in 1616 (BvB MBZ 491 (KN&V)). Stamped raspberry prunts of the type commonly found on *roemers* and beakers were also used to decorate some lead-glazed earthenware cooking pots (see examples from Groningen in **Fig. 9. 1. (27)**). Imitations in the reverse direction also took place, with glass tankards being inspired by stoneware *pulle* and *schnelle* (van Dongen 2004:201, and ENTS0862). Ceramic styles also imitated each other; faience delftware jugs developed during the late seventeenth century drew directly from stoneware tankards earlier in the century (van Dam 2004:39).

11. 3. 2. Vessels as morality symbols

The consumption of drinking vessels has been linked above to the choice of liquid being consumed; the wealth, means, and status of the owner; and to the social circumstances under which the drinking was taking place. While the ownership of particular table items was not governed by sumptuary laws, moralist concerns dogged many aspects of everyday life, including dress, behaviour, cleanliness, and of course, eating and drinking. In addition to the dangers of excess threatened by luxurious possessions and immoderate consumption, certain foods and drinks had become associated with virtues or vices (Schama 1997:163). Most consumables which played a major role in popular culture were met by contradictory opinions: exaltations of their moral fortitude, health-giving properties and strengthening vigour, or dire warnings against the potential corruption of body or soul. Wine, for instance, was praised in numerous drinking songs and poems:

> *"Oh fine wine! At your crystalline*
> *Sight, all kinds of grief leaves us.*
> *Oh, fine wine, thou expels the pain*
> *And difficulty of the heart.*
> *Your noble virtue, of Mahomed bitter and damned,*
> *It will be praised forever,*
> *And our lives are so named.*
> *Your noble virtue, I love most of all*
> *So long as I shall live.*
> *To you, neighbor, then this toast,*
> *That's your health, with a full flute."*
>
> (Schotel 1867:47, author's own translation.)

The virtues of wine, such as its crystal clarity and ability to lighten the heart, are so powerful that to deny them is to embrace a dangerous 'foreignness', here encapsulated by the reference to Mohammed and the adherents of Islam. The drinker of noble wine is set above and apart from its deniers. The exotic was also deemed dangerous, in the form of spices such as cinnamon and mace. The sinister 'pagan' nature of these rarities meant they were viewed with suspicion by preachers (Schama 1997:163). As well as its western, Christian familiarity, wine was also lauded for its healthful qualities. Physician Johan van Beverwijck commented that wine was "a better and more suitable drink than water, and while it may be true that water slakes the thirst just as well as wine, nevertheless anyone who would take care of his health will hold wine in far greater esteem than water," (van Beverwijck 1652:145, cited in van Deursen 1991:101). Beer was also usually commended as a drink for improving the health, but also had other advantages. Delft and Rotterdam beer were highly praised due to the purity of the water. Delft beer was cheaper than wine but it was said it could make a man drunk just as easily (van Deursen 1991:102). Both beer and wine gained most of their negative commentary not from the drinks themselves, but rather from overindulgence in them, and the resulting effect on social control, health, debt and moral decay. Smythe discusses the concerns of Samuel Pepys to emphasise the socially important aspects of wine, in building friendships, and strengthening community and social bonds. Drinking alone should only be done only for reasons of health (Smythe 2004:xvi).

Brandy and aqua vitae were sometimes praised for their medical value and swallowed as a cure by the spoonful (Smythe 2004:xvii), although the main benefit for many was the ability to produce the same level of drunkenness as beer or wine, but for a much lower cost (van Uytven 2007:121). For moralists, spirits shortened men's lives and caused public disorder (van Uytven 2007:117). Tea, coffee and tobacco were similarly plagued with both excessive praise of their values, and fearful exhortations warning of their dangers. Tobacco was thought by some to be a medicine and damaging only in excess, or an addictive aphrodisiac, and therefore dangerously unchristian. Smoking was considered a particularly condemnable habit in women (van Deursen 1991:103). Tea received great praise from physicians, some recommending drinking fifty to a hundred cups in a day (Schama 1997:171). Its panacean powers extended to whitening teeth, restoring eyesight, calming indigestion, and curing coughs and diarrhoea (Schotel 1867:398-400). Coffee was viewed similarly by some, advocating powers to heal scurvy, bad breath and colic, and purify blood and stomach (Schotel 1867:439-442). However, both still retained their critics, who were no less vocal about their dangers than they were about the excesses of tavern and pipe.

These attitudes regarding drinks clearly had an effect on the way in which their vessels were seen. Venetian glass seemed to be considered one of the purest and most incorruptible of vessel types, even to the extent that glasses were thought to indicate the presence of poisons:

> "'t is said that our Venetian crystal has
> Such pure antipathy to poisons as
> To burst if aught of venom touches it"
>
> (Schotel 1867:13).

Any person of quality knew to hold a wine glass delicately by its foot and not round the stem like a ruffian; the knowledge of how to use a glass was as important a status indicator as owning it (van Dongen 2004:197). *De Groot schilderboek,* an eighteenth-century composition guide for artists, demonstrates how the positioning of a glass in the hand of a figure confers clearly the status of the drinker (Dolders 1985:219) (**Fig. 11. 3. (5)**).

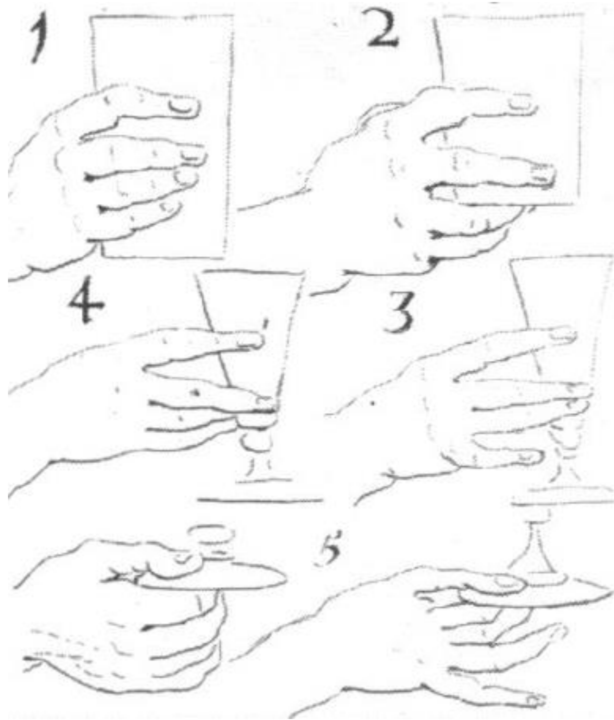

Fig. 11. 3. (5). Etching from *Groot Schilderboek* (1740) by de Lairesse showing the relative status indicated by differed hand positions when holding alcohol glasses in seventeenth-century Dutch paintings, from lowest at 1. to the highest status at 5. Note that the lowest status 1 and 2 are holding beakers instead of goblets (Dolders 1985).

The exaltation of glass can also be seen in the artefacts themselves, the most extreme form of which being the *bekerschroef*. The *bekerschroef* is formed of a simple undecorated forest glass *roemer* which is mounted on a highly ornate silver gilded stand several times its height (**Fig. 11. 3. (6)**). These are, of course, absent in the archaeological record, but they do appear in museum collections, such as the vessel made by Cornelis Jansz van Weerdenborch of Utrecht (BvB MBZ 435 (KN&V)) and one of unknown provenance fitted with a *berkemeier* (RM Inv. BK-NM-688). They also appear in several *pronkstilleven* paintings; notably Jeremias van Winghen's *Still Life with Silver-gilt Glass-holder and Tazza* (1607) and *Still-Life with a Late Ming Ginger Jar* by Willem Kalf (1669). Some few paintings also show this glass in use during feasting scenes, such as Bartholomeus van der Helst's 1649 *The Celebration of the Peace of Münster* (**Fig. 11. 4. (13a)**).

(**Fig. 11. 3. (6)**) *Bekerschroef*, c. 1625-1675. RM Inv. BK-NM-688. https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/.

In Jan Joseph Horemans the Younger's eighteenth-century *Banquet Scene*, a seated drinker is lifting his glass in a *bekerschroef* to give a toast. The height of his glass-holder allows the glass to be seen all down the table without the need to stand (Buechner 1952:18). Paintings and museum examples show it was almost always *roemers* that were treated to this form of ornamentation, although one network patterned goblet mounted on a gilt holder was painted by Willem Claeszoon Heda in *Still Life with an Up-turned Roemer* (1638). This particular example is thought to use the stand as a repair for the goblet rather than as pure ornamentation, as only the goblet bowl is intact and glass foot and stem are missing. The literal and symbolic elevation of these glasses by their golden stands seems to express an admiration for the simplicity and adornment of the *roemer's* form (van Dongen and Henkes 1994:16). The gilt stands are beautifying and celebrating the simple origins of these forest glasses, much in the same way that Nautilus cups do with relation to the natural world. These vessels were made of a large nautilus-type seashell which was mounted on a gilt and silver stand to form a vessel (see BvB MBZ 185 (KN&V)), and another is illustrated in Pieter Claesz painting *Still Life with Turkey Pie* from 1627 (**Fig. 11. 3. (7)**). Nautilus cups display again the desire for the exotic and rare, while also demonstrating a need to understand and control the natural world, by collecting it and placing it on display (Pearce 1995:112).

Fig. 11. 3. (7). *Still Life with a Turkey Pie* by Pieter Claesz (1627).
RM Inv. SK-A-4646. https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/.

In many kinds of still life paintings and domestic scenes, glass becomes an important visual symbol. Often placed at the back of the still life group due to its height, the composition often leads the viewer's eye through the painted environment and to the vessel. Glass, with its curved surfaces and distorted reflections, proves one of the greatest challenges of a painter's skill, and vessels have become a medium of artistic expression, as well as a demonstration of craftsmanship involved in their own manufacture (Buechner 1952:13-14). Vessels also appear frequently as centre pieces of the *banketjestukken* 'breakfast' still live paintings. These artworks are characterised by their simplicity and humble subjects,

showing modest foodstuffs of bread, cheese and herring, some fruit or nuts and the ubiquitous glass or wine or beer. Schama recognises the importance of the meal of breakfast as a social equaliser; “the fact that [the Dutch] all sat down…to a breakfast consisting or more or less the same ingredients…suggests a community in which the bonds of shared habit tied together those whom economic conflict would otherwise have sundered” (Schama 1997:174). Glass beakers and stoneware jugs are playing a role in this social unification, with the vessels themselves becoming symbols for elegant simplicity and humble living (**Fig. 11. 3. (8)**).

Fig. 11. 3. (8). The humble Dutch meal of bread, fish and stew. *Old Woman Saying Grace,* known as *‘The Prayer without End’* (detail) by Nicolaes Maes (c. 1656). RM Inv. SK-C-535. https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/.

Despite their cost and inherent elite status, vessels also remind viewers of the danger of excess, and of valuing material objects too highly. Van Dongen (2004:205) notes two examples of bottles engraved by famous Leiden engraver Willem Jacobszoon van Heemskerk. These warn that *“Alle ding is zo men ‘t acht”* (‘Everything possesses the value one gives to it’) and “*Elk ding waerdy van dat men ziet is naermen ‘t waerd acht, meerder niet Cristalleyn”* (‘Everything, including crystal, has the value it merits’). Physical things

should not be given a value greater than that which they deserve, for that way lies decadence and moral decay.

Glass vessels clearly signified a number of different social meanings depending upon the context, and not everything about glassware was viewed with such crystal clear purity. For glasses and porcelain were also painted into the *pronkstilleven* luxury still-lifes and vanitas scenes, balanced precariously amidst a riot of colour, constructed from exotic foods, Turkish carpets, and jugs and *tazze* of precious metals. Goblets in this type of scene are giving an entirely different message, becoming accessories to ostentatious extravagance, and didactic symbols of the dangers of excess and transience, and how soon all vain delights could come tumbling down (van Dongen and Henkes 1994:16). Glassware also plays a key role in many *vanitas* paintings, where the vulnerable glass lying on its side amidst skulls, hour glasses, candles and mirrors represents, as portents of mortality, the fragility of earthly things (Schama 1997:214). Excellent examples are David Bailly's *Self-Portrait with Vanitas Symbols* (1651), *Vanitas with violin and glass ball* by Pieter Claesz (c.1628), and Jacques de Claeuw's *Vanitas stilleven* (1650) (**Fig. 11. 3. (9)**).

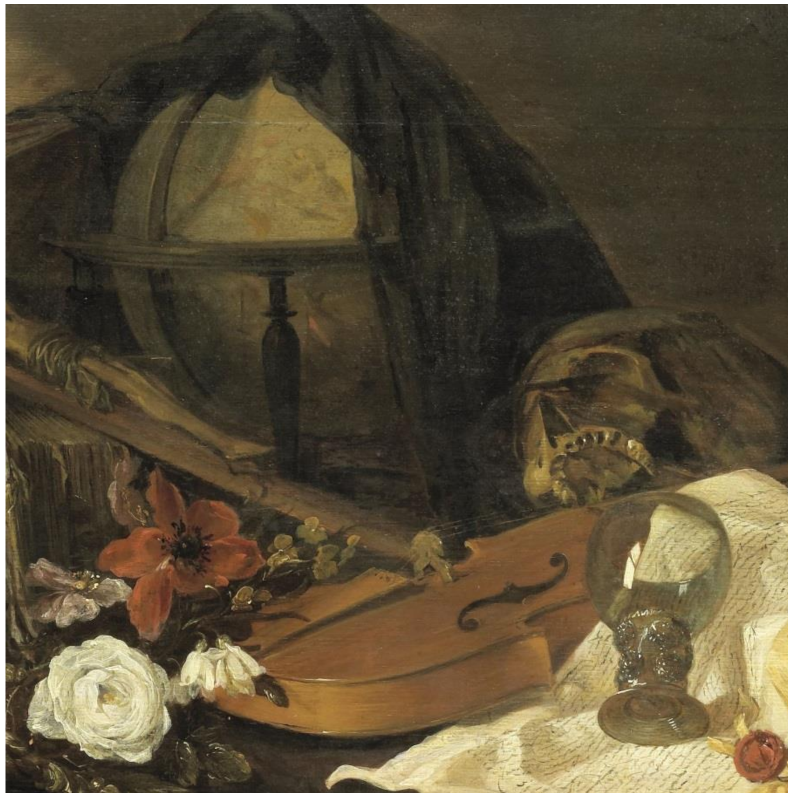

Fig. 11. 3. (9). *Vanitas stilleven* (detail) by Jacques de Claeuw (1650).
RM Inv. SK-A-1444. https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/.

This message was even more overtly stated with vessels that were engraved with their own *memento mori* symbols or with moral messages, warning of the ever-present threat of the *overvloed*, moral decay, and death. Skulls, as mortality symbols, appear on the engraved crucifixion goblet, recovered from the Leidsche Rijn in Utrecht (Rauws 2003), a vessel which will be discussed further in section 11. 4. 6. Recent excavations at De Twee Rosen glasshouse in Amsterdam recovered, from a large quantity of glass manufacturing waste,

millefiori cames with the cross section of a skull (obj. 8.7.10. Gawronski *et al.* 2010:39,131). A looming skeleton holding an hour-glass is also a major figure in the allegorical scene engraved onto a beaker, dated 1598. The vessel shows a seated couple, with the man playing a lute, and behind them looms the figure of death. The text engraved on the reverse makes the message even less ambivalent: "*Hyer sijn wij in Vruchden gesetten, die doot is ons naerder als wij weeten"*, ('Here we are together joyfully, yet death is nearer than we know') (Schrijver 1963:57, formally of the A. Vecht Collection, Amsterdam.) A similar comment on fleeting mortality is found on a purple glass wine bottle engraved again by Willem Jacobsz. van Heemskerk with *"Des levens lamp is als een damp"* ('Life's lamp is as a vapour') (BvB Inv. 785 KN&V, Mees 1997:25). Engraved morality messages appear on a number of bottles and drinking vessels. Mees also discusses two such bottles; "*Richesse Contentement: passé"* (happiness in wealth passes) reads one, while the second is even more abrupt: "*Qui trop embrasse mal etraint*" ('grab all, lose all') (BvB Inv. 506 KN&V, and Inv. 785 KN&V, Mees 1997:22). Drinking vessels were also engraved with warnings of the effect of alcohol, or messages beseeching the user to abide by good moral behaviour. A *berkemeier* engraved by Anna Roemers Visscher in 1646 has the text "*Vincens tui"* ('conquer thyself'); words which seem to call for self-control and a certain level of temperance (RM Inv. BK-NM-8186, **Fig. 11. 3. (10)**).

Fig. 11. 3. (10). A *berkemeier* engraved by Anna Roemers Visscher with the text "*Vincens tui"* (1646). RM BK-NM-8186. https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/.

Another beaker decorated by engraver Willem Jacobszoon van Heemskerk has a warning about the effect of alcohol on one's ability to walk: "*Van t' veel Drinken, Komt 't krom Hinke*" ('from too much drinking comes crooked limping') (BvB Inv. 128 KN&V). A similar message is found on another beaker and on a 1688 goblet by the same artist, with the text

"Maet hout state" ('moderation maintains balance') (BvB Inv. 103 KN&V) (Mees 1997:24-25, van Dongen 2004:205). A goblet with a moulded stem and *mezza stampaura* decoration is engraved with birds and flowers, as well as the edifying instruction to "DSM DRINK AND BE SOBER 1663" (CMOG Inv. 73.2.25), and another calligraphic baluster stemmed goblet calls for "*Nequid nimis*" ('nothing in excess ') (CMOG Inv. 79.3.306). Glasses and earthenware dishes were also frequently found with text and images reminding the drinker to praise God or to give thanks. These will be discussed further in part 11. 4. 6.

Returning briefly to paintings, drinking vessels were also frequently represented in genre paintings depicting home and country life or tavern scenes, and again, the glasses could be used both to depict good examples of moral behaviour, and to impart terrible warnings. Peaceful scenes such as Gerard Terborch's *Woman drinking wine* (1656-57), Pieter de Hooch's *Young Woman Drinking* (c. 1658) or Vermeer's *Officer with a Laughing Girl* (c. 1657) and *A Lady Drinking and a Gentleman* (1658) all emphasise the place of drinking within a sphere of domestic harmony and encouraged social interaction. However, a large number of other paintings, such as the prolific quantity of tavern and domestic paintings by Jan Havicksz. Steen amongst others, present drinking in an entirely different immoral, decedent and salacious light. Not only is the drinking glass in *The Drunken Couple* (c. 1655 – 1665) at the centre of the painting, it is also central to the plight of its characters, so drunk beyond reason that they are blind to the fact they are being robbed (**Fig. 11. 3. (11)**).

Fig. 11. 3. (11). The dangers of drinking and overindulgence as pictured in *The Drunken Couple* by Jan Havicksz. Steen (c. 1655 – 1665). RM Inv. SK-C-232. https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/.

Similar threats to health and soul are depicted in numerous of Jan Steen's paintings in which domestic order is inverted by overindulgence in earthly pleasures. Famous scenes of *The Dissolute Household* (c. 1661-64), *The Effects of Intemperance* (c. 1663-5) and *In Luxury Look Out* (1663) all demonstrate the dangers of allowing drink, vice and luxury to flow too freely; mothers sleep across tables while the children run wild, smoking and stealing, animals eat and drink the family food and fathers dally with maids and whores. Birch rods and crutches of leper and cripple hang ominously above their heads, showing that their decadence will end in physical and spiritual disaster (Schama 1997:210, 393-393). Glasses, as well as symbols of decadence in household drinking and spending, also became used in the painted scene as sexual metaphors. In Steen's *A Man Blowing Smoke at a Drunken Woman* (c. 1660-5), the *roemer* is positioned between the legs of a sleeping woman, in a clear vulvic response to the phallic tobacco pipe; a symbolism also seen in *The Interior of an Inn* (*The Broken Eggs*) (c. 1665-70) (Schama 1979:109). A *pasglas,* a vessel type almost always appearing in debauched tavern scenes, is also used as a phallic symbol in painting like Marcellus Laroon II's *Brothel Scene* (1680-1700), where two men, one drinking from a *pasglas*, look up a womans dress (BM Inv. 1866,0623.47, Laan 1994:101). These, and other vulgar innuendos such as the *flapkan* tankard with its open lid, broken eggs, open mussel shells, oyster eaters and red stockings appear in numerous other paintings, and serve to demonstrate the way material culture and foods came to be used to moralise and chastise, as well as to mock and ridicule the folly of others (Schama 1997:204-205).

Glasswares and porcelain were not the only vessels to be tied into a moralistic landscape of artefacts. In 1620, the States General decreed that all taverners must hang a *kanne* (jug) or *kruyck* (flask) outside their establishment to alert everyone to the location of the tavern. This decree related specifically to the ability of tax collectors to identity places where beer and wine were being sold, and cut down on the booming success of illegal taverns. The vessels hung outside the taverns were a sign that the taverner had sworn a legal oath to pay his taxes, do business honestly and without fraud. In a sense, the jug became a symbol of his integrity and moral standing (Yntema 1994:95).

11. 4. Identity construction

11. 4. 1. Drinking as part of social ritual: tea parties and drinking games

As has been discussed above, a large proportion of the day-to-day and special occasion drinking of the household took place in a ceremonial and even ritualistic manner. Rites of passage ceremonies surrounding weddings, funerals or baptisms allowed for an intensity of social interaction and feasting behaviour which were vital to the balance and maintenance of the community. The permissive extravagances of carnival and market-day feasting were all part of a social framework which might seem to be the antithesis of the Calvinist

teachings of the church, but were actually rooted in the traditional community experience of medieval Europe (Kamen 2000:54-55). The tavern and alehouse presented a location for the conclusion of business and financial exchanges, and the rite of toasting was essential for cementing social, business, and political alliances (Schama 1997:199). The exchange of hospitality through feasting and drinking also took place in the home, helping to establish and fortify the household's social position, all within a sphere of conspicuous consumption.

Fig. 11. 4. (1). Tea caddy in Dutch faience painted with figures at a tea party (c. 1700). RM Inv. BK-KOG-2404.

The consumption of tea within the house often took place in a highly ritualistic fashion (**Fig. 11. 4. (1)**). This was a part of the growing proliferation of table manners and customs regarding the dressing of the table and the individual use of eating and drinking utensils (Caluwé 2006:303). The rise of complex manners relating to the dining table was all part of the effort to control both behaviour and class insecurity. Manners were a method of regulating social groups by creating a behavioural standard, to which lesser persons would be unable to comply. This was particularly relevant during the ongoing social instability which was occurring in the post-medieval period (Elias 1994:63, 90).

As for tea and coffee, they "may have had a greater 'civilising' effect – on the violence if not on sexual practices – than a century of sermons" (Price 2000:152). Schotel (1867:404) suggests that by the last quarter of the century, certain rooms of the house began to be used specifically for the taking of tea. He gives a, probably somewhat fanciful, account of a

tea party: invited guests would arrive in the early afternoon, and were greeted by their hosts. The lady of the house would produce all of the varieties of teas, flavoured in different ways and brew small quantities in porcelain or silver cups. Once the guests had chosen which mix or variety they preferred, the tea would be made up in a larger tea pot, sometimes mixed with saffron or sugar, and served. As many as forty or fifty cups were drunk, and guests also ate treats of pastries or sweets. Finally, after the tea was finished, the hosts were expected to produce wine or bowls of sweetened brandy, and the event devolved into a less sedate affair (Schotel 1867:407-409). In houses where coffee was commonly drunk, it is likely that a similar procedure was undertaken; when the beans were roasted, ground and poured through filtering jugs, and the coffee served with sugar and cinnamon, cloves, or cardamom (van Uytven 2007:137, Schotel 1867:439). Tea drinking rituals accompanied the spread of the beverage into all social classes (Bartels 2005:39) (**Fig. 11. 4. (2)**).

Fig. 11. 4. (2). Tea drinking in the home. *Het nieuwe lied* (detail) by Jan Josef Horemans (II) (1740 – 1760). RM Inv. SK-A-1614. https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/.

The rituals of drinking also applied to alcoholic beverages, particularly in continuations of medieval communal drinking practice. The increase in wealth during the in Renaissance, the fluid reordering of social hierarchies and changes in interpersonal interaction and cultural pressures all led to a number of social changes, displayed through changing dining habits (Elias 1994:89-92). Changing values on hygiene, cleanliness and propriety developed into a move away from communal dining, which had involved eating with the fingers, taking food from a large communal platter or soup bowl and the sharing of drinking vessels. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, guests began to use their own spoons, and

then individual bowls and platters began to be introduced (Elias 1994:91-92), with serving platters, sauces, salt dishes and other condiments remaining mobile on the table. During the sixteenth century, while a greater number of smaller drinking glasses were now in use, these did not remain with an individual diner but were filled at the buffet on demand, and returned for cleaning after use (Willmott 2005:125). By the seventeenth century in the Netherlands, the table had gained a more formalised set of furniture, with each diner having a set of specific utensils. Despite this, large beakers, *pasglazen* ‘passing glasses’ and three-handled ceramic jugs are still frequently recovered from archaeological contexts, in what appears to be a continuation of medieval communal drinking practice which occurs under specific circumstances. Large, oversized beakers are commonly known as *welkommen bekers*, ‘welcoming beakers’, and were passed between multiple drinkers (de Roever 1998:37). This played an important role in the distribution of hospitality throughout a community, by the sharing of good fortune and bounty with guests to the house. The previous chapters give several examples of over-sized beakers from excavations, which are summarised below. Archaeological welcoming beakers from this period are mostly divided between unmoulded beaker types of particularly large size, and large beakers decorated with *passen* threads or prunts. While only dramatically large beakers have been included in the table below, a number of other good sized beakers, including the majority with *vetro a fili* decoration may also have been used for this function.

Fig. 11. 4. (3). Numbers of *Welkommen* beakers recovered from excavations.

Site	No.	Rim/ Height	Vessel type	Decoration
Walsteeg, (Utrecht) UWAL9424	1	112, ?	Large beaker with turned out lip and milled threads (gl-bek-34a)	Milled threads and rosettes with blue beads **Fig. 7. 1. (29).**
In den Boerenmouw, (‘s-Hertogenbosch) DBBM8909	3	150, ?	Plain thick walled beaker without a foot ring, (gl-bek-8b)	Plain **Fig. 10. 1. (26).**
Ursulaklooster 558, (Delft) DURS0599	1	76, 290	Very tall *stangenglas*-style beaker (gl-bek-32)	Plain **Fig. 4. 1. (40).**
Ursulaklooster 588, (Delft) DURS05100	1	131, 200	Large beaker with turned out lip, applied prunts and milled footring (gl-bek-8a)	Applied prunts. Three small rosette prunts with embedded blue beads and the fourth a Neptune face. **Fig. 4. 1. (41).**
Ursulaklooster 347, (Delft) DURS05108	1	104, ?	Large beaker with turned out lip (gl-bek-33a)	Spiralling applied thread and applied rosette prunts with blue beads. **Fig. 4. 1. (19).**
Bentinctstraat (Arnhem) AHBT8213	1	120, ?	Large beaker with turned out lip (gl-bek-8a)	Plain
Karperkuil (Hoorn) HOKKI9501	1	150, 160	*Pasglas* beaker with milled threads (gl-bek-34b)	Large high quality beaker decorated with two parallel milled threads and rosette

				prunts, one gilded and one with embedded blue bead. **Fig. 4. 2. (34).**
Torenstraat, (Enkhuizen) ENTS0832	2	??, ??	*Stangenglas* on a raised foot (gl-bek-32)	Plain
Keizershof ('s-Hertogenbosch) DBHTK00190	1	90, >115	Large thick walled plain beaker (gl-bek-21)	Plain
Speelmanstraat (Leeuwarden) LWSM8213	1	112, ?	Large green beaker with thick folded foot (gl-bek-32)	Green glass
Wever-Bakkerstraat (Arnhem) AHWB7819	1	?, >145	Large roemer with egg-shaped bowl and four rows of thorned prunts. (gl-roe-6)	Gilded horizontal bands, patterns (birds?) and text on the bowl. **Fig. 5. 1. (30) and (31).**
Alkmaar Langestraat 115/117 beerput 13C	1	205, 355	Large ice glass beaker	Gilded lion mask prunts and rosettes

Only one over-sized roemer was recovered, from Wever-Bakkerstraat, Arnhem, and this vessel was decorated with gilt paint. Large roemers, such as this artefact, seem to have been extremely rare (Henkes 1994:254), although some few examples are extant in museum collections, such as the large 300mm tall roemer with four rows of raspberry prunts which is held by the Kunstzalen A. Vecht, or a slightly smaller roemer (240mm high) of the same style, engraved with a landscape of Nijmegen and dated 1644 (RM, Inv. BK-KOG-1557). Another large roemer with a height of 380mm, engraved with figures and coats of arms, also has an engraved ornamental lid (BvB 69 (KN&V), this roemer will be discussed further later. One of the most famous of the welcoming beakers is the great Laangestraat beaker, excavated in Alkmaar. This beaker is decorated with an *ijsglas* surface, gilding around the rim, alternating gilded raspberry prunts and lion masks, and, astonishingly, is approx. 365mm tall, with a rim diameter of 205mm (Bitter *et al* 1997:94), and a volume of seven litres (Willmott 2002:36). Clearly, beakers of this size were vessels intended for much more than everyday drinking; and their weight when filled would make them extremely impractical, if not impossible to use as a functional item. Vessels on this scale would be immediately noticeable in a household assemblage, and they seem to have transcended practicality to a greater extent, instead acting to present their contemporary viewers with a manifestation of hospitality, generosity and of the good fortune of the family.

Welcoming beakers are part of a group of vessels which relate to the phenomenon of drinking rituals and the communal consumption of alcohol. Ceramic cups and jugs with three handles are frequently recovered from excavations, and have long been associated with the sharing of drinks, and passing of a communal vessel between partakers. Several paintings support this interpretation, particularly in rural scenes: Pieter Brueghel the Elder's 1567 *The Peasant Dance,* Brueghel the Younger's *Peasant Wedding Dance* (1607) and various engravings by Nicolaes de Bruyn (the *Domus laetitiae - The House of Mirth* for instance), all show three-handled stoneware jugs being passed between carousers. Earthenware cups with three handles recovered from the hospital site of Nieuwe Kamp in

Utrecht led to a different interpretation; that in this context, these vessels are used as a medical aid, to facilitate the feeding of patients by nurses or family members (van Helbergen and Ostkamp 2010:73). The discovery of these vessels in domestic contexts might indicate an invalid in the house rather than necessarily be furniture for communal drinking. Mees also offers an additional explanation that shallow three handled dishes may have been used for handing sweetmeats around at weddings (1997:47).

Returning to glass again for the moment, another vessel type with a fairly unequivocal association with group drinking and drinking games is the s*tangenglas* decorated with horizontal threads (*passen*), and often called a *pasglas. Passen* threads could be added to beakers of numerous types, but the most common type of *pasglas* are tall glasses, most commonly of forest glass, sometimes multisided and sometimes with wrythern ribbing. The threads are applied in rings, often of blue glass and usually milled, and the majority of these vessel types are dated to the late sixteenth century, with *passen* beakers coming more into favour later in the century. The accepted use of these glasses is that they were filled with beer and passed between drinkers who were challenged to drink down to the next marker in one swallow; the Middle Dutch word *pas* meaning measure (Laan 1994:98). The long acknowledged link between *pasglazen* and drinking games originates from a single source; a *pasglas* in the Museum für Angewandte Kunst in Vienna, which is engraved with a poem in German describing the game:

> "To life. To the health of us all
> We will drink up to every mark
> However, he who cannot drink his measure
> Will have to keep drinking to the next mark
> Thus I will do my best
> To drink up to my mark
> Just as my neighbour has done
> I too will make sure to drink my share. To life."
>
> (Laan 1994:100).

The *pasglas* was well represented in the archaeological record and in contemporary paintings; Henkes notes at least ninety-two paintings and engravings depicting *pasglazen* (Henkes 1994:157). The table below summarises the number of *stangenglas* and beakers marked with *passen* threads.

Fig. 11. 4. (4). Numbers of *pasglazen* and *stangenglazen* identified in the primary dataset

Cities	Sites	Number of *Pasglazen*	Number of *Stangenglas*
Delft	Ursulaklooster 347		3
Delft	Ursulaklooster 673	1	1
Delft	Ursulaklooster 683	1	
Delft	Ursulaklooster 689	1	
Enkhuizen	Torenstraat	4	3
Enkhuizen	Enkhuizer Banketfabriek	1	

Arnhem	Koningstraat		1
Arnhem	Wever-Bakkerstraat		1
Arnhem	Bentinckstraat		1
Hoorn	Bruintje		1
Hoorn	Karperkuil	1	
Groningen	Schoolstraat	2	12
Groningen	Wolters-Noordhoof Complex	2	3
Utrecht	Walsteeg		2
‘s-Hertogenbosch	Keizershof	6	1
Leeuwarden	Provinciehuis		1
Maastricht	Witmakkerstraat	1	
Coevorden	Landschrijvershuis	1	3

Fig. 11. 4. (5) Numbers of *pasglazen* and *stangenglazen* identified in the secondary dataset

Cities	Sites	Number of *Pasglazen*	Number of *Stangenglas*
Alkmaar	Huigbrouwerstraat 3, 95 HBS 2	1	
Alkmaar	Voordam 2, 92 VDA 2		2
Alkmaar	Oudegracht 26 BP 4C		1
Alkmaar	Huigbrouwerstraat 3 95 HBS 2	1	
Zutphen	Dieserstraat 82 – 106, De Bakpanbeerput S98		3
Zutphen	Lange Hofstraat 7, LH7-V20/21		5
Zutphen	Burgemeester Opgelder V248		1
Breda	Visserstraat 31 (De Drye Mooren) KP 1252	4	
	Visserstraat 31 (De Drye Mooren) BP DM87	1	
Dordrecht	Groenmarkt Kelder 62-17 (168)	1	
Den Haag	Lange Voorhout, V9B		1
Den Haag	Lange Voorhout, V11		2
Delft	Oude Delft 95 B11	15	2
Geertruidenberg	Koestraat, Afvalput 2030	1	1
Middelburg	Berghuijs, Beerput 5 (put 6, spoor 87)		1
Nijmegen	Eiermarkt		1
Venlo	Oude Markt 8 (WP 63)	1	
Zwolle	Achter de Broenen (BK 10)		2
Zwolle	Eiland (BP 4)	2	
Zwolle	Smeden (BP 22)		1

While there are no completely clear depictions of *pasglas* game being played (see **Fig. 11. 4. (6)**), it is possible that many of these vessels were used in this way (Laan 1994:101). The majority of their appearances in visual media are as part of riotous tavern or brothel scenes, although the table above shows they were known in domestic contexts, and they do appear in some domestic scenes such as Pieter de Hooch’s tranquil *A Dutch Courtyard* (*c.* 1658-1660) (NGA Inv. 1937.1.56). Significantly, seventeenth-century *pasglazen* had

notably more sloppy decoration than on earlier sixteenth-century examples (Henkes 1994:159). Potentially glasses that were once marked for the drinking game described above later just became a decorative feature that did not need to be as precise as the game fell out of fashion. Despite this, drinking games in general remained extremely popular, and many commanded their own very specific material culture.

Fig. 11. 4. (6). Revellers in a tavern drinking from a *pasglas*. *Het dansende paar* (detail) by Adriaen van Ostade (1625 – 1640). RM Inv**.** SK-A-2568. www.rijksmuseum.nl.

Drinkuit ('drink up') glasses are another popular vessel associated with communal drinking events. These glasses, which come in a number of forms and are usually known as 'stirrup cups' in English, are identified by their lack of foot, meaning the drinker could not stand the glass down until it was emptied. Common forms include the windmill beaker (*molenbekers*), dice glass, and the bell glass (sometimes known as *Duc d'Alf beker*). A simple example of a *drinkuit* in blue glass, resembling the bowl of a goblet, was recovered from the cesspit of the Drye Mooren tavern in Breda (Hupperetz, W. 2004:132). More complex windmill beakers were produced in plain silver and in glass and silver, originating from Germany, Antwerp or Amsterdam, and are formed of a goblet style bowl with a small, highly detailed, silver model of a windmill on the base (**Fig. 11. 4. (7a)**). One example of silver with a ribbed glass bowl has sails, a ladder, a gilded clock face and four small figures (CMOG Inv. 79.3.360). This example is also decorated with a coat of arms. The vessel itself formed a drinking game; blowing into a small tube which ran parallel to the windmill's steps would start the sails spinning and the hands on the clock face turning. While the rules are again unknown, it has been suggested that if the drinker could not finish the drink before the sails stopped turning, they would have to consume a number of drinks equivalent to the time on the clock face (Page 2004b:262). The earliest dated glass of this

type has a glass flute, engraved with the coat of arms of Prince Maurice and the town of Bergen op Zoom, and the date 1595, and a silver windmill, made a decade earlier (RM Inv. BK-16095). These glasses begin to demonstrate the link between drinking and political pride. The Rijksmuseum also holds five silver *molenbekers*, which give evidence of a different form of self-promotion taking place. One of the Rijksmuseum beakers, dated to 1722, is engraved with a poem, names and coats of arms identifying it as a gift to the Miller's Guild of Rotterdam (BK-VBR-46). Guild beakers will be discussed further in part 11. 4. 3. Liefkes (2002:429) also mentions several silver windmill beakers which are inscribed with details of a new birth, and another with the names of a husband and wife. This strongly suggests these vessels were either given as gifts at christenings or weddings, or played a part in the ritual drinking and toasting at their feasts. Another silver windmill glass is decorated with panels depicting two of the Seven Works of Mercy: feeding the hungry, and giving drink to the thirsty (RK Inv. BK-KOG-2474). While it may be that this image served as a sobering reminder of Christian duty to drinkers, it is also possible there was a level of intentional irony about the message, with the guests at the party playing the role of the hungry and thirsty with their host acting as their salvation.

Fig. 11. 4. (7a and 7b). Two *drinkuit* glasses from the collection of the Rijksmuseum, a dice glass and a *molenbeker* windmill glass. RM Inv. BK-1995-4 and BK-NM-10754-354. www.rijksmuseum.nl.

Other stirrup beakers intended for drinking games include cups like the dice glass, a glass cup with the twisted snake stem with blue trails finishing in a silver globe encasing a silver dice, presumably also part of a game (RM Inv. BK-14915). The glass is sometimes engraved, such as another example from the Rijksmuseum which is engraved around the bowl with

the text *"ICK BRINGT U MIJN LIEF"* ('I bring you my love'). One of the bands on the silver sphere at the base is inscribed with the text *"BYBE CUM GAVDIO VINVM ECLESIASTES IX CAP"* ('drink the wine with joy; Eccl. IX') (RM Inv. BK-1995-4, **Fig. 11. 4. (7b)**). This latter text is referring to the passage from Ecclesiastes 9:7 "Go thy way, eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart; for God now accepteth thy works" (King James Bible). Once again we see links to religious observance on glasses, but only where its message regarding wine and drink are already being enacted. The format of the dice cup is taken even further, with a *stortebeker* ('wager cup'), a silver beaker at one end and a smaller, rotating cup at the opposing end. Joining the two cups is a sphere containing a dice. The aim seems to be to empty the large beaker without spilling the smaller, although it has also been suggested that such vessels were used at wedding feasts, and the bride and groom had to empty both vessels at the same time (BvB Inv. MBZ 13 (KN&V), Mees 1997:72).

Another type of stirrup beaker used in drinking games are those with whistles and bells. One vessel with a *vetro a fili* bowl is topped with a whistle in the form of a gilded dragon, a rotating wheel and a bell (CMOG Inv. 51.3.280). The bell is thought to have been sounded at the successful completion of the drinking game (Page 2004b:263). In this particular vessel, the glass elements are thought to be substantially older (c. 1630) with the metal additions added in 1673. Stirrup cups are usually formed with goblet bowls, but one unusual flute version is fitted with a hanging silver bell at the foot, and also engraved the coat of arms of the Republic (BvB Inv. 120 (KN&V)) (Mees 1997:23).

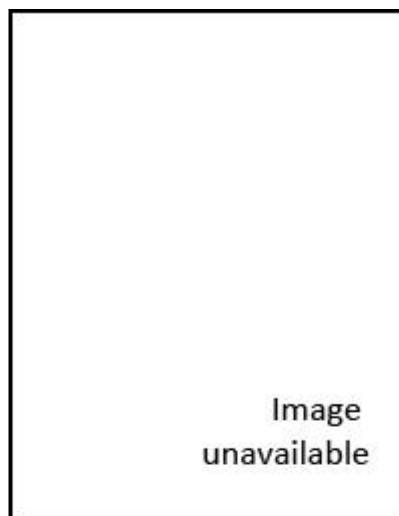

Fig. 11. 4. (8). Excavated drinking bell (Duc d'Alf) from Geertruidenberg (PHG-2030/54). Drawn by J. E. Dilz (Zijlmans and Kooiman 1994:146)

Glass and silver drinking bells are another type of stirrup beaker with a political association. Commonly known as 'Duc d'Alf's uitluiding' or *Ducdalf* glasses, these take the form of a bell-shaped goblet bowl on a knopped stem, without a foot. They were initially equipped with a hanging glass clapper inside the bell; of the twenty glass versions known, none retain their original clappers (Liefkes 2002:429). Van Alkemade and van der Schelling (1732: 512-516) recorded the history of the glass in the eighteenth century. The vessels were apparently first commissioned for a banquet in 1581 during which the Dutch revolt against Spain and the hated governor of the Netherlands Duke of Alva, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, was decided. After drinking a toast to the prosperity of the new nation, the guests at the banquets triumphantly sounded the bells to 'ring out' the Duke, with the cry of: "*Duk d'Alf heeft het te zwaar verbruid, Wij luijen de Koning van Spanjen uit,"* – 'The Duke of Alva has failed, We ring for the departure of the Spanish King' (translation by Caluwé 2006:10). This association between bell glasses and the victory over the Spanish continued long after the country achieved independence, and was re-enacted with toasts and bell ringing at many gatherings for years afterwards. These glasses do not appear often in paintings, although one is the subject of an engraving by Frans van Bleyswyck, entitled

“The ringing out of the Duc d’Alf”, reproduced in van Alkemade and van der Schelling (1732:513, also van Dongen and Henkes 1994:12). Examples of these types of glass from the Low Countries are known from museums (see BvB Inv. 592 (KN&V), CMOG Inv, 2011.3.116), although they are more rarely discovered archaeologically (**Fig. 11. 4. (8)**). This might be due to the activity of ringing, causing many to break, after which they would not be easily identified (van Dongen and Henkes, 1994:12). Excavated examples have been recovered from the Kaastraat in Antwerp (van Dongen and Henkes, 1994:12), Postelstraat in ‘s-Hertogenbosch (Jacobs and Graas 1983:240, **Fig. 10. 1. (112)**) and Prinsenhof in Geertruidenberg (PHG-2030/54 Zijlmans and Kooiman 1994:146).

The presence of several of these bells from the southern Spanish Netherlands suggests that an alternative understanding and use of these vessels was taking place in these areas. One vessel in the collection of the Boijmans van Beuningen might give a clue; it is engraved with the name ‘HENRICA VAN MARVELT Ao 1621’. This sort of engraving is usually associated with vessels made as wedding gifts, and perhaps they were used to celebrate other toasting events without the same political associations that accompanied this behaviour in the Northern Netherlands (BvB Inv. 592 (KN&V)). Additional examples are decorated with familial coats of arms, like the three cockleshells of the Van der Eycken family of Antwerp which were gilded onto the bowl of a bell glass (Liefkes 2002:429-430).

In addition to the stirrup glasses, the drinking culture of the Netherlands also provided the demand for a wide variety of novelty and *fopglazen* ‘joke’ glasses. These included forms common throughout Europe, such as the boot glass (see CMOG Inv. 70.3.326 and 67.3.49 for examples, one decorated *vetro a fili* and one plain). These are more commonly recognised in archaeological contexts than other glasses discussed here: two vessels of *façon de Venise* and forest glass were recovered from Middelburg Castle excavations, and another from Postelstraat in ‘s-Hertogenbosch (Caluwé 2007:26), in addition to the dark brown/red glass boot recovered from the Enkhuizer Banketfabriek site (ENEBF9406). Caluwé identifies the links between boot glasses and ‘friendship’, recognising the long history of drinking boots as apotropaic items (Caluwé 2007:26). Other shaped bottles and vessels come in the form of birds (Enkhuizer Banketfabriek ENEBF9404 **Fig. 4. 3. (13)**, and see also Henkes 1994:281), cannons (the house of a military officer, Caluwé 2007:26), and pistols (BvB Inv. 182 (KN&V), CMOG Inv. 53.3.25). A stoneware cannon-shaped cup is also held in the Rijksmuseum (RM Inv. BK-NM-4821, **Fig. 11. 4. (9)**).

Trick glasses and puzzle jugs were popular in many areas of Europe during the seventeenth century. Hulst records a unique example from Amsterdam; a roemer with a central post, painted with black fish on a white background. Once the vessel was filled with wine, the fish would appear to swim (Hulst 2010). More humiliating types of puzzle jug, designed to pour liquid from an unexpected direction all over the unfortunate drinker, were also manufactured from ceramic, from as far back as the fourteenth century (Hadley 2005:110).

Fig. 11. 4. (9). A canon-shaped drinking cup made of Raeren stoneware, inscribed with the text 'IESVS CHRISTVS' (1589). RM Inv. BK-NM- 4821. www.rijksmuseum.nl.

An interesting example is discussed in van Dam (2004:24, RM Inv. BK-NM-5733), a delftware jug dating from c.1650 – 1670. The jug is formed with openwork panels in the sides, so the liquid could not be conventionally drunk from the lip. Instead, the drink was sucked up through a small spout hidden under the lip which channelled the liquid up through the hollow handle (**Fig. 11. 4. (10)**). Another example, dating to the end of the eighteenth century, is held in Haags Gemeentemuseum (OC (D) 29-'04) (Boreel 1992:25). It is unknown the extent to which puzzle jugs were commonly familiar – whether used in a group where everyone enjoyed testing their skill against each other, or intended to humiliate an unsuspecting victim. Either way, with these and other drinking games, there was likely to be significant social pressure to take part (Hadley 2005:110).

Fig. 11. 4. (10)). A delftware puzzle jug (c.1650 - c.1670). RM Inv. BK-NM-5733. www.rijksmuseum.nl.

Fig. 11. 4. (11). 'Hansje in de Kelder' christening goblet (*c.* 1650 - *c.*1700). RM Inv. BK-NM-10754-66

Specific vessel types for drinking games at other specific events are also known; the most recognisable of which is the *'Hansje in de Kelder'* cup. This vessel resembles a tazza or shallow drinking goblet on a foot, with a domed section inside the bowl in which a float and a small figure of a child *('Hansje')* is hidden, The child floats up to the top of the dome as the glass is filled, symbolising the birth of the infant (Mees 1997:78). An example from silver made in 1622 by Jan Hermansz. van Ossevoort is held in the BvB (Inv. MBZ 11 (KN&V)). Additionally, two baluster stemmed goblets, dating 1640 – 1700, are engraved with the text *"Hansje in de Kelder"*, around the bowl, suggesting the vessel was also used in a christening context (RM Inv. BK-NM-10754-66, **Fig. 11. 4. (11)**, and CMOG Inv. 79.3.239). The latter also depicts a pregnant woman holding up a wine glass in a toast (**Fig. 11. 4. (29)**).

One additional type of novelty glass will be discussed here briefly, a phallic vessel of lattimo glass recovered from a cesspit in the border town of Venlo. The presence of the glass, shaped like an erect penis with two testicles, has led the cesspit to be presumed to include waste from a brothel (Isings *et al.* 2009:64). A recent study by Hugh Willmott discusses several eighteenth- and nineteenth-century ceramic phallus cups from England, including a seventeenth-century white and blue delftware example, which was excavated from Paternoster Square in London, and fragments from two glass phallus cups of the same period, excavated from cesspits at the Royal Mews stableyard (also London), and High Pavement, Nottingham (Willmott 2014). The presence of these latter two glasses in known high status contexts, particularly the Nottingham glass which came from a property owned by a wealthy war widow, challenges preconceived associations between phallic glasses and brothels, sex clubs and bawdy male drinking rituals. Such vessels may have held a symbolic function which was neither exclusively male nor exclusively sexual (Willmott 2014:4). Supporting this argument is another European example, a phallus glass found in a cesspool from a noble woman's cloister in Herford in Germany (Bos 2009:980).

11. 4. 2. Personalisation

The next section of this chapter moves away from the use and symbolism of entire vessels, and focuses instead on the way that particular decorative elements on vessels were able to transmit certain social messages and communicate aspects of identity. Sawyer tells us that the seventeenth-century Dutch operated in a world of symbols, and had a high level of

image literacy, resulting in the widespread popularity of paintings and prints throughout society, as well as the employment of the visual arts in transmitting political messages and images conferring status (Sawyer 2007:165). With this in mind it is interesting to establish the level to which the personalisation of vessels was possible, either for one's own self, or as gifts.

Several examples of decorated glassware have already been mentioned above, as well as those appearing in the previous results chapters. As well as decorations on glass, the vessels themselves could be made to order; van Dongen quotes from M. Fokkens' 1663 tract *Beschrijvinge der Wijdt-vermaarde Koop-stadt Amstelredam* describing how the glasshouses of Amsterdam produced not only the expected cups and glasses, but "all manner of decorative and unusual creations… the likes of which have never been seen before, for they are fashioned in accordance with the wishes of the gentlemen and ladies." (Fokkens 1663:305-306, quoted in van Dongen 2004:194). Glass manufactories also contained showrooms which displayed the varieties of glass produced there to visitors. Special pieces could be made to order as a 'souvenir' of their visit (Liefkes 2004:240). There are also accounts of vessels made to order for specific events: as many as five *bekerschroef* cup holders were ordered by the Amsterdam treasurers in advance of a feast in 1606 (de Roever 1998:37).

Decorated vessels, sometimes with coats of arms, portraits, or names were made to celebrate weddings and baptisms and as political gifts as well as for use in the home (Schotel 1867:9-10, van Dongen 2004:197). These were usually custom-made and highly personalised (Thoen 2007:88). Primary methods of personalisation included decorative techniques of engraving, enamelling and gilding (Henkes 1997:59). Three different forms of engraving were common: diamond engraving which was produced freehand using a diamond tipped engraving stylus to draw on the glass surface, stipple engraving undertaken using the same tool, but forming dots instead of short strokes, and wheel engraving, which was undertaken by holding the vessel against a rotating copper disc to scratch away at the surface (Henkes 1997:60). Diamond engraving, probably originating in Venice, became popular as a decorative technique in the middle of the sixteenth century (Willmott 2005:130), and by the mid-seventeenth century the Dutch had become leading masters in this technique, particularly the use of calligraphic text on glass (Henkes 1997:63). Glass engraving was notable in that it was an art form mostly practiced by educated amateurs, particularly women (Schrijver 1963:105). Engravers were known to compose poems for their vessels (see BvB Inv. BK-1983-15), or to ask poet friends to write them on their behalf (Thoen 2007:88).

Known engravers include the sisters Anna Roemers Visscher (1583-1651) and Mary Tesselschade (1594-1649), and the previously mentioned Willem Jacobsz. van Heemskerk (1613 – 1683) (Henkes 1997:63) (**Fig. 11. 4. (12)**). Beakers, goblets, roemers and bottles were all commonly engraved, and are represented in the archaeological record as well as in museum collections. Only one *pasglas* with personalisation seems to be known from museum and archaeological sources, a late seventeenth-century cylindrical vessel of colourless glass is wheel engraved with the letters 'YJK' topped with a crown and surrounded by vines (RM Inv. BK-NM-5809) (Henkes, 1994:158). It seems that the

Fig. 11. 4. (12). Engraved beaker by Willem Jacobsz. van Heemskerk engraved with *'Ootmoed Stut toorn'* (1679). RM Inv. BK-NM-741. www.rijksmuseum.com

association of this vessel type with less sedate drinking activities made it generally unsuitable for personalisation.

As well as engraving, glasses could be decorated with painting and enamel, which was particularly used for family coats of arms; two examples of late seventeenth-century *roemers* are decorated in enamel with the arms of the Duvelaer family (BvB Inv. 591 (KN&V)) and another with those of the Le Saje family (BvB Inv. 590 (KN&V)), both surrounded with cherubs and foliage (Mees 1997:20). Many of the white enamel painted vessels recovered archaeologically are thought to have been manufactured in Middelburg (Henkes and Zijlstra-Zweens 1991), although polychrome enamel painting is often thought to be mainly a Germanic craft. Some notable examples of enamel painting have survived, including a baluster stemmed goblet with a poem painted onto the bowl in brown enamel (BvB Inv. 19 (KN&V)). A beaker of type gl-bek-8a was excavated from a cesspit in Lange Nieuwstraat, Nijmegen; this glass is decorated with polychrome enamel of animals playing musical instruments, a tree and the date 1603, as well as applied prunts embedded with beads. This glass is likely to have been produced in Antwerp (Wijnman 1983:228-229). Images from another polychrome enameled glass are depicted below (see section 11. 4. 5. and **Fig. 11. 4. (22)**). 'Cold paint' techniques, where the paint was applied after the glass was made, tend to survive poorly archaeologically (Schrijver 1963:73), although some gilded examples were recovered (see gilded beakers DBBM8913 (**Fig. 10. 1. (27)**), DBBM8915 (**Fig. 10. 1. (28)** and DBHTK00148, and roemer AHWB7819 (**Fig. 5. 1. (30) and (31).)**).

Ceramics were also able to be decorated in a personal manner. Delft services personalised with monograms were known from relatively late on in the century, from about 1670-80 (Erkelens 1996:118). It was also possible to acquire delftware items personalised in other ways, with particular text or images; an example being several plates depicting the Kruipin Inn at Woerden (van Dam 2004:47)

Despite the relatively mass-produced nature of stoneware jugs (three examples from the same mould have been found in this survey for example, from Utrecht [UWAL9475], Delft [DURS05217], and Arnhem [AHWB7804]), there did exist the possibility for personalisation, particularly for large scale buyers. Pieter Maertense van den Ancker, who traded out of London after 1654, held a monopoly on stoneware products made 'in English taste' for sale

in that country, and also imported French and Rhenish wine and Bremen beer. The jugs used for transporting these products were especially made for van den Ancker; as many as thirteen bottles and jugs with medallions stamped the letters PVA or the symbol of an anchor have been recovered in London, Oxford, and Frechen (see also BvB Inv. F 1932 (KN&V)). Competition from glass bottles probably put an end to Van den Ancker's stoneware business by about 1665, although his other trading flourished until the end of the century. Stoneware personalised with merchant's medallions were also found in London and Frechen for the merchant Jan op de Kamp, and late sixteenth-century merchant Jan Allers of Nijmegen and Culemborg (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986:218). One jug marked with a merchant's medallion was found at Keizershof in 's-Hertogenbosch (DBHTK00256 **Fig. 10. 1. (59)** and **(60)**). The medallion, which was fitted upside down, has a coat of arms, the date 1604 and text referring to Jan Jechcar and his wife Marie, who traded from Mons (Kohnemann 1982:103). Decoration of vessels relating to businesses is also suggested through vessels such as a faience plate recovered from the seventeenth century coffee house on the Kapelsteeg in Alkmaar. This was decorated with the text "De Koffij is goet", perhaps as a form of advertising (Bitter 2004:23). Wealthy private individuals were also able to obtain personalised stoneware; two stoneware bottles of type s2-fle-10 were found in an early eighteenth-century cesspit in Tiel. These were decorated with the initials of the household owner Cornelis Philip van Lidth De Jeude (CPVLDI), and probably initially contained liquor or spirits (Bartels 2005:29).

The presence of dates on vessels presents an interesting issue. In some cases, such as engraved glasses, the highly personalised nature of the vessel is likely to indicate that the date recorded a special event in the life of the owner, such as a wedding. However, dated glass vessels are rare archaeologically, and not all engraved glasses in museum collections are dated (Henkes 1994:199). Decorated ceramic vessels, in both stoneware and earthenwares, are much more likely to be decorated with dates, however it has been determined that these are much more likely to be the year of manufacture rather than any other form of commemoration (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986:5). Despite this, it may be possible that vessels which were already dated, such as stoneware jugs, were purchased in remembrance of a personal event.

11. 4. 3. Political and regional identity

One aspect of personal identity which could be accessed and communicated through drinking rituals and material culture is that of political affiliation and national identity. The recent establishment of the commonwealth dissolved many previous aspects of identity, and much of the early seventeenth century was spent renegotiating the position within the new social structure, just as the Republic was finding its position on the world stage. "What Historians once believed to be the *raison d'être* for the revolt, a sense of 'Netherlandishness', or national identity, was actually a result of it" (Pollman and Spicer. 2007:4). This flourishing of a nascent 'Dutch' identity, which now existed in direct opposition to Spain and their southern Flemish and Brabant neighbours, became something to be cultivated and celebrated. Muensterberger (1994:209) identifies the sudden burst of commercialism and the gathering of collectable items which occurred

during the seventeenth century as reactionary behaviour to years of Spanish oppression and deprivation. Celebration, wealth and drinking became symbols of national prosperity that no man could deny: “the feasting and drinking Hollanders had their heads so full of liberty that they did not bother about the discomfort of others, and would not let anyone tell them to be quiet” (van Deursen 1991:110).

As the Dutch worked to establish their own national identity, so the idea of a political non-Dutch ‘other’ began to change. The word ‘foreigner’, which originally referred to anyone from another town or province, came to be used to mean anyone who was not a ‘Netherlander’ or someone born in the United Provinces (van Deursen 1991:33). The alienation of the southern Netherlands was one of the most immediate reactions to the revolt (Pollman and Spicer 2007:7), and the native Dutch began to associate themselves with various redeeming qualities, while their inferior neighbours were guilty of any array of faults (van Deursen 1991:32-43). The southern Netherlands, in the eyes of the Dutch, were haughty and thought themselves so refined, that “[a]s soon as the desire for luxury appeared on the scene at the end of the sixteenth century, the Brabanters were blamed for it” (van Deursen 1991:41). Within the Netherlands, the ethnicity of immigrants and foreigners came into greater contrast, especially those that maintained their own tastes and habits (Courtney 1997a:99), and in many regions, immigrants were subject to discrimination and poverty (van Deursen 1991:37). The demonstration of political and regional identity began to take on a more nuanced meaning.

Affiliation glasses, decorated with political or group symbols, are particularly associated with feasting events within institutions such as guilds, where they played a role in the lengthy toasts, detailing the history of the town or guild hosting the event (Schama 1997:179). Guilds formed around most crafts as well as militia groups during the seventeenth century, and were helpful in both the formation, and maintenance, of status in urban environments, particularly for those minor craftsmen of lesser means who could not achieve a level of status in their own right (Kamen 2000:121). Guilds often commissioned their own ceremonial beakers to be used as part of ritual feasting ceremonies, demonstrating belonging and participation in guild events. These were often extremely elaborate, in gilt silver, with the names of the participating members or guild masters engraved on them. The former Historische Museum Arnhem held several excellent examples, including the *gildebeker* of the brewers and bakers guild of Arnhem, which was made by Engel Bongardt in 1651, and continued to be used to record the guild members until 1784 (HMA Inv. 0962-GM 01043). Other examples in gilded silver include the *gildebeker* of the St Luke’s Guild of Painters, which has a six-sided cup balanced on a stem formed from the figure of Pictura, the muse of painting (BvB Inv. MBZ 193 (KN&V), Mees 1997:69).

Poorer guilds may have had to settle for less elaborate vessels, such as the pewter jug belonging to a German guild of butchers (BvB Inv. OM 57 (KN&V)). The importance of guild beakers can be seen in the frequency of their depictions in paintings of guild members, which are quite often set during feasts. One example in which several drinking vessels take a conspicuous position is the excellent *The Celebration of the Peace of Münster, 18 June 1648 in the Headquarters of the Crossbowman's Civil Guard* by Bartholomeus van der Helst

(c. 1649). This painting shows twenty-five members of the Amsterdam militia celebrating the end of the Eighty Years' War with a feast. This painting was mentioned above in relation to the *bekerschroef* which features prominently in it (**Fig. 11. 4. (13a)**), but it also contains several roemers, flute glasses, and a silver gilt drinking horn guild beaker (**Fig. 11. 4. (13b)**; drinking horns will be discussed further below. Feasts were accompanied by elaborate toasts, pomp and ceremony, to which vessels acted as 'inanimate witnesses' to the celebration and vigour of the events taking place (*ibid*). Newcomers were initiated into groups through drinking from communal vessels that were passed from hand to hand (de Roever 1998:37), and prescribed ritual and behaviour tied the group together with a sense of community (Schama 1997:179). Within the context of guilds, the drinking vessel is fully integrated as a symbol of group identity, pride and belonging.

Fig. 11. 4. (13a) and **(13b).** Ritual drinking on display: a *bekerschroef* and a guild-beaker drinking horn from the *Banquet at the Crossbowmen's Guild in Celebration of the Treaty of Münster* (detail) by Bartholomeus van der Helst (1648). RM Inv. SK-C-2. www.rijksmuseum.com.

In these instances where toasting occurred, the act of drinking itself became patriotic; small glasses of gin were used so frequently in toasts that they became known as a *vaderlantje,* 'a little fatherland' (Schama 1997:199). Drinking also accompanied the singing of patriotic songs (van Deursen 1991:105). These included the *geuzenliederen,* propaganda songs from the war with Spain, which remembered the sacrificeof the Calvinist martyrs and called for freedom from oppression. The *Wilhelmus* in particular*,* thought to be the oldest national anthem in the world, speaks of unity under William the Silent and resistance to the tyranny of Spain and the foes of the Republic (Dewulf 2010:10, 12). It is worth mentioning again the drinking rituals surrounding vessels such as the *Duc d'Alf* bells, and the way that their use in association with feasting and political songs all helped to create a propaganda of group identity (Caluwé 2006:9-10). Smoking, drinking and feasting then became "familiar characteristics of the national culture – mutually shared manners by which the Dutch recognised their common identity," (Schama 1997:200).

The decoration of vessels with coats of arms has already been mentioned above, but will now be addressed in more detail. Coats of arms and heraldic devices could be used to demonstrate allegiance to particular family or political groups, through all sorts of material

culture, including drinking ware. The coat-of arms of the new Republic was featured several times on glassware, and gave a prominent message of national pride. A roemer in the collection of the Historisch Museum Arnhem has the coats of arms of the Seven United Provinces of the Republic engraved around its bowl (identified by the text *GELDERL', 'HOLLANT', 'ZELANT', 'FRIESLA', 'VTRECH', 'ZVTPHE', 'OVERYS', 'GROVNI', 'BRABANT'*) and the provinces of the Southern Netherlands and Luxemburg engraved beneath *('LIMBORC', 'LVTS.BO', 'FLANDE', 'HENEG', 'ARTOYS', 'FALKEB', 'NAME', 'MECHGE',*) (HMA Inv. 0962-GM 05023). The date of this vessel, 1623, might indicate that it was a comment on the common features of the Low Countries, possibly in an attempt at unification after the end of the Twelve Years' Truce. As the century progressed however, the symbols of the southern Netherlands were no longer included. An elaborate flute, dating c. 1670, is beautifully engraved with the coats of arms of the northern Netherlands, and portrait of William III (Liefkes 2004:244, CMOG Inv. 79.3.252).

The House of Orange, its emblems and portraits, became important symbols in this process of unification. One rare archaeological example is a *roemer* excavated from Bloemstraat in Alkmaar, which is engraved with the coats of arms of the House of Orange; clearly a statement of political affiliation (Roedema and van Wilgen 2000:304). A late seventeenth-century goblet of type gl-kel-14 was excavated from the cesspit of the van Lidth de Jeude family in Tiel, and was engraved on one side with a heraldic shield inside a circular ring of text reading *"[H]ONY. SOI[T] [QUI] MAL Y [PE]NSE"* ('Evil be to him who evil thinks'), the motto of the Order of the Garter. The shield was too fragmentary to identify, however the vessek also depicted a man carrying a sword, and the text: *"Het [Welv]a[r]en Van [De] Kon[ing]"* ('the Welfare of the King'). Both of these texts indicate this glass was probably commissioned to celebrate the coronation of William III in England (Bartels 1999:1002, Bartels 2005:32).

An unusual baluster stemmed goblet with an egg-shaped bowl was engraved sometime in the last quarter of the seventeenth century with seven shields containing the symbols of the provinces, all positioned on an apotheosis (BvB Inv. 122 (KN&V)). This feature is used to symbolise the zenith of the Republic and the glorious unification of the provinces (Mees 1997:14). More overt messages of political affiliation included declarations of loyalty engraved onto glassware. One *roemer*, depicting scenes from the Classical tale of Orpheus, also has the coat of arms of Prince Maurits, alongside the motto of Orange-Nassau; *"Je maintiendrai Nassau"* ('I shall uphold Nassau') (BvB Inv. 57 (KN&V)) (Mees 1997:18).

Fig. 11. 4. (14). *Roemer* engraved with heraldry of Prince Maurice. 1606.
RM Inv. BK-NM-10754-47.
www.rijksmuseum.com

Figures and symbols relating to the House of Orange were also depicted on vessels in a highly political manner. A *roemer* dating to 1606 is engraved with the coat of arms and motto of Prince Maurice, and on the reverse, a felled tree with two growing shoots, an image commonly used to refer to the assassination of William of Orange and his heirs Maurice and Frederick Henry (RM Inv. BK-NM-10754-47, **Fig. 11. 4. (14)**).

The image of William as a felled tree continued to be used later in the century; an engraved flute depicting a felled tree on one side has a portrait of William III as a child on the reverse (Page 2004b:264). Van Dam associates these images with a more complex political dialogue than merely demonstrations of support; a delftware dish dated 1654 is painted with a portrait of Prince Frederick Henry of Orange, who died in seven years previously. This plate could be considered a criticism of the political manipulations which led to the first Stadtholderless Period, which lasted for several decades after the death of Frederick Henry's son William II in 1650 (van Dam 2004:22). Van Dam notes that portraits of the Princes of Orange or their coats of arms became increasingly important later in the century, and particularly during the 1672 *Rampjaar* where they show support for the hastily restored stadtholder William III (van Dam 2004:46). Declarations of support for the house of Orange on drinking-ware continued through the eighteenth century. Examples are a faience cup from BP7 at Lange Hofstraat 5 in Zutphen, which was decorated with the text "*Lang leeft de prins*" ('long live the Prince') and dates between 1780 – 1795 (ZU-ST 1288-83, Groothedde and Henkes 2007:45), as well as an early nineteenth-century creamware cup recovered from S1, Musiskwartier in Arnhem (AHMUS0313), which is printed with a crowned portrait, probably of William I of the Netherlands, surrounded by orange branches (**Fig. 11. 4. (15)**).

Fig. 11. 4. (15). Creamware cup with transfer print probably of William I, with a crown and orange branches. Early nineteenth century (Arnhem, Musiskwartier. AHMUS0313).

Page discusses another particularly notable engraved glass vessel which relates to this subject. It is a rather plain *tazza* on a low foot (1573 - *c.* 1579), which has been simply engraved around the bowl by several different hands (RM Inv. NG-372-A, Page 2004b:257, **Fig. 11. 4. (16)**). The bowl displays the names and mottoes of the six main leaders of the Dutch revolt. Page suggests that this *tazza* might be the one featured in Rembrandt's *The Conspiracy of the Batavians under Claudius Civilis* (1661-1662), being passed hand to hand amongst the tribal leaders. This painting, commissioned for the Town Hall in Amsterdam, depicts a famous event in Dutch history, the declaration of the Batavian tribes to Claudius Civilis and to the revolt against the occupying Roman force; an clear link with the sixteenth-

century revolt against Spain. This painting and its linked material culture are all part of a process Schama refers to as “an inventive antiquarianism”, whereby past victories and traditions were used to give legitimacy to contemporary politics and unities. The drinking rituals and material culture of the seventeenth-century Netherlands were justified as a part of an established national heritage (Schama 1997:181).

Fig. 11. 4. (16). Short stemmed tazza engraved around the bowl with the names of the leaders of the Dutch Revolt. Probably the glass feature in Rembrandt’s *The Conspiracy of the Batavians under Claudius Civilis* (1661-1662).
RM Inv. RM Inv. NG-372-A. www.rijksmuseum.nl

Schama also observes this process in the popularity of Teutonic-style drinking horns which began to be manufactured for use in guild events (Schama 1997:181). Willem Kalf’s *Still Life with Drinking-Horn* (*c.* 1653) depicts a vessel made from buffalo horn on silver mounts, made for the St Sebastian Archers' Guild. Museum examples include the buffalo drinking horn of the Militia made by Arent Cornelisz Coster in 1547 (RM Inv. BK-AM-12, **Fig. 11. 4. (17a)**), the gilt horn of St George’s Crossbowman’s Civil Guard from 1566 (featured in van der Helst’s *The Celebration of the Peace of Münster*, AM Inv. KA 13965, above in **Fig. 11. 4. (13b)**), and the horn of the Guild of Surgeons 1598, also buffalo horn (AM Inv. KA 17143). Glass drinking horns were also made, including two in the collection of the Rijksmuseum, the latter of which is also engraved with the coat of arms of the Van Collen household (RM Inv. BK-NM-10754-340, BK-NM-12028-16, **Fig. 11. 4. (17b)**). Through these drinking vessels, ritual communal drinking was not only demonstrating a continuity of feasting practice from the traditions of medieval consumption, but also played a role in the adoption of the mythic past for the purposes of contemporary identity construction.

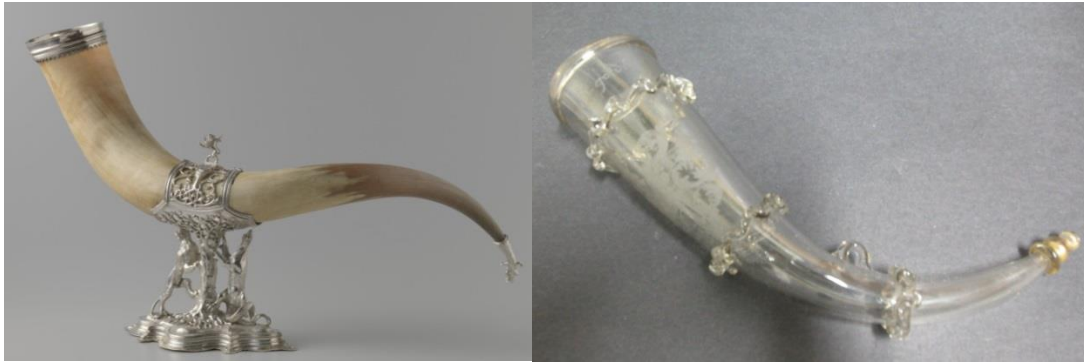

Fig. 11. 4. (17a). Drinking horn of the Kloveniersgilde in Amsterdam, attributed to Arent Cornelisz Coster. Buffalo horn and gilt silver (1547). RM Inv. BK-AM-12. www.rijksmuseum.nl

Fig. 11. 4. (17b). Glass drinking horn dating 1600 - 1650 and later engraved with the Van Collen family coat of arms and the text *"Drinckt Uwen wijn met goeder Harte"* ('May you drink your wine with good cheer'). RM Inv. BK-NM-12028-16. www.rijksmuseum.nl

As well as engraving, enamel painting was also used to decorate glasses with heraldic symbols, although as this technique was more popular outside of the Netherlands, the images tend to be more Germanic in nature; the double-headed eagle, symbol of the Holy Roman Empire, was depicted on beakers (BvB Inv. 599 (KN&V), Mees 1997:21), as well as on ceramic stoneware jugs and *snelle* (A 2003 (KN&V)). This was a common design on stoneware (see Kohnemann 1982), and appear in excavations from several Dutch contexts, including two tall *snellen* tankards excavated from Waterlooplein in Amsterdam (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986:201), as well as from Bakkerstraat in Arnhem (AHBA8703, **Fig. 5. 1. (41)**). As has been mentioned above, some forms of *vleugelglazen* (snake-stem glasses) were developed into an entirely new non-Venetian form, with stems formed of twisted coloured glass rods. It has been suggested by Dreier that the figure-of-eight form, with its crossing threads and wing decoration (see **Fig. 5. 1. (34)**), was an attempt to render the imperial double-headed eagle into glass (Dreier 1990:21, cited in Henkes 1994:217)).

Two additional stoneware jugs with this symbol have been recovered from the Eiermarkt in Nijmegen. One Westerwald jug was decorated with a medallion of a two-headed eagle and an orb (Bartels 1999:597, 231, NYM 1014-112-57), and a Frechen-made *baartman* jug had a large medallion showing a two headed eagle, as well as two medallions with the coat of arms of Nijmegen city. This jug came from the cesspit of the Hof van Batenburg (s2-kan-21, Thijssen (1991:62) Ei-ste-88). This jug demonstrates links between the symbols of Dutch cities and the double-headed eagle. Ostkamp suggests that the use of the double-headed eagle motif, in some instances, had actually become devoid of its political meaning and instead had come to symbolise the union of two persons in marriage (Ostkamp 2004:130).

Methods of displaying a growing sense of national pride might not just involve coats of arms and portraits of leaders. The depiction of typically 'Dutch' scenes, such as carousing peasants (BvB Inv. 114 (KN&V)), ships (BvB Inv. MBZ 293 (KN&V), MBZ 245 (KN&V)), fishing (CMOG Inv. 79.3.248) and hunting scenes (BvB Inv. 116 (KN&V), CMOG Inv. 77.3.49), might well also indicate a level of national identity and a celebration of the simple life of home.

Good examples of typical Dutch scenes are often found on faience cups. One excavated from a cellar on the Groenmarkt in Dordrecht has a fisherman in a boat (f-kop-2, 169 DDT 62-17-79 Bartels 1999:822), while another cup from a cesspit in Praatshof, Nijmegen is painted with a figure poling a shallow barge (f-kop-1, 243 NYM 1017-12-1 Bartels 1999:821). Hunting scenes are a particularly interesting form of decoration, as until the early eighteenth century, hunting remained one of the last seigneurial privileges of the nobility, and during the previous two centuries had remained strongly symbolic of noble position and identity (Wijsenbeek-Olthuis 1996:119, 122). It is possible that hunting had become more symbolic of an idealised past and illustrious pursuits than of nobility itself. Hunting scenes have also been linked to romance and the symbology of love; see part 11. 4. 5 for further discussion on wedding symbols.

In addition to coats of arms indicating political allegiance, some vessels were engraved with complex scenes showing political events, often military victories, that inspired great bouts of patriotism (Schama 1997:179), as well as expressing a more regional pride. While developing a sense of themselves as a nation, the Dutch also maintained a strong sense of local regional identity, which had developed from their history as a “notorious collection of autonomous towns” (Kamen 2000:14). Towns and neighbourhoods possessed a unique sense of self identity that was distinct from other areas and relied on political independence, and, although this was often manifested as fierce rivalries, a sense of local community pride was just part of a layered identity in which people understood their ‘Dutchness’ (Kamen 2000:13, Prak 2005:4).

Loyalty to a local region was expressed through association with particular towns or individuals, particularly during wartime. A silver beaker, probably made by Schotte Jansen in 1648, commemorated the successful recapturing of Breda, and was engraved with a highly detailed map of the town (BvB Inv. MBZ 144 (KN&V)) (Haley 1972:111). Interestingly this vessel is recorded as being gifted by Prince Frederick Henry to the municipal carpenter Jacobus van Rijckevorsel for his services (Mees 1997:73). Another silver beaker carried an inscription inside the lid commemorating the Twelve Years Truce and commending the burgomaster of Gorinchem, Van der Ameyde (BvB Inv. MBZ 154 (KN&V), Mees 1997:68). Ceremonial glassware was also produced to fulfil this role; the engraved lidded roemer BvB 69 (KN&V)) has already been mentioned; this vessel is engraved with the arms of Rotterdam, the Admiralty and the Princes of Orange, and also depict figures and a poem (Mees 1997:19). Another roemer, beautifully engraved with ships under sail and the emblems of the city of Haarlem is celebrating the capture of the city of Damietta in Egypt (RM Inv. BK-KOG-143, **Fig. 11. 4. (18)**).

Schama summarises the importance of drinking vessels in relation to militia groups, as “symbols of that communal fraternity which had engaged to defend the town against the encroachments of feudalism and absolutism” (Schama 1997:181). In addition, towns often presented such items, as well as stained glass windows, as gifts to each other, not only to promote bonds between towns but also to highlight their own superiority, wealth and particular identity (Pollman and Spicer. 2007:8). Stoneware jugs with medallions of particular towns might also have been used as gifts to promote the town, or particular industries. These can be found archaeologically, often some distance from the town in

question. A Westerwald-style jug with floral combed decoration and a medallion with three herrings, the symbol of Enkhuizen, and the text *"QUOD GENUS ET PROAUUS ET QUE NON FECIMUS IPSI VIX EA....IA 1685"* was excavated from Jan Meijenstraat, in Utrecht (UJMS7911, **Fig. 7. 1. (13)** and **(14)**).

A Frechen-made Baartman jug with three medallions containing a stylised coat of arms, possibly of the town of Den Helder, was found during the excavation of Keizershof in 's-Hertogenbosch (DBHTK00257, **Fig. 10. 1. (64)**). Other stoneware jugs with coats of arms were recovered from the sites In Den Borerenmouw, 's-Hertogenbosch (DBBM89112, **Fig. 10. 1. (14)** and **(18)**), and the Musiskwartier, Arnhem (AHMUS331, **Fig. 5. 1. (6)**; AHMUS0327, **Fig. 5. 1. (8)**; AHMUS0306, **Fig. 5. 1. (14)**; and AHMUS0315). The coats of arms of Amsterdam appear several times, including BvB Inv. F 2245 (KN&V). A jug with three large medallions from the workshop of coat of arms of Emont Emonts depicted the coats of arms of England, inscribed with *VAPEN VON ENGELANT*, flanked by two medallions showing the arms of Amsterdam, inscribed *ISTERDAM,* dated 1593 (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986:199).

Fig. 11. 4. (18). Engraved roemer celebrating the capture of the city of Damietta, also with the emblems of Haarlem (1644). RM Inv. BK-KOG-143. www.rijksmuseum.nl.

A number of other groups used coats of arms to demonstrate identity; particularly individual noble families. A tazza was decorated in enamel with the coat of arms of Jaqueline Happaert, possibly on the occasion of her wedding in 1559 (Liefkes 2004:253). The Boijmans van Beuningen museum also has several examples of vessels with coats of arms, (see BvB 101 (KN&V)). One fragment of excavated flute glass with two heraldic shields was excavated from the Ursulaklooster in Delft (gl-flu-, DURS0594, **Fig. 4. 1. (80a), (80b),** and **(81)**. One of the shields is that of Prince Maurice of Orange. Stoneware jugs with merchants mark medallions were discussed above in part 11. 4. 2. The growing prevalence of coats of arms as a decorative feature of material culture from this period demonstrates one aspect of the social upheaval and changes in class divisions which were taking place during the seventeenth century. From the Middle Ages, coats of arms had been an exclusive right of the nobility, as well as a mark of it. Coats of arms are rarely mentioned in the probate inventories of the bourgeoisie; a notable exception being one in the possession of the painter Johannes Vermeer, which is likely to have been an artistic prop (Wijsenbeek-Olthuis 1996:119). However, many archaeological and museum vessels are decorated with them, and while Wijsenbeek-Olthuis′ s theory that only the silverware of the nobility would have been decorated with coats of arms, there are certainly plenty of examples in glass and

ceramic which seem more widespread than the small number of aristocratic families might otherwise suggest. Certainly by the mid-eighteenth century, coats of arms became a much more commonly used decorative feature amongst the non-noble regent class (Wijsenbeek-Olthuis 1996:119-120).

A precursor to the more general adoption of coats of arms might be seen in the prevalence of political and regional arms, as a method for the non-noble wealthy to display this prestigious decoration on their own material culture. In addition to this is the rise of the 'fantasy' coat of arms, a type of decoration often used on flat tableware which imitates the form of traditional coat of arms, and bought by middle-class bourgeoisie aspiring towards a level of nobility (Broekhuizen *et al.* 1992:301). An archaeological example is a large maiolica dish excavated from the Wolters Noordhoff-Complex in Groningen. This plate was painted in blue with a large shield, decorated with five dots, topped by a winged helmet and surrounded by scrollwork (**Fig. 9. 1. (52)**). Another example was excavated from Nijmegen's Eiermarkt Oost, which produced a plate with a blue helmet and scrollwork, and a banner reading *SPQR* (NYM 1014-102+105, Bartels 1999:794). Similar plates were also found at 200 Rozengracht and 18 Haarlemmerplein in Amsterdam (Gawronski 2012:245), from De Drye Mooren tavern in Breda (Hupperetz 1994:14), De Wheem in Meppel (Halici 2008) and Allerhof in Hattem (Clevis en Klomp 2006). One well-known maiolica manufacturer based in Haarlem in the second quarter of the seventeenth century was Willem Jansz Verstraeten, who specialized in this form of decoration, known as "*waepengoet*" (Broekhuizen *et al* 1992:302). The adoption of fantasy coats of arms as a decorative element on tablewares indicates that the process of elite emulation was still strong, and during this period of social mobility very little could limit the ambitions of the nouveau riche. However, that does not prevent these plates also being in use by the upper classes; an early eighteenth-century faience dish with a fantasy coat of arms was recovered from the cesspit BP7 of the very wealthy house Lange Hofstraat 5 in Zutphen (ZU-ST 1288-43, Groothedde and Henkes 2007:47-48).

Another element of heraldic symbolism which was particularly associated with the Dutch Republic is the lion. Lions became associated with nobility and martial strength during the Middle Ages, and were incorporated into the coats of arms of a number of countries, or were used as supporting figures for shields (de Boer 2010:134). The Northern Netherlands, and particularly Holland, had used the lion in their heraldry since 1584, and the animal even became incorporated into the image of the country through such maps as the '*Leonis Belgicus*' (de Boer 2010:134). One of the earliest versions of this map was produced by Michael Aitsinger, and depicts the Low Countries in the form of a rampant lion. Although initially versions of the map included the entirety of the Low Countries, by 1648, versions depicting only Holland were being produced (**Fig. 11. 4. (19)**). The lion was used as a figurehead on Dutch warships, and appeared on an array of material culture, including eating and drinking utensils, like knife handles (de Boer 2010:135), jugs, and glass stems (**Fig. 11. 4. (20)**).

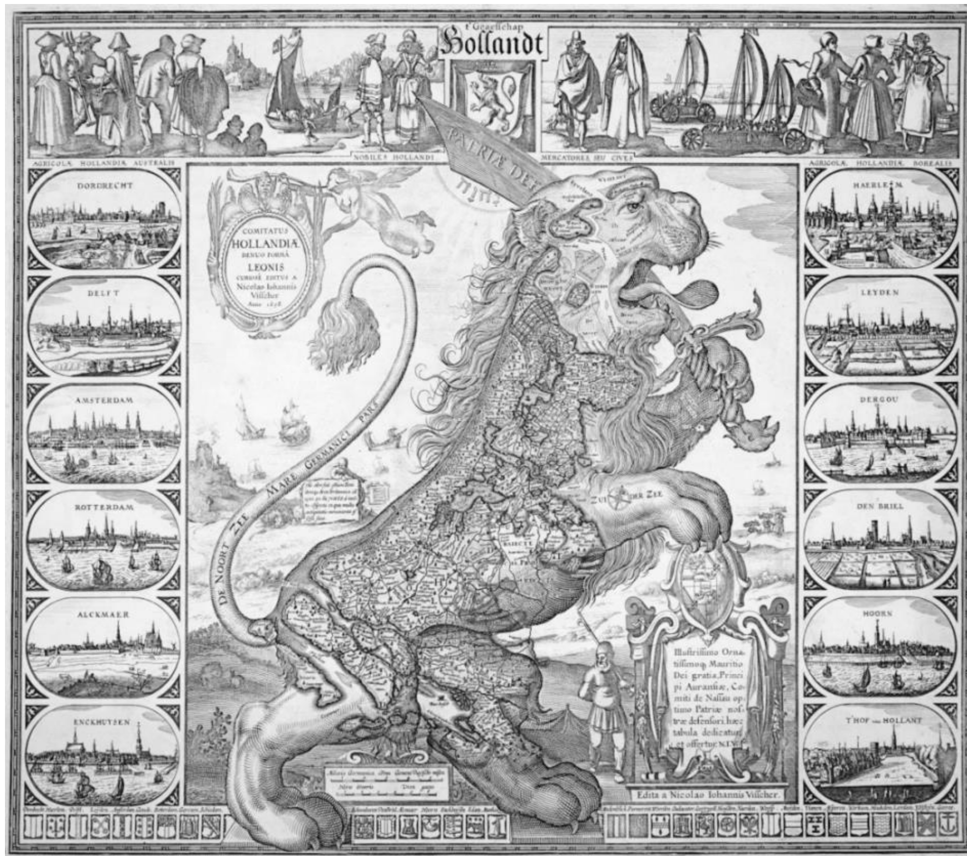

Fig. 11. 4. (19). *Comitatus Hollandiæ denuo forma Leonis*, also known as the '*Leonis Hollandiae'* by Nicolao Iohannis Visscher (1648). Universiteits Bibliotheek van Amsterdam.

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Fig. 11. 4. (20). Goblet stem with gilded lion masks. In den Boerenmouw, 's-Hertogenbosch, DBBM8901.

One last point can be made about demonstrations of regional affiliations through material culture during this period. In her 2001 study of late seventeenth- to eighteenth- century probate inventories from Doesburg and Maassluis, Hester Dibbits was able to determine what appeared to be a conscious level of material culture conformity in Maassluis, but not in Doesburg. The citizens of Maassluis appeared to share an understanding of their cultural unity, and express this identity through their use of similar material culture. Doesburgers either did not experience the same unifying sense of identity, or chose to express it in a different way. Despite this, Dibbits recognizes the same pattern in other areas, and similar behaviours be discussed further in Chapter 12.

11. 4. 4. Gift giving

The place of vessels as gifts has been touched upon several times. The place of drinking vessels of all materials as items of gift exchange demonstrates once again the importance of vessels as commemorative instruments. Glass vessels were considered such a suitable item for gifts, that in 1608, the VOC presented fifty pieces of glasswork made in Amsterdam as a gift to the Japanese emperor (Liefkes 2004:235). In some cases it can be difficult to tell a gift from an item transferred during an economic transaction or bartering, especially when a level of delayed reciprocity is expected (Thoen 2007:12). In this discussion, the term ‘gift’ is limited to items given to mark particular events such as visitations, weddings, christenings and birthdays. The importance of the exchange of hospitality has been discussed previously, and was often expected in return at such celebrations where gifts were presented.

Standard undecorated household utensils given as gifts are difficult to identify; fortunately, in many instances, gift items were personalised. Glassware engraved with names or dates are often interpreted as celebratory gifts, particularly for weddings. Earthenwares were also strongly associated with the marriage ceremony, and particular designs and symbols have been particularly linked to weddings (see the following section). Items of delftware were sometimes ordered on commission for special events and often display dates (van Dam 2004:39). Silver and gilded-silver utensils were also important in certain gift giving events, particularly christenings. The giving of gifts during rites-of-passage celebrations clearly indicates these artefacts were imbued with symbolic meaning (Thoen 2007:83). Not all gifts were physical; hospitality in the form of provided food and drink has already been mentioned, as well as poems and songs also presented as gifts, particularly at weddings and funerals (Thoen 2007:87). Sometimes these were also linked to a physical item, through engraving onto glassware. One excellent example from an excavation is a glass excavated from Walsteeg in Utrecht (WAL9465, **Fig. 7. 1. (39)**, **(40a** and **b)** and **(41)**). The *berkemeier*, which has a conical bowl and a single row of large, flat prunts, is in very poor condition, but an engraved musical stave, with a melody and two lines of song lyrics still survive on the bowl, along with a line of text on the vessel’s base. Although the language of the song is French, the script it is written in, and the degradation of the vessel, have made it difficult to determine what the original words may have been. The lyrics may refer to drinking to the health of a noble lady, potentially indicating that this was a romantic poem, or a song referring to courtly love (Rauws and Kuypers 2002:421). The engraving, and the

song, may have been commissioned as a highly personalised gift, or the text may have been an already known poem which is now lost. Either way, this vessel would have made an appropriate gift for a number of different events. The text on the base of the vessel has been interpreted as the name *"J. Manghelschots, Dixmudano, Flandr…"*. This might be either the signature of the glass engraver, or the name and residence of the gentleman who commissioned it; the former is more likely. Unfortunately no information about this individual has been able to be identified (Rauws and Kuypers 2002:421).

A similar engraved glass vessel which was probably a gift between close friends is the 'Friendship Goblet', a baluster stemmed glass engraved by Willem Mooleyser between 1680 – 1690. The bowl is engraved with the image of two gentlemen, one seated, drinking a toast together from goblets. Above the figures is the calligraphic text *"Een Glasie Van Vrienschap"* (CMOG Inv. 58.3.175, Liefkes 2004:247). The importance of toasts in cementing friendships and alliances has already been discussed, and it is thought in this instance that it is the toasting to a very specific friendship which is being immortalised.

While symbolism was no doubt also important, the value of Christening gifts were strongly tied into their monetary value. This was because the gift acted as the first piece of the child's property, which could be used to pay for the child's care should it become orphaned (Thoen 2007:120). Gifts given to children by family friends or godparents for example, were considered to be exempt from taxation, and while valued in probate records, seem not to have been regarded as a disposable asset (Dibbits 2001:23). The choice of *pillegift*, the christening present from the godparents, would be declared on the day of the child's birth (Thoen 2007:118). Precious metal items, including silver cups and gilded dishes, were considered the most appropriate form of gift amongst almost all social groups (Thoen 2007:106). Silver porringer bowls were particularly common (**Fig. 11. 4. (21)**).

Fig. 11. 4. (21). Child with a silver brandy bowl. *Interieur met een moeder die het haar van haar kind kamt,* known as 'The Mother's Care' (detail), by Caspar Netscher (1669). RM Inv. SK-A-293. www.rijksmuseum.nl.

The value of the gift itself, of course, reflected on the status and wealth of the giver, and by the mid-sixteenth century, the *pillegift* had become so extravagant that attempts were made to ban or limit costs (Schotel 1867:55). It is possible that decorated earthenware *papkommen* or the pewter porringer excavated from Jan Meijenstraat in Utrecht (UJMS7908, **Fig. 7. 1. (21a)**) might represent imitations of the practice of giving silver brandy bowls in a lower cost material.

11. 4. 5. Wedding gifts and love tokens

Due to the prevalence of gift giving and particularly an association with personalised artefacts, weddings gifts and love symbols are some of the most identifiable. Vessels decorated with the imagery of love include gifts presented to the couple on the announcement of their engagement, gifts given to newlyweds by weddings guests, and as items given between couples during courting or at their wedding or anniversaries (Thoen 2007:102, 103). As mentioned above, these gifts could be material objects, usually household utensils or linen, artistic creations, or a combination of these on decorated vessels (Thoen 2007:209, 106). It is possible that fragments from engraved vessels found archaeologically are surviving relics of this tradition: examples are dish AHBA8715, goblet HOBRU9010, and fragments from roemers DBHTK0033, DBHTK00232, **Fig. 10. 1. (80).** DBHTK00214, (**Fig. 10. 1. (81)),** DBHTK0066 (**Fig. 10. 1. (79)).** These pieces are too fragmentary for any definitive identification to be made. Unpersonalised utensils are almost impossible to associate with wedding gifts, and unfortunately will go unrecognised where they appear in archaeological assemblages (*ibid*).

Suitable kinds of wedding gifts include a wide variety of utensil types, such as drinking vessels, knives, fire covers, jugs, plates, and dishes, and could be made from earthenwares, glass and silver (Thoen 2007:109). Obviously much of what determined the type and value of the gift was the social position and means of the giver. However, unlike the *pillegift*, wedding gifts were often ascribed with a powerful sense of humility and moral respectability, which came from their practical nature. Here we turn again to Visscher and his emblem book; "*Sorght voor de koele wijn niet"* he warns the newly-weds ('do not worry about cool wine'). New couples should concentrate on gathering the practical items they needed for running their household, cooking utensils and linens, before spending their time and money acquiring luxuries (Visscher's *Sinnepoppen*, cit. van Dongen 2004:202) Red earthenware was considered to be a particularly suitable wedding gift, partly because of this drive towards simplicity, and also because of its associations with the fragility of the earthly body, and also its links to motherhood (Thoen 2007:113, 115). Cooking pots, such as pipkins, with their links to domesticity and fertility, were particularly suited as wedding gifts, and dishes and *papkommen* were also popular. The recognisable gift items were often decorated with coloured slip, in the form of North Holland slipware, or German weser- and werraware, and could display images of the couple, their names or dates (Thoen 2007:110). A redware cooking pot excavated from a cesspit in Schermereiland, for example, was decorated in yellow slip with the name of *'NEELTJE ARIENS ANNO 1672'*. This could be neatly linked to the residents of the house to which the cesspit belonged, Neeltje Adriaans and Claas Fransz who were married in that year (Ostkamp, Roedema, and van Wilgen

2001:149, 152). The use of the wife's name as a decorative feature on vessels is a well acknowledged phenomenon in wedding gifts (Ostkamp 2004:120).

Not all wedding gifts were restricted by these moralistic pressures towards the symbolic power of low value items. Thus we find numerous examples of precious metal and luxury glassware gifts, like the elaborate, footed silver beaker inscribed with the coats of arms of Jean Deutz and Maria Boreel of Amsterdam (BvB Inv. MBZ 377 (KN&V)). Schama also notes that Govert Cinq was famous for his production of silver inlaid pipes for weddings (Schama 1997:195). Another silver beaker from a wedding collection from 1622 is inscribed with the virtues of Happiness, Wisdom and Justice (BvB Inv. MBZ 199). The base of the cup has the initials of the married couple ("*MCRB*" and "*FAVL*"). Rather interestingly, the letters "*AVCI*" which appear to have been in place first, have been scratched away; an example of the reuse wedding symbols (Ostkamp 2004:116), as well as an excellent demonstration of the non-static nature of material culture, which undergo complex, changing symbolic lives. Not only was it possible to learn names and dates from the vessels, but in some instances like this it was possible to learn more about the marriage (Ostkamp 2004:120).

Glassware could be engraved by the gift-giver themselves, or were often commissioned from friends who had the skill. Baillif Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft commissioned an engraved glass from Tesselschade Roemers Visscher for the wedding of his wife's sister-in-law Leonora Bartolotti to Jacob Pergens (Thoen 2007:109). When more expensive items were given as presents, these are often decorated with moralising statements, reminding the couple of how to achieve righteous married life. Willem Jacobsz. van Heemskerk engraved a dish for the wedding of his son Joost to Anna Conink in 1685 (RM Inv. BK-NM-764). The dish features the couple's initials in the centre, under which is the text *"iuste & syncere" (*justice and sincerity). The wide edge of the dish is engraved with "*Bestand'ge, noit besweken Trouw, Werkt lyvelijk- en Ziel-behouw*" ('Strong and uncompromising fidelity maintains body and soul') (van Dongen 2004:269). The use of such moralising messages on glasswork were a speciality of van Heemskerk, whose work on bottles and goblets has already been mentioned in part 11. 3. 2. While warning of the dangers of straying from a simple, moral life, these messages also beautify expensive vessels, a dichotomy which by now is all too familiar (van Dongen 2004:206).

As well as the names of the couple, engraved glassware and decorated ceramics utilised a number of iconographic symbols relating to weddings, including figures, dates, romantic elements like hearts, specific animals, birds and plants, figurative elements representing the betrothed couple, and biblical stories relating to particularly chaste women or the sanctity of marriage (Ostkamp 2004). They also frequently used coats of arms or family symbols to refer to the union, as previously mentioned. One of the most complete archaeological examples is an early eighteenth-century facetted goblet excavated from a waste pit in Bourtange (Isings 1981:356). This goblet is wheel-engraved with two coats of arms beneath a crown, surrounded by foliage. The arms have been identified as those of the Mulert and Cloppenborch families, and the glass celebrates a union between the two houses.

Another nearly complete excavated example is the engraved wine goblet from Torenstraat in Enkhuizen (ENTS0876, **Fig. 4. 3. (35), (36), (37)** and **(38)**). This goblet (of type gl-kel-11) is decorated with diamond-point engraving on the bowl, stem and foot. The depicted scenery contains a number of symbolic features, including a pheasant, a crane eating a snake, two hearts pierced by a single arrow, and two kissing turtledoves beneath a crown. Several of these elements relate specifically to the iconography of weddings. The symbol of the heart, often shown flaming and accompanied by clasped hands, is associated with the celebration of love and marriage, and is specifically found on wedding gifts (Ostkamp 2004:117). While the hands and flames are not present on this vessel, the hearts are pierced with an arrow, which although initially a symbol for divine love, had by the seventeenth century, become another common visual metaphor for romantic love (*ibid*). The crowned turtledoves carry a similar meaning, and the crane eating the snake represents vigilance (Ostkamp 2004:134.) As discussed in chapter 4. 3. 2, this glass was also decorated with icons relating to the names of Margaretha van Beresteyn, and probably also initially of her husband Zacheus de Jager, from whose cesspit the vessel was recovered (Duijn 2010c:29). This items was probably a wedding or engagement gift.

Ostkamp identifies a number of other scenes and icons which were used on vessels, whose associations with marriage were understood within a contemporary culture, including scenes which have have been throught of to be traditionally ‘Dutch’ in imagery. Hunting scenes, for instance, have been interpreted as a metaphor for the pursuit of love (Ostkamp 2004:137). Depictions of hunting on vessels are represented on several museum examples, as well as an excavated polychrome tin-glazed teacup from Van Bleiswijkstraat (ENEBF9430, **Fig. 4. 3. (9a)** and **(b)**), and an engraved goblet from Walsteeg in Utrecht (UWAL9456). An engraved lead glass beaker with a hunting scene from Vlissingen (Scheldeterrein XXXVIId) demonstrates this imagery remained in use until at least the eighteenth century (Jaspers, Kottman and Ostkamp 2010). Ostkamp suggests a contemporary link between marriage and boats with the husband at the helm, and also with fishing; boats and ocean scenes are also common elements (Ostkamp 2004:131). Bird-catching was also an activity with certain erotic connotations, and a seventeenth-century beaker which is engraved with a woman catching birds, is thought to be a wedding gift (Ostkamp 2004:135, 138). As demonstrated by the Torenstraat goblet, animals and birds were also common elements on wedding gifts, particularly on slip-decorated earthenwares; Ursulaklooster in Delft produced two dishes, one with a stag (DURS05211, **Fig. 4. 1. (49a)**), and the second with a peacock (DURS05164, **Fig. 4. 1. (33)** and **(34)**). Another dish with a stag, or possibly a horse, dated 1617, was excavated from the Musiskwartier, Arnhem (AHMUS0304, **Fig. 5. 1. (16a)** and **(16b)**). The stag relates to the metaphor of the hunt, and, especially with the addition of a date, is likely to have been a wedding gift. The peacock is not known as a wedding symbol, although it might give be associated with male authority in the same way that images of cockerels and roosters were used (Ostkamp 2004:134-135).

Portrait dishes, in tin-glazed earthenwares, were also popular marriage dishes, and were often put on display in prominent locations in the home (van Dam 2004:40). These might show the married couple together (several examples of such decoration on werraware dishes is given by Bruijn 1992:142-149), or come as a double set, with one portrait on each

dish (Ostkamp 2004:128). The polychrome maiolica *papkom* dish excavated from In den Boerenmouw ('s-Hertogenbosch) is highly likely to have originated from one of these sets; it depicts a side-on portrait of a gentleman in a large hat and ruff (DBBM89109, **Fig. 10. 1. (19), (20)** and **(21)**). An accompanying dish would have shown his wife's profile portrait. Van Dam refers to another type of couple's portrait , the 'five senses' dish, where the happy couple are depicted together with lutes, clavichords and songbooks (van Dam 2004:41).

Another depiction of the wedded couple was found on the beautiful enamel painted cellar bottle (*kelderfles*) excavated from the cesspit of Tanneke Blox in Kampen (Ufkes and Tuinstra 2012:85-87). This depicts a male and female figure on two faces of the bottle, with the man raising a large footed beaker in toast (**Fig. 11. 4. (22)**). The reverse two faces show a lily of the valley, the symbol of brides, and the other has the text '*LIEBHABENIN EHREN KAN MIR NIMANT WEREN'.* This was undoubtedly a wedding or anniversary gift.

Fig. 11. 4. (22). Figure of the groom on one side of the decorated cellar bottle, found in the cesspit of Tanneke Blox in Kampen. The figures are painted in polychrome enamel, with blue, green, yellow and brown. Artist impression, after Ufkes and Tuinstra 2012:87

As mentioned above, it is very difficult to identify non-personalised items as wedding gifts from archaeological contexts. However, Caluwé suggests an association between matching paired vessels and the wedding couple; these would obviously be difficult to see if only one survived archaeologically, and contemporaneously must have relied on prior knowledge, or a recognised pattern of behaviour when interacting with such artefacts. Caluwé relates this particularly to sixteenth-century *knotsglazen* 'club beakers', due to their depictions on werraware plates which are themselves thought to be wedding gifts (Caluwé 2006:13).

11. 4. 6. Religion and morality

Religious imagery, and images promoting moral values, are common decorative elements on drinking vessels from this period, and also tie in with the celebration of marriages. While the reformed church was the most favoured and widely followed in the Netherlands during the seventeenth century, it was not a state church, despite its privileged position (van

Deursen 1991:62), and freedom of religious choice was mostly considered an inalienable right. Despite a history of antagonism between religious sects both inside the Netherlands and in surrounding countries, particularly during the revolt, the northern Netherlands remained remarkably tolerant with anti-Catholic legislation being irregularly implemented. The country became a safe haven for dispossessed religious groups. This was partly a conscious attempt to create a tolerant and wholly Dutch identity, and partly due to the pure impracticalities of implementing legislation across a decentralised country in which regional authorities promoted different agendas (Hsia and Van Nierop 2002:2). This permitted an environment in which demonstrating one's religious sensibilities through material culture may not have just been possible, but potentially even necessary. Van Dam suggests that many vessels displaying biblical or morality symbols may have been non-functional in terms of food and drink, instead becoming a form of didactic decoration for the household (van Dam 2004:57).

The most unambiguous examples of religious or moral intent are those vessels which display scenes from Biblical or certain aspects of Classical mythology. Stoneware jugs are some of the most commonly observed carriers of biblical imagery from this period. During the second half of the sixteenth century, stoneware jugs and *snelle*, particularly from Siegburg, were decorated with complex and highly detailed decoration, often based on the engravings of the Little Masters. The usual subjects were mythological, biblical or allegorical scenes, a number of which are found archaeologically (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986:177-178).

Fig. 11. 4. (23). Jug decorated with three medallions of Christ and the Doubting Thomas. RM Inv. BK-NM-10011. www.rijksmuseum.nl.

Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen discuss in detail a *snelle* depicting Samson and Delilah, found in Cologne in Germany. An identical, if less complete version of this vessel was recovered from Walsteeg in Utrecht, (UWAL9478, **Fig. 7. 1. (26)**). Other stoneware *snellen* depicting religious symbols such as the instruments of the passion and scenes from the crucifixion were also produced in Cologne and in Raeren (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986:199-200, RM Inv. BK-NM-10011, **Fig. 11. 4. (23)**). This design was also found on maiolica plates imported from Antwerp; one was excavated from Voordam in Alkmaar (Baart 2002:148, Ostkamp, Roedema and van Wilgen 2002:453). Panel jugs, which were introduced towards the end of the sixteenth century, were also known to depict biblical and classical scenes, such as the story of Joseph, the apocryphal tale of Susanna and the

Elders, or the Judgement of Paris (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986:202-203). A small fragment from a broken panel jug excavated from Speelmanstraat in Leeuwarden is moulded with the text “EVANGELIST”, suggesting another biblical scene (LWSM7811). ’Susanna’ jugs seem to have been particularly popular in the Netherlands, with three identical versions dated 1584 being excavated from Delft’s Ursulaklooster (DURS05217, **Fig. 4. 1. (39)**) Wever-Bakkerstraat in Arnhem (AHWB7804, **Fig. 5. 1. (24)**) and Walsteeg, Utrecht (UWAL9475, **Fig. 7. 1. (23)**) (see also Kohnemann 1982:217). The role of the Chaste Susanna as a female role model may also link these vessels into the sphere of wedding pottery. Other female role models from biblical mythology are also known depictions on ceramics, such as the story of Judith and Holofernes (**Fig. 11. 4. (24)**).

Fig. 11. 4. (24). Stoneware tankard with pewter lid, decorated with Judith carrying the head of Holofernes, after an engraving by the Little Masters. RM Inv. BK-NM-10012. www.rijksmuseum.nl.

Despite all this, it is interesting to note that panel jugs may be equally as likely not to depict religious scenes. The imagery of stoneware is divided between images giving moral or intellectual messages, through biblical and classical figures, and those depicting jollity and merry making, such as the other well-known category of panel jug: the peasant dance, cavaliers, and musicians. These again tended to be inspired by engravings from the Little Masters, peasant jugs originated from an image by Hans Sebald Beham (Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen 1986:202-203), and were made with many small variations (See Kohnemann 1982, Fig. 189-98). A peasant dance jug was excavated from Volderstraatje in ‘s-Hertogenbosch (DBVO9361, **Fig. 10. 1. (47a), (47b)**).

Other religious figures and scenes include saints, whose portraits and symbols were used to decorate some vessels, particularly on applied medallions. A *trechterbeker* excavated from Arnhem’s Musiskwartier has a depiction of St Martin (AHMUS0329 , **Fig. 5. 1. (10)**). St Martin was the patron saint of Arnhem, along with several other Dutch cities, and continued to be popular as a folk figure well into the seventeenth century (Schama 1997:183).

It is worth bearing in mind the mass-produced nature of German stoneware when considering these vessels, which meant that popular moulds were re-used many times. As stoneware vessels of similar forms were equally often decorated with non-biblical imagery and friezes, such as cavaliers or musicians, these particular examples may have been bought because of their religious symbolism. However, it is difficult to determine that it

was not the contents of these vessels, rather than their decoration, which decided their original purchase. Other standard elements of stoneware decoration have also been interpreted as religious symbols, including foliate designs such as the tree of Jesse and lions representing the resurrection (Havers 2006:206) but these are fairly conjectural. It is interesting to note that after 1600, the popularity of Westerwald products and the general move towards geometric and floral designs seems to lead to the decline of figurative decoration on stoneware (eventually including *baartman* faces), and therefore also to the general disappearance of biblical and classical imagery.

Biblical scenes were also known to be depicted on earthenware products throughout the seventeenth-century, and again these may have been gifts for weddings, particularly those depicting Adam and Eve, and Judith (Ostkamp 2004:141, 143). Bruijn also discusses a great number of werraware utensils from Enkhuizen with religious imagery, including the resurrection of Christ (Bruijn 1992:91, Fig. 45), St Peter (Bruijn 1992:90, Fig. 44), Christ and the Apostles (Bruijn 1992:90, Fig. 44) and Adam and Eve (Bruijn 1992:110-111).

In addition to figurative and symbolic links to religion, stoneware vessels also used short phrases of edifying text to remind the drinker of their spiritual obligations; two excellent examples on baartman jugs from Frechen are given by Hurst, Neal and van Beuningen (1986:218-219). The first is moulded with the text *"DES.HEREN.WART.BLEIFT.IN.EW"* ('the word of God remains forever') and *"DRINCK:VN:ET:GODE:NIT:VRGET"* ('Drink and eat, forget not God'). This latter vessel was found in a well in Reimerswaal in the Netherlands, and another late sixteenth-century jug with the same message was recovered from Langestraat in Alkmaar ("*DRINCK VND EST GOTS NIT VERGES"*, Beerput 3/4C, Bitter, de Jong-Lambregts and Roedema 2010:165). Glass vessels were also decorated with calligraphic phrases of a similar nature; our moralising, glass-engraving friend William van Heemskerk engraved a late seventeenth-century network-patterned beaker with the phrase "*Dank GOD in alles*" (BvB Inv. 593 (KN&V)).

Tin-glazed wares from the Southern Netherlands, which owed much of their decorative tradition during the first half of the century to Italian and Spanish maiolica, were often decorated with religious imagery (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986:117). Two polychrome maiolica dishes from Niewue Kamp in Utrecht were painted with the I.H.S. monogram and a cross (UNIE0313, **Fig. 7. 1. (63)**). Dishes probably produced in the Northern Netherlands were also known to depict the Madonna and Child, another reasonably overt Catholic image (BvB Inv. A 4343 (KN&V) and A. 4288 (KN&V)). A blue and white maiolica plate excavated from Foeliestraat in Rapenburg was painted with a crucifixion scene (760, Gawronski 2012:243). Once again, we also find short phrases calling for the praise of God; faience dishes and plates reading "*Eert God*" ('Honour God' - BvB Inv. A 4051 (KN&V)) or "*Loof Godt Altyd*" ('Praise God Always' - BvB Inv. B 39 (KN&V)), very similar in tone to the messages engraved onto glasswork. Kannenmarkt in Nijmegen produced a faience dish decorated with blue garlands surrounding the text "*WIJ BIDDEN U O HEER*" ('we pray to you oh Lord') (Bartels 1999.:799).

In some instances, drinking vessels were used to promote a very direct political-religious agenda. A number of Siegburg stoneware products from the late sixteenth century are

known, on which appeared unambiguous anti-Catholic images. Based on the classical image of the double-headed Janus mask which were reasonably common features on sixteenth-century jugs from Cologne and Frechen, these variations have a portrait of a pope and a cardinal which when turned upside down become a devil and a jester respectively (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986:180, Gaimster 1997:149). An example is held in the museum Boijmans van Beuningen (BvB Inv. F3938). The double headed pope-devil image was also found on metal tokens during the sixteenth century (Ostkamp 1996:21). It is possible that vessels as a focus for the circulation of anti-Catholic propaganda began less overtly, with the association of the *baartman* jug, which historically were sometimes referred to as *Bellarmines.* While facemask jugs were in existence long before the anti-Protestant Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino (1542-1621), Gaimster suggests they were later associated with him as a criticism and mockery of his counter-reformationary actions (1997:209).

Another vessel form which was used to expresses a less subtle criticism of the Catholic church is the drinking beaker formed in the shape of a monk, known as a *monniksbeker*. An incomplete example, of white earthenware, was excavated from the Ursulaklooster in Delft (DURS05228, **Fig. 4. 1. (54)**), and four dated examples were recovered from a shipwreck found in Amsterdam's Petroleumhaven (Ostkamp 1996:14). Combined with other pieces, it seems that at least some manufacture of the beakers was taking place in this city (Ostkamp 1996:16). As many as forty-five *monniksbekers* had been identified from Europe by 1996, including eight stoneware, two faience, and the remaining thirty-five, thought to be internally made within the Netherlands, were from lead glazed earthenware (Ostkamp 1996:14). Some of these vessels are extremely clear in their expression of dissatisfaction with the monastic community, particularly relating to alcohol, adultery and financial mismanagement. One beaker, recovered from the IJ-polder shipwreck takes the standard hollow figurative form with a large hood, but also carries a large purse, highlighted in green glaze (BvB Inv. F 9652 (KN&V), see BvB Inv. A 3672 (KN&V) for another very similar vessel) (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986:175). One red earthenware example with patches of lead glaze, and another prominent purse at his waist holds out a book towards the viewer (BvB Inv. A 3671 (KN&V)). In his study of Dutch monk beakers, Sebastiaan Ostkamp suggests that these late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century vessels existed as an overt criticism of the abuses of the Catholic Church (Ostkamp 1996). Some vessels are seen with large purses, like the examples above, or even with genitalia on display or holding naked figures, satirising the Church's monetary greed and financial monopolies, as well as accusations of adulterous behaviour. The Ursulaklooster figure is carrying a book and does not have any other negative features, something Ostkamp notes is more ambiguous. However, the nature of these items as drinking vessels is thought in its own right to represent the perceived misconducts of monks regarding alcohol consumption (Ostkamp 1996:24). Needless to say, the Church disapproved of these disrespectful images, and traders attempting to sell them in Cologne in 1604 quickly found themselves banned from the market (Ostkamp 1996:14).

It is notable that these satirical vessels date to the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century when the greatest conflict between Catholics and Protestants in this region was taking place. Later in the seventeenth century religious imagery seems to become less contentious. An example is the late seventeenth-century glass engraved with Adam and

Eve and the Crucifixion, recovered from the Leijdsche Rijn, in Utrecht (Rauws 2003, Isings *et al* 2009:130). Unlike the stoneware examples above, the very personal nature of the engraved glass, which may have been commissioned from the glass engraver, tells of less politically charged, more intimate devotion. The skull, a *vanitas* symbol reminds the viewer of their own mortality. Despite the fraught relationship between the Dutch and luxury items, and even more pertinently with alcohol, drinking glasses are still being considered a suitable medium to align their owners with a specific set of Dutch religious and cultural values.

A further development on this theme concerns the extent to which religious imagery on vessels can be non-Protestant, or recognise minority groups. Excavations from minority sites are generally poorly chategorised or possibly totally unrecognised, although the cesspits from some known Catholics have been excavated, including that of the painter Abraham Bloemaert on the street of Walsteeg in the Mariaplaats, Utrecht. In this instance it was clear from the variety and quality of the glassware that being known to be a Catholic did not affect the family's ability to access and use luxury drinking vessels in a conspicuous fashion. One tenuous explanation was proposed by Dibbits, who recognised several tracts, like that of Kasparus Alardin who wrote the *'Vergeestelijk en hemels thee-gebruyk'* in 1696 ('the spiritual and heavenly use of tea'). This explains tea-drinking as part of the domestic rituals of the Reformed faith (Dibbits 2001:164). Tea, therefore, may have been considered a 'Protestant drink' during this period (Bartels 2005:40), and it is worth noting that the assemblage from Walsteeg only contained three cups, two of porcelain and one faience (**Fig. 11. 4. (25)**). Other excavated assemblages of similar size and date range generally contain larger quantities.

Fig. 11. 4. (25). Faience and Porcelain tea drinking ware from several excavations

City	Site	Faience	Porcelain	Total artefacts
Utrecht	Walsteeg	1	2	87
Utrecht	Geertebolwerk	2	11	66
Alkmaar	Oudegracht 26 4C	6	12	94
Alkmaar	Langestraat 7A	14	15	103
Alkmaar	Langestraat 115/117	7	36	84

However, while it would be possible to suggest that the low quantities of tea drinking wares relate to Bloemaert's Catholicism and rejecting of the 'Protestant' tea, this is extremely conjectural, and it seems more likely that the low quantities of porcelain and delftware relate to the pit's main period of use being the earlier part of the century. It seems then that there is nothing to distinguish a difference in religious belief from the drinking material recovered here. Van Rooijen and Stafleu did, however, also note that a metal incense holder was recovered from the cesspit, indicating that the family's Catholic values could be recognised from some aspects of their material culture (1997:103). The same can be said to be true from several other excavated cesspits which produced ceramic holy water stoups. De Baan in Enkhuizen had two examples, in maiolica and Italian tin-glazed ware (Stortlaag LG03/V131), and faience examples were recovered from Alkmaar's

Langestraat (115/117, 13C onderlaag), and Maasstraat 22 in Venlo (Wp 57). Two of the basins, from De Baan and Maastraat, were decorated with crucifixion scenes on the back plates, and the De Baan maiolica and Langestraat examples were also decorated in blue paint with the IHS monogram, the latter with a pierced heart with three arrows. Interestingly several of these sites also produced vessels with other religious texts and symbolism. The same layer from De Baan produced a baartman jug with a band inscription reading “*(GOTT) BIS MIR SVNDER (GNADIG)”* or 'God have mercy on me, a sinner’. The layer also produced a werraware plate (wa-bor-1) with slip decoration of Adam and Eve.

A small quantity of utility items have so far have been identified with Jewish iconography, including a mid-eighteenth century plate with Jewish Hebrew Pesach text, which was excavated from Amsterdam’s Waterlooplein, and a pewter plate with a star of David (Mees 1997:32). However, this latter piece dates to the beginning of the seventeenth-century, when this symbol was of more widespread use with many groups. Aspects of Jewish devotions were again easier to read from other pieces of material culture, such as a copper Sabbath lamp and two-hundred and forty-two kosher leads, also from the Waterlooplein (Gawronski 2012:63, 77). Baart suggests that Jewish material culture becomes more observable after the end of the seventeenth century, as the population became more settled and freer to establish their own identity (1983).

11. 4. 7. Sinners and Saints: Women and gendered material culture

> *“If a glass or porcelain breaks,*
> *The house is soon too small,*
> *So violently does the wife rage,*
> *It seems she wants to give the maid a thrashing,*
> *Kitchen, parlour, hall and floor,*
> *Everything is in an uproar,*
> *It seems she will go into battle,*
> *With a boy, with a servant,*
> *With her daughter, or her child,*
> *With whomever she finds first,*
> *And, in between, the man*
> *Will certainly get his share.”*
>
> (Jacob Cats *Alle de werken*, quoted in van Deursen 1991:83)

So wrote the famous Jacob Cats in his seventeenth-century emblem book, introducing what is yet another recurring theme in the writings of the contemporary Dutch and their visitors, that Dutch women were notoriously autonomous, particularly in comparison to their submissive English neighbours. They were accused of choosing weak husbands that they could be easily controlled, and the wife could order the household the way she

wanted; proud, domineering and in charge (van Deursen 1991:82). It certainly seems to have been the case that in many instances, women had significant personal freedom across a wide section of society, particularly in rural contexts. Village women had a greater involvement in many aspects of life, played a vital role in local economy, and were subject to fewer social restrictions (Kamen 2000:157, 166). While womens' expected societal roles involved the organisation, maintenance and cleanliness of the household and the decoration of the church, in practice many women played an important role in many other aspects of life. Women were able to own property, contribute to the household income, and in some cases recieve paternity maintenance payments if unmarried or annull marriages with their husbands, giving them usually unrestricted opportunities (Kamen 2000:157, 160, 163; van Deursen 1991:7, Schama 1997:406). Widows were known to take over the businesses of their husbands, even if that involved membership to a guild, and women made their own substantial mark as artists and engravers (Kamen 2000:172, van Deursen 1991:9).

Not all traditional gender roles were challenged, however; women never held any influence in the perpetually male spheres of politics and war, although their influence in local poor relief and charitable institutions gave them positions of some authority (Kamen 2000:157, Schama 1997:404). Even contemporary literature, like Johan van Beverwijck's tracts on the virtues of the female sex, recognised that women should maintain a certain place and not "cross certain borders which would bring them into men's world," such as practicing medicine beyond the role of the midwife (van Gemert 1994:47). Despite this, Kamen suggests that the breakdown of traditional gender roles was a cause of significant anxiety during this period. The 'War between the Sexes', the threat that women were trying to undermine the traditional authority of men, and even to subjugate men to their own will, are all themes which appear in literary and artistic works (Kamen 2000:157-158). In Jan Miense Molenaer's painting of *The Sense of Touch* (1637), a wife carries off her servile husband's trousers while beating him with a clog (Schama 1997:401). There is no guarantee, of course, that these threats truly existed outside of the minds of their authors, but it was certainly the view of some visitors to the Netherlands that women were involved in running businesses while browbeaten husbands were sent to tend cradles. The Dutch men, it was considered, were too drunk to manage, leaving the day to day business to their wives (Moryson 1592:58, van Deursen 1991:9, 83).

Whatever the reality of the situation, it is likely that there were many women who were able to obtain relative social and financial freedom, and occupy new positions of authority during this period. However, there is no doubt that the three stereotypical roles of women throughout much of history still endured during this period; unmarried women (the virgin or the widow), as wives (the mother), or as religious figures (the nun) (Kamen 2000:157). This was often simplified even further into a fundamental dichotomy of women as sinners and women as saints, one which was reflected in much of European art. Even the Dutch 'slice of life' genre paintings and domestic scenes barely give more acturate depictions of female life, female subjects appear as the two polar opposites of the good housewife and the harlot, and trapped between them in ambiguity was the woman in danger of

temptation (Schama 1997:433). Chaste and pious housewives dutifully maintainted the domestic harmony and cleanliness of home, husband and children (**Fig. 11. 4. (26)**).

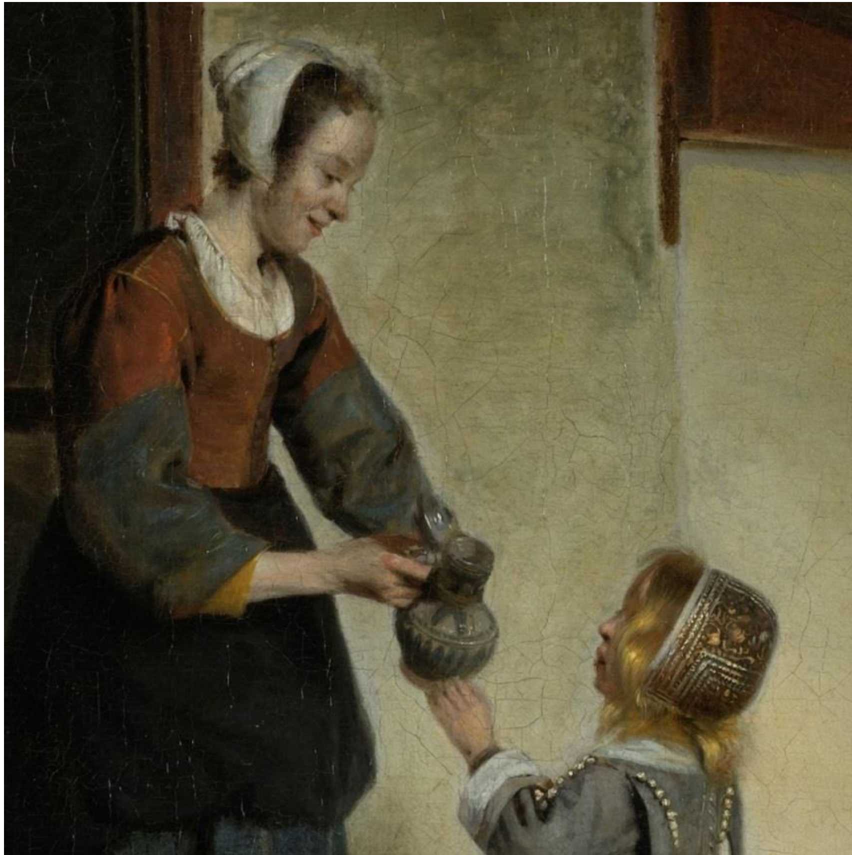


Fig. 11. 4. (26). *Een vrouw met een kind in een kelderkamer* (detail) by Pieter de Hooch (ca. 1656 - ca. 1660). RM Inv. SK-A-182. www.rijksmuseum.nl.

The work of writers such as Jacob Cats who constructed the behavioural manual *Houwelijck* for new brides, no doubt laid a 'heavy burden' on women to fulfil the prescribed roles of bride, wife, mother or widow to biblical expectations (Schama 1997:399), for the danger of the uncontrolled woman was close at hand. Such women suffered from "a lust for shopping, a relish for malicious gossip, an uncontrollable temper, unseemly cravings for rich sweet food and strong drink (or even tobacco) and perhaps even more unmentionable weaknesses of the flesh" (Schama 1997:400-401). These roles continued to shape depictions of women even into old age, with old women appearing as solitary, poor dowagers living their last days in humble piety (*Old Woman Saying Grace* by Nicolaes Maes seen above **Fig. 11. 3. (8)**), or as vile 'procuresses' or harridans, overseeing their brothels with greedy eyes, such as in Jan Steen's *La Ribaude* (c. 1625-79) and *The Bad Company* (c.1665), Johannes Vermeer's *The Procuress* (1656) or numerous others (Schama 1997:430-433) (**Fig. 11. 4. (27)**).

Fig. 11. 4. (27). An old woman prompts three prostitutes to steal from their drunken clients. *Het bordeel* (detail) by Nicolaas Verkolje (c. 1700). RM Inv. RP-P-1911-200. www.rijksmuseum.nl.

The question in hand then is to what extent women were able to construct their own identity through the material culture they purchased and used, and in what ways the above stereotypes were supported or denied through drinking activities. The hypothesis is that the gender and age of the household will affect the material culture recovered; women, for example requiring certain kinds of material culture for the purposes of conviviality and competition and the symbolic practice of the tea ritual (Courtney 1997a:100). In order to determine the extent to which the presence of female consumption habits can be observed in the archaeological assemblage, a brief discussion on the main products of their consumption will be made.

The arrival of tea and coffee in large quantities has been argued to have a significant impact on several aspects of daily life and created new forms of domestic social interactions (Dibbits 2001:164). Not only did these drinks remove beer from its privileged position as the main drink of the people, tea and coffee also required new forms of material culture, new methods of consumption and a change in sociability (Dibbits 2001:157-158). Tea was also responsible for essentially altering the routine of daily domestic life, which had traditionally revolved around two meals. An evening supper, usually of just bread and butter, began to be linked to the consumption of tea on a large scale. This developed into the full 'tea ritual' which often took place in the afternoon, with a wide array of tea foods, '*theerandjes*' like cookies and sweets, as well as fresh fruit (Barnes and Rose 2002:21, Dibbits 2001:161). Tea and coffee were also blamed for causing disruption to the work day as they took additional time to prepare, causing longer and more frequent work breaks (Dibbits 2001:162).

In many instances, women have been associated as the main consumers of tea during this period, and are often particularly credited with the rise of ‘tea parties’ as a method of social interaction (Bult 1992:90). These events must have been well known and popular enough for them to be satirised in numerous farcical works (van Uytven 2007:411). Tea was linked to women in such a way that it was referred to several times in the last quarter of the century as “*Vrouwestabak*”, that is ‘women’s tobacco’ (Betz 1900:114). Smoking of course was not unknown for women, particularly in rural areas, but it was sometimes met with condemnation; tea was a more appropriate habit (Dibbits 2001:153-154). A polychrome delftware tea caddy painted in c. 1700 by Het Jonge Moriaanshooft has a depiction of this gendered division; a woman and a man sit at a small table, the man smoking a long pipe and the woman holding up a tea cup (Dibbits 2001:143, BvB Inv. A 4085 (KN&V)).

The drinking of coffee, in contrast, was considered to have been restricted to male social activity, especially in terms of consumption in coffee houses (Baart 1987:2; van Uytven 2007:129; and see chapter 11. 2. 2. previously). Both Barnes and Rose, and Laan, on the other hand, suggest that the difference between the consumption of coffee and tea is less related to gender than to the domestic and public spheres; women gathered in homes and drank tea, where coffee was consumed more publically outside of the house and was therefore usually drunk by men during this period (Barnes and Rose 2002:21, see Laan 2003). Despite the wider availability of both tea and coffee during the eighteenth century, it seems that in some areas, particularly rural, that the gendered associations with these drinks were well entrenched. Le Francq van Berkhey observed that at rural funerals, women were served tea, while men drank wine and beer and also smoked (Dibbits 2001:158). Although it is recorded that in 1701 women were starting to visit coffee shops, even in 1780 writer J. Wolf could still describe the coffee house and smoking rooms as being for men and the tea house for women (van Uytven 2007:135). Female consumption was not only limited to tea of course. Schotel records that no fewer than twenty-five different kinds of flavoured spirits and liquors were available during the seventeenth century, several with specific names and associated social customs (see Schotel 1867). Dibbits suggests that the association between the drink’s names and female rites of passage might indicate that women were also the primary consumers of these spiced liquors, although this is difficult to determine purely from a name (Dibbits 2001:149–150).

Of course, tea drinking was not a strickly female gendered activity. Many medical figures advocated its consumption by all to promote health and well-being (Betz 1900:112), and it is certainly known that men also enjoyed it (Schama 1997:172). The question might be proposed then as to why tea and tea-drinking utensils became adopted so quickly and thoroughly as female symbols during the seventeenth century. In one respect, the growing prevalence of women’s material culture could be seen as a result of the woman’s increased ability to affect household purchases. While in past centuries, women were responsible for much of the economic decision making relating to the management of the household and its outgoings, the early modern Dutch woman was suddenly in the position of also contributing financially. The relative autonomy of Dutch women in comparison to other European counterparts might well have resulted in a greater financial freedom to invest household money in certain ways.

Fig. 11. 4. (28). *Portret van Machteld Muilman* (detail) by Frans van der Mijn (ca. 1745 - ca. 1747). RM Inv. SK-A-2249. www.rijksmuseum.nl.

Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton also suggest that the objects of female materiality remained reasonably static up to the modern period (1981:93). The objects of the female sphere were dominated by the woman's roles of home-making, child-rearing, cooking, small domestic industries, and religion. Thus women lacked an "instrumental self-definition", until the relatively recent abandonment of traditional gender roles, and the negation of previous 'female' tools through the adoption of labour-saving household devices (*ibid*). It could be argued, however, that the origins for this change in female materiality can be seen back into the seventeenth century in the Netherlands, with the rise in tea-drinking and its associated material culture. Tea, and its accompanying rituals, transcended the typical methods of sociality and material expression for women using a process that was still a culturally acceptable form of self-definition (**Fig. 11. 4. (28)**). The expansion of domestic material culture in the form of utensils and decorations may have been promoted by women as a method of drawing attention and social interactions into

the home sphere, and into a domain in which they were more accepted (Shammas 1980:18-19, 1990:186).

While tea cups, tea pots and matching saucers were all recovered from cesspit assemblages, it is impossible to say with any level of surety that these vessels could only indicate the presence of female consumers in households. In her study of English probate inventories, Weatherill found that by 1725, about 11% of assemblages of both male and female owners had porcelain objects, and 18% had utensils for hot drink making. This barely varied across the country. In fact, she notes very little difference between the inventories of male and female dominated households in the matter of both porcelain and teaware, a surprising result given the often commented association between females and tea consumption and china collecting, and given that other areas of luxury material culture, such as clocks and paintings did produce a gender bias (Weatherill 1986:140, 143-144). Differences in consumption patterns, particularly amongst lower craftspersons and farmers suggest that the occupation, status and means of the household were more important in determining consumption than gender (Weatherill 1986:151).

As Weatherill suggests, the lack of an identifiable female 'subculture' of material possessions within a household may just demonstrate that women constructed their identity as a functioning aspect of a whole household identity and did not, in most cases, expend any efforts or interest trying to "conceptualize their world in different terms either within themselves or through their material life" (Weatherill 1986:155-156). Having said this, some distinctions between the inventories of widows and male-run households of similar status suggests women may have changed some aspects of their consumption when purchasing in an entirely independent manner, and that gendered purchasing is easier to see within similar wealth groups (Shammas 1980:16, Weatherill 1986:156). However, this does not, in the context of England, seem to have affected the purchase of porcelain and tea goods (Weatherill 1986:156). In this archaeological context, we are in an even worse position for recognising the relative influence of gendered activity. In the vast majority of cases, little or no knowledge is available about the household who contributed the cesspit waste, and their gender make-up; indeed in some instances it is likely that multiple groups contributed to the pit waste. Future research might be able to draw more conclusions in this regard.

Further to this, the presence of tea cups in inventories or archaeological assemblages does not necessarily indicate that tea was consumed in the household, despite vessels and tea being a recognised 'consumption bundle' (de Vries 2008:31). The role of porcelain cups as purely ornamental items should not be underestimated. In a variety of households, the vessels might have been used for display even if tea could not be afforded, display areas for porcelain are mentioned several times (see chapter 11. 2. 3). Porcelain collecting grew in popularity over the turn of the century and by the later eighteenth century, even figures of modest income and means had reasonable collections recorded in their inventories (Dibbits 1996:135-139). Bult suggests that porcelain excavated from pits without other tea or coffee preparing materials, such as tea pots, might suggest that display was taking place (Bult 1992:90). However, the complexity of processes affecting the recovery of items from

cesspits (see chapter 2. 2), means that finding items which were not common in household assemblages is even less likely in cesspit groups, and their absence should not be used to draw conclusions about other material use.

In terms of excavated porcelain and the lack of a gender divide in probate inventories, it is possible that the association between women and tea was not really yet as significant in the seventeenth century as it would later become. Or, if women were already the primary consumers of tea, that men were also involved in the collection of porcelain to the extent that in this conceals the predominantly female use of it (Weatherill 1986:140, Kowaleski-Wallace 1995:157).

If the presence of women cannot be seen with any absolute clarity from excavated teawares and porcelain, it must be considered if there are other areas of drinking material culture which reflect on the lot of women during this period. To see this, we return once again to the moral pluralism which Schama identifies in many aspects of Dutch life, and the antithetical stereotypes of women; the sinners and the saints. Depictions of women on drinking material culture certainly seem to support this division. In part 11. 4. 6, several examples were given of depictions of 'chaste' women from classical or biblical sources on vessels, particularly stoneware. The several examples of Susanna jugs, from Delft, Arnhem and Utrecht are excellent examples, and other popular figures include Judith (**Fig. 11. 4. (22)**), and Rebecca. Another virtuous figure, mythological rather than biblical is Venus, who appears, for example on a small hemispherical stoneware jug dated to 1598, with blue griffin and lion supporters (Noordeind) (Hurst, Neal and van Benuingen 1986:183). These vessels have been linked to wedding pottery, and formed part of the didactic gift-giving process which gave new brides visual rolemodels. Women as the 'sinner' is also seen in similar depictions; Samson and Delilah being another common motif on highly decorated Siegburg stoneware (see **Fig. 7. 1. (26)**), Joseph fleeing the Potiphar's wife, as well as, it could be argued, Eve, who appears alongside Adam and the apple of their downfall on many types of material culture.

The role of the woman as the 'saint' is again seen in vessels depicting virtue or morality images, often personified in the form of women. A medallion from a *trechterbeker* excavated from Arnhem's Koningstraat (AHKON1811, **Fig. 5. 1. (49)** and **(50)**) is another example of a virtue, or morality, image; in this instance a praying woman and the text "The Hopeful". Other published examples are known, such as a tankard of type s2-bek-19, excavated from Maasboulevard in Venlo which has appliques depicting three personifications of virtues (Van der Velde *et al* 2009:990). These drinking vessels are likely to have been linked to weddings, possibly as gifts, for their role in ensuring the success of the marriage and household, by reminding Dutch housewives of the importance of piety and their domestic duties. They were popular in many aspects of the visual arts during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and are also found on silver and engraved glass vessels which are likely to have been intended as wedding gifts. Mees gives several examples of silver vessels decorated with religious imagery, including a silver-gilt beaker engraved with scenes from the Old Testament (BvB Inv. MBZ 212 (KN&V), Mees 1997:73), and a silver brandy bowl showing the evangelists, crucified Christ with Mary and John and

two coats of arms (BvB Inv. MBZ 16 (KN&V), Mees 1997:75). The addition of the coats of arms mean this latter vessel is very likely to have been a wedding gift. Another silver brandy bowl from the museum Boijmans van Beuningen depicts the virtues of Hope, Love, Faith, Moderation, Strength and Justice as female figures (BvB Inv. MBZ 17(KN&V)). Depictions of the female personifications of Faith, Hope and Virtue also appear on some glassware, including an elaborate goblet with a double knop stem (BvB Inv. 123 (KN&V)). A Siegburg jug from the workshop of Hans Hilgers excavated from Langestraat in Alkmaar produced a Siegburg jug depicting Charity (Ostkamp 2004:138). Ostkamp also notes several depictions of Justice, holding measuring scales, on werra pottery.

One exceedingly unusual vessel, held at the Boijmans-van Beuningen museum, is a baartman jug with a female face and long hair, believed to be the only one of its kind found (BvB Inv. F 2480 (KN&V), **Fig. 11. 4. (29)**). Quite how to explain this very unusual occurance is a puzzle, however the fact that the figure is carrying a shield with the coat of arms of Cologne is also unusual. She may well be intended to depict the Virgin Mary or another saint of significance.

Fig. 11. 4. (29). Female Baartman jug from Cologne.
BvB Inv. F 2480 (KN&V).
http://www.boijmans.nl/nl.

The above examples tell us very little about the reality of female identity during this period, but they do present us with an ideal of it, and perhaps one that women themselves embraced. There is no reason to think all such dutiful and chaste rolemodels were imposed on women from outside, and these vessels may, as well as being the result of gift-giving, have been chosen by women for their own decorations of the home.

The importance of earthenware in wedding gifting has already been mentioned (part 11. 4. 5), but it is worth drawing attention again to the notable correlation between earthenware vessels and the idealisation of motherhood. Thoen notes the frequency of these vessel types in artworks depicting women fulfilling the role of dutiful mothers (Thoen 2007:115).

In section 11. 4. 5 above, the wedding pottery of Neeltje Adriaans and Claas Fransz is discussed, slip decorated with the name of the bride. The use of the wife's name as a feature on wedding gifts of all kinds is noted in many instances by Ostkamp (2004), and is particularly interesting as male names are seldom found in these contexts. This represents a new aspect of female identity on vessels, although they are related to the role of the wife in the marriage, women are receiving non-moralising attention, and more importantly, highly individual attention. But even in these contexts the 'language' of women is revealing; very often a relationship identifier is added. An example is the cooking pot exavated from Schermerhorn, slip decorated with the text MAERTIE:JACOP.DOCHTER, and dated 1663 (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986:133). Other jugs and pots from Schermereiland are also decorated with female names and dates, often with "and her beloved" following (Thoen 2007:111). The stoneware jug of Jan Jechcar and his wife Marie has already been mentioned above (DBHTK00256 **Fig. 10. 1. (59)** and **(60)**).

An unusual soda glass roemer, which is engraved with several women walking in a room with chairs, is similarly addressed to a wife (BvB Inv. 100 (KN&V)). One other glass engraved with a female figure is worth commenting on; the baluster stemmed goblet is engraved with a pregnant woman lifting up a wine glass, and the accompanying text; "*Hansie in de Kelder*"links this glass to the sphere of christening gifts (Page 2004b:265, CMOG Inv. 79.3.239, **Fig. 11. 4. (30)**). Even if drawing an understanding of the complex identity of Golden Age women from these vessels is a little tenuous, they do certainly give an excellent reflection on the effect that some aspects of female material culture had on the assemblage of the household.

Fig. 11. 4. (30). Baluster stemmed goblet engraved with a pregnant woman toasting, (c.1680-1700). CMOG Inv. 79.3.239.

While the quantity of sources for an examination of the use of female imagery on vessels is not high, all of the examples mentioned above seem to be aimed towards the representation of the proper role of women within society; that of daughters, wives and mothers, with biblical and classical moral guides, with a much smaller emphasis on women as sinners, which was a popular theme in other visual culture such as paintings. As decoration on vessels, it seems that pious and proper women, and women as symbols of morality, were preferred.

One additional aspect of female material culture use should be mentioned here, and that is the doll's house. In this instance, dolls' houses refer to the highly expensive, ornamental structures constructed and cared for by high-status individuals. While men were also known to have maintained miniature houses, women are again known as the primary consumers, and doll houses were often inherited through the female line (Broomhall and Spinks 2011:108, 112).Dolls' houses in the context of childrens toys will be expanded upon in the next section. The first known doll house, or miniature house, was probably that built for Albrecht of Bavaria in around 1557 (Pasierbska 1998:4), but several are known from the Golden Age Netherlands, including several which are still intact (see **Fig. 11. 4. (31)**).

The phenomenon of the miniature house emerged from a history of sixteenth-century collections of curios and rare natural objects, which in turn developed into a fascination with things which were grotesquely large or miniature (Pearce 1995:112). This was all a part of the classification and scientific understanding of the natural world which was one of the key driving forces of the Renaissance (Broomhall and Spinks 2011:108-109). Doll houses, or occasionally just single rooms, were bedecked in sumptuous furnishings, imitation furniture and hundreds of miniature utensils and vessels, and these were usually made of the correct material, including porcelain and precious metals. The cost of these houses was obviously immense; it is suggested that they may not have cost much less than a real contemporary house (Broomhall and Spinks 2011:101, Bitter 2009b:50).

Fig. 11. 4. (31). Closeup of the dollhouse of Petronella Oortman, by an unknown cabinet maker (c.1686 - 1710). This house is reported to have cost between *f*20,000 to *f*30,000 to construct (Bitter 2009b:61, note 10). RM Inv. BK-NM-1010. Note the array of miniature porcelain items in the cupboard in the kitchen. www.rijksmuseum.nl.

Dolls houses were partially a clear display of the most conspicuous of consumptions, in all its ornamental complexity and vast cost. However, they also carried a more complex function. Girls visiting the miniature house of Anna Köferlin in Germany were given a handout of a poem describing the efficient running of a household. Houses may also have functioned as learning tools, as well as their roles as ostentatious status symbols and to entertain (Pasierbska 1998:6-7, Broomhall and Spinks 2011:108).

The inclusion of drinking items, in glass, ceramic and metals, in these houses emphasises the important role of drinking and its accompanying material culture to the nature of the Dutch household. Vessels make up a fundamental part of the fabric of the house. The dolls' house in essence is a microcosmic expression of the traditional symbols of female endeavour; the household. The open nature of the dollhouse cabinets allows every part of the domestic space to be put on display; the good, and above all Calvinist, housewife has nothing to be ashamed of, and the openness of the dollhouse represents the physical and moral cleanliness of her household (Broomhall and Spinks 2011:104).That household itself of course could be considered to be a miniaturisation of the perfect state, a 'little commonwealth' in its own right (Johnson 1996:156), and therefore a symbol of the good order of the new Republic (Schama 1997:386).

11. 4. 8. Recognising Children

Age is a very difficult aspect of identity to view archaeologically, as for the majority of adulthood, behaviour is only likely to change according to other social factors and rites of passage, such as marriage, the death of a spouse or in the case of infirmity. While widows and the infirm are mentioned elsewhere in this study (chapter 11. 4. 7 and chapter 12. 4), this section is going to discuss some aspects of the drinking material culture of children.

Children's drinks were probably not, on the whole, vastly different to those of their adult counterparts. They certainly would have drunk small beer at mealtimes along with adults (Smythe 2004:xvi), although it is more doubtful that they would have been given wine or spirits. Very young children might be observable in the assemblage of the household through *zuigfles/ babyfles* (baby feeding bottles), *borstglas* (nipple-shield) and *afkolfglas (*breast milk cups). The rim of what might have been from an *afkolfglas* was recovered from the assemblage of the doctor Zachaeus de Jager in Torenstraat, Enkhuizen, although these can be difficult to tell from bleeding cups if they are only partially recovered. Again, baby bottles would be difficult to recognise in an archaeological assemblage if broken, as they would be essentially indistinguishable from beaker or bottle glass, unless the feeding spout is found complete. One almost complete example was excavated from the site of Bierkade 17 in Alkmaar in 2002 (Bitter, Ostkamp, and Roedema 2003:5).

As mentioned above, one of the first items of material culture owned by a child was the *pillegift* given by the godparents at the Christening, and in many instances these were ornamental drinking vessels, particularly silver brandy bowls. Of course, these items are unlikely to be recovered from cesspit assemblages, and the more tangible representatives

of the presence of children are toys (**Fig. 11. 4. (32)**); specifically, in this instance, miniature utensils and vessels, generally known under the title of *poppegoed* (Bitter 2009b:49).

Miniaturised utensils were by no means the playthings of lower class children only, the infant Charles VII (1403 – 1461) is recorded as receiving a gilded rattle and a small brass cooking pot as his first toys, and Louis the XIII was noted as playing with an array of miniature cooking and kitchen items (Pasierbska 1998:4-6).

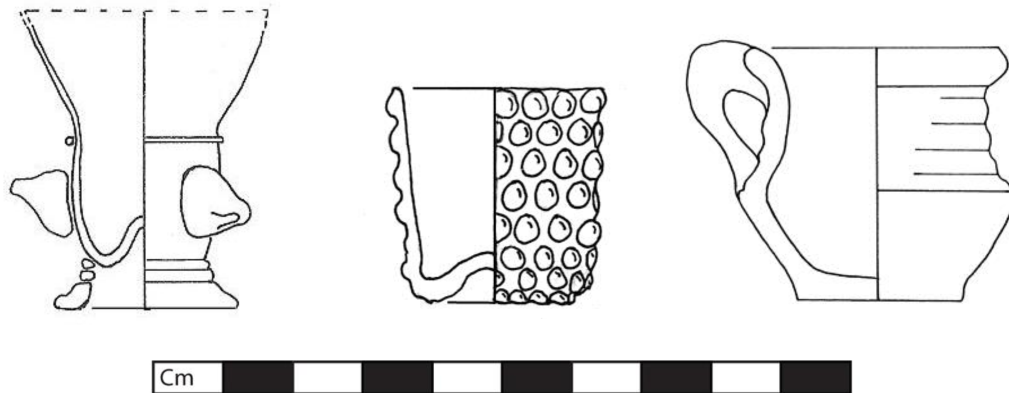


Fig. 11. 4. (32). Miniature roemer (Walsteeg, Utrecht), beaker (Ursulakooster, Delft) and jug (Speelmanstraat, Leeuwardem).

The types of items recovered from Dutch cesspits come in a wide range of material types, and are usually faithful representations of full-sized functional items. Reflecting on the use of adult dollhouses as instructional aids on the order of the household, Schama suggests that the toys of children are also thought to have been educational tools, with a strong gender bias;

> *"The girl plays with little things*
> *That will serve her in her kitchen*
> *While the boy with a frail lance*
> *After the ways of rougher men*
> *Knows that all of Holland's blood*
> *With arms must defend the land."*
>
> Jacob Cats, *Houwelijck,* in *Alle de Werken* 1659 *:*235 (in Schama 1997:511-512)

The world of children is a reflection of that of adults, where play was a precursor for the proper roles and duties of adulthood. Having said this, it is difficult to definitively assign these toys only to girls, after all, the two examples given above both refer to male children.

Reconising children's toys can be difficult. Of the four-hundred and fifty-one probate inventories examined by Bitter from Alkmaar in the decades around the turn of the eighteenth century, about one ninth recorded *poppegoed*, the majority of which were

silver, and most of the remainder of other metals. It is likely that these were pieces from an ornamental dolls house, rather than children's toys, but it is difficult to be certain (Bitter 2009b:50). Generally, simple and rather coarsely made objects are more often identified as children's toys, as their roughness and larger size would make it more unlikely for them to be part of elite doll houses (de Boer 2006:39). Additionally, many functional household items were of small size which can cloud identification, including small frying pans and bottles (Bitter 2009b:50), as well as small roemers for drinking spirits. Although the term miniature is used, items which were playthings and status dollhouse furniture were both made at difference scales, generally metalwork between 1:5 and 1:10, while glass and ceramics were much larger at 1:2 to 1:3 (Bitter 2009b:50-53).

The following table, **Fig. 11. 4. (33)**, gives a breakdown of all the miniature items thought to be children's toys recovered from excavations in the primary and secondary dataset. The third column contains a record of the items according to the Deventer Code (*Classification system for late and post-medieval ceramics and glass*), which tends to use the three-letter code 'min' to denote miniature items (Bitter 2009b:47).

Fig. 11. 4. (33). A description of all miniature items, from both adult and children's dolls houses, recovered from the two datasets. Drinking vessels and jugs are in bold.

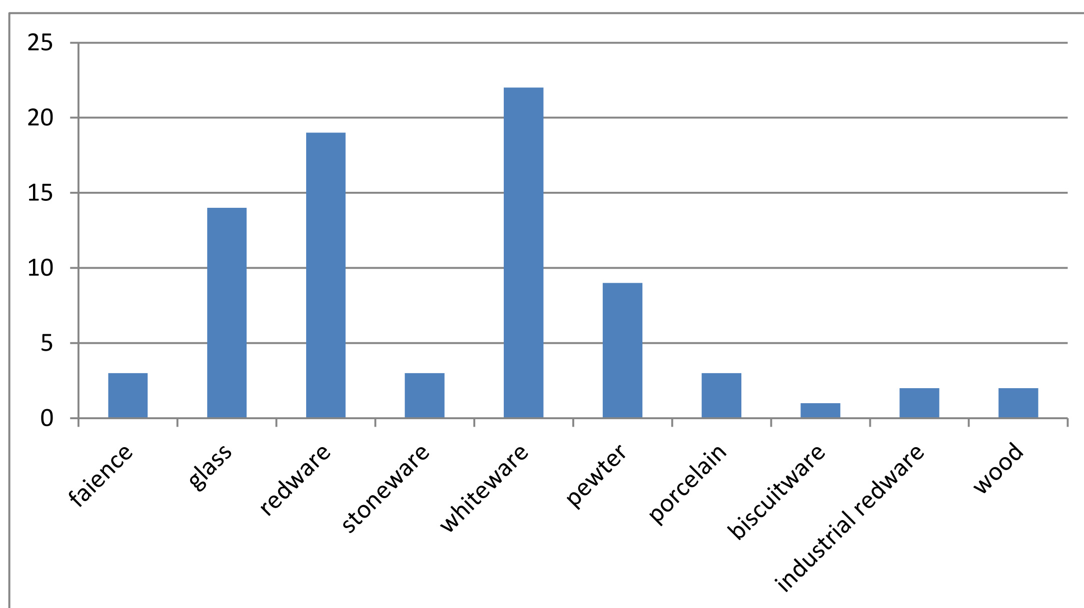
Site	No.	Types	Description	Size (height x rim diam x base)
Ursulaklooster 347	1	**f-min-**	Miniature jug with pouring spout decorated in blue paint.	59 x 30 x 28 mm
Ursulaklooster 396	1	**gl-roe-6**	Miniature *roemer* with wound foot and thorned prunts.	? x 27 x 46 mm
Ursulaklooster 683	1	**r-kop-2**	Miniature redware cup with lead glaze.	? x ? x 85 mm
Ursulaklooster 689	2	**s2-min-**	Very small stoneware jug with gadroons and salt glaze.	? x ? x 49 mm
		gl-bek-15a	Beaker with *knobbelpatroon*, straight lip and pinched footring.	31 x 32 x 29 mm
In Den Boerenmouw	1	**gl-roe-6**	Miniature *roemer* with wound foot and thorned prunts.	? x ? x ?
Bruintje	2	**gl-roe-6**	Miniature *roemer* with wound foot and thorned prunts.	? x ? x ?
		w-min-	Miniature whiteware *papkom* with lead glaze.	42 x 65 x 50 mm
Walsteeg	2	**gl-bek-15b**	Miniature beaker with honeycomb pattern and blue prunted feet.	42 x 44 x 34 mm
		gl-roe-6	Miniature *roemer* with wound foot and thorned prunts.	? x ? x 21 mm
Jan Meijenstraat	3	sn-min- x3	Miniature pewter plates impressed with flowers in a vase, fish, and leaves.	55 x ? x ? mm 35 x ? x ? mm 48 x ? x ? mm

Keizershof	5	**gl-roe x2**	Miniature *roemers* with raspberry or thorned prunts.	? x ? x ?
		gl-min-	Miniature waisted ribbed beaker.	55 x 45 x 39 mm
		gl-min-	Miniature *berkemeier*.	? x ? x 30 mm
		gl-min-	Miniature goblet.	? x ? x ?
Speelmanstraat	1	**r-min-**	Miniature redware jug with lead glaze.	58 x 58 x 39 mm
Alkmaar, Huigbrouwerstraat 3	4	r-min-	Miniature redware pipkin	70 x ? x 75 mm
		r-min-	Miniature redware drip tray	? x ? x ? mm
		f-min-	Miniature plain white faience jug	60 x 45 x ? mm ? x 35 x ? mm
		gl-roe-5	Miniature *roemer* with ribs	
Alkmaar, Langestraat 7A, BP 3/4C, Stortkoker 4A	8	**r-min- x2**	Miniature redware cups	40 x 70 x ? mm
		r- min-	Miniature redware firebell	19 x 14 x ? mm
		w-min-	Miniature whiteware *plooischotel*	? x 63 x ? mm
		f -min-	Miniature faience sieve	15 x 7 x ? mm
		sn-min- x2	Miniature pewter spittoon and spoon	? x ? x 52 mm
		p-min-	Miniature porcelain plate with brown painting	85mm long 15 x 81 x ? mm
Alkmaar, Langestraat 7A, BP 3B	1	r- min-	Miniature redware firebell	85 x 90 x ? mm
Alkmaar, Oudegracht 26, BP 3B	2	**r-kop-2**	Miniature redware cup	? x ? x ?
		r-bor-18	Miniature redware plate	? x ? x ?
Alkmaar, Oudegracht 26, BP 4B	3	r-gra-30	Miniature redware pipkin	? x ? x ?
		r-min-	Miniature redware pot	70 x 80 x ?
		w-kan-16	Miniature whiteware jug	95 x 85 x ?
Alkmaar, Oudegracht 26, BP 4C	2	**gl-bek-15**	Miniature *knobbelbeker* with blue raspberry prunt feet	35 x 40 x ?
		r-min-	Miniature redware sieve	30 x 13 x ?
Alkmaar, Laat 229 – 231, BP 6D	1	**r-min-**	Miniature redware jug	60 x 55 x ?
Alkmaar, Voordam 2, 92 VDA 2	2	**r-min-**	Miniature redware bowl	20 x 85 x ?
		r-min-	Miniature redware sieve	35 x 90 x ?
Alkmaar, Langestraat 113, 13F	1	gl-min-	Miniature *berkemeier*	? x ? x 20 mm
Vlissingen, Dokke Westzijde, Context XXXI.	4	w-min-	Miniature whiteware pipkin,	55 x 90 x ?
		w-min-	Miniature whiteware basket	100 x 70 x ?
		w-min-	Miniature whiteware object	? x ? x ?
		bi-min-	Miniature biscuitware plate	10 x 75 x ?
Vlissingen, Peperdijk, Context XXXV-b.	1	**p-min-**	Porcelain miniature	? x ? x ?
Vlissingen, Korte Vlamingstraat, Context XXXVI.	1	**w-min-**	Miniature whiteware jug	45 x 40 x ? mm
Zutphen Dieserstraat 11. Beerput 20, ZU-ST 1544 (Hermann Otto).	1	w-min-	Miniature chamber pot	42 x 24 x 35mm
Zutphen, Lange Hofstraat 5, WP2 BP7 V1287/1288	2	**w-min-**	An imitation of a seventeenth-century stoneware beaker	48 x 33 x 33 mm
		w-min-	Whiteware miniature	? x ? x ?

Zutphen, Lange Hofstraat 5, WP2 BP7 V1369	2	**w-min-** w-min-	Miniature whiteware beaker Miniature whiteware plate	53 x 37 x 26 mm 14 x 74 x 40 mm
Den Haag, Annastraat, Beerkelder 10	1	**r-kan-26**	Miniature redware jug	75 x 50 x ? mm
Deventer, Burseplein, Beerput 51-10	1	**ir-min-**	Chinese miniature redware teapot	? x 45 x ? mm
Dordrecht, Groenmarkt, K 62-17 (169)	2	**sn-min- x2**	Miniature pewter porringer with shaped handles	52 x ? x 30 mm ? x ? x ?
Enkhuizen, De Baan, Stortlaag LG03/V131	3	**sn-min- x2** w-min-	Miniature pewter *papkom* Miniature whiteware pipkin	50 x ? x ? 54 x ? x ? 60 x 10 x ?
Geertruidenberg, Koestraat, Waterput 4013	2	w-min- **ir-min-**	Miniature handled basket Miniature red stoneware teapot and lid, with bird decoration (Yixing, China)	98 x 70 x 67 approx. 7.6 x 55 x 83
Tiel, Koornmarkt, van Lidth de Jeude privy (vn 1-9)	5	s2-min- **w-min-** h-min- x2 **p –fle-3**	Miniature Westerwald stoneware chamber pot Miniature whiteware teapot Two miniature wooden plates painted in red and silver Miniature porcelain bottle painted with flower and woman	34 x ? x ? 41 x ? x ? ? x ? x ? 47 x 14 x 26
Middelburg, Berghuijs, Kuil 26 (put 4, spoor 122 en put 7, spoor 107)	1	**w-min-**	Miniature whiteware *papkom*	? x 55 x ?
Middelburg, Berghuijs, beerput 8 (put 7, spoor 11)	1	**w-min-**	Miniature whiteware bowl	90 x 50 x ?
Oostzaan, Kerkbuurt, Spoor 74	8	r-min- x2 s2-min- w-min- x5	Miniature redware *papkom* Stoneware miniature Whiteware miniatures	32 x 20 x 28 ? x ? x ? ? x ? x ?
Zwolle, Axhter de Broeren BK10		r-min- x3	Two miniature *steelkommen* Miniature plate	? x ? x ? ? x ? x ? ? x ? x ?
Vlissingen, Scheldeterrein XXXVI	1	**w-min**	Miniature whiteware beaker with manganese flecking	? x ? x ?

The difference in the fabric and quality of the toys are presumably a reflection upon the different social status and wealth of the hosuehold who bought them, with earthenware and wood presumably being the cheapest materials to acquire (**Fig. 11. 4. (34)**). However, a detailed analysis of cesspits and rent values led Bitter to the conclusion that ceramic miniatures were found spread across households at all socio-economic levels, suggesting there was very little that was prohibitive about the cost of these items, with even more expensive types like glass, pewter and porcelain also being reasonably well spread (Bitter 2009b:57-60). This lack of financial barrier suggests that most houses with children would have been able to afford toys such as these.

Fig. 11. 4. (34). Chart showing the breakdown of material types in excavated *poppegoed*



What is particularly interesting about the prevalence of miniature kitchen and household utensils is what they say about the relationship between children and adults. Miniature drinking vessels are playing an important part in the emulation of adult behaviour, although this is not unusual. However, it does suggest that children are being taught at an early age to imitate the domestic activities going on around them, and furthermore, to adopt and emulate the social interactions regarding drinking and household hospitalities.

11. 5. Age, repair and value

Much of the discussion taking place above owes a great deal to the understanding that drinking vessels were both of value and significance to their owners and audience. Many of the examples given above, with their investments in decoration, collection, display and ritual behaviour demonstrate their importance. In many instances, this importance has been linked to the material of the object, its rarity, and its decoration. However, the type of investigation made by examining the physical properties of the artefacts cannot illuminate the aspects of value which lie beyond the material cost of the object. This includes symbolic and sentimental value ascribed and understood only within a very immediate experience of the object; namely within the family group. Objects which stand as tokens or remembrances of symbolic ties cannot be understood from outside this unit without a demonstration or explanation of the emotional bond, and once the artefact is removed from this audience, it loses this significance. Inherited items, with a long period of use, might have been more important to their owners than the conspicuous consumption of novelty or fashionable pieces (Dibbits 1996:126). Ties and bonds between special artefacts and people, which cannot be identified from the physical body of the object, are very

difficult, if not impossible, to identify once the object has been removed from its sphere of influence.

However, some particular forms of behaviour, such as the curation of symbolically special objects, may be observable in specific archaeological situations. An example from which such a conclusion might be drawn includes a stoneware *pulle* tankard recovered from the Dutch ship *Witte Leeuw,* wrecked in 1613 near St Helena. The tankard is dated 1585, twenty-eight years before the wreck, and is therefore thought not to be part of the cargo, but a personal item carried by a crew member (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986:5). That this item was retained for such a long period of time due to a sentimental attachment cannot, of course, be known for certain. It is likely that the sea-faring life providing little opportunity or necessity to 'upgrade' older material culture for new styles. However, it is only in well-dated contexts like this that a long use-life of certain vessels can be clearly seen. The nature of cesspit deposits, subject to sporadic use, occasional emptying, and frequent post-depositional disturbance, means that artefacts which do not lie within the expected date range for the layer might well be thought of to be accidentally anomalous, rather than deliberately retained. Another possibility, which should not be ignored, is that anomalous items were the property of household servants, who were given unfashionable discarded items by their masters, which ended up in the same waste disposal (Courtney 1997a:99).

Returning to display items, those considered special or given different treatment can be seen on the many occasions in which valued vessels were donated to museum collections. Some other instances of vessel display can be inferred from characteristics of the artefacts, such as holes for hanging in the handles of maiolica dishes, or rarely from the circumstances of the excavation themselves. For example, both excavations of Torenstraat in Enkhuizen and Laangestraat 117 in Alkmaar, where large quantities of unusual and decorated glassware were recovered, have been hypothesized to represent the remains from smashed display cases or shelves (Duijn 2010c:31, Bitter 2011: 35-56). In the case of Langestraat 117, a large number of highly decorated *façon de Venise* glassware was found in a single layer, with pieces from smaller vessels packed inside the lower half of an extremely large, broken ice-glass beaker. This has led to the interpretation that all the vessels were on display in one place, catastrophically broken, and then discarded, in the same event (Bitter 2011: 35-56).

Examples of artefact repair would also indicate high level of emotional involvement in the artefact, as well as have interesting connotations for the object's display. In some instance, repairs were highly decorative, such as the potential for *bekerschroef* stands to act as repairs (see section 11. 3. 2). However, under normal circumstances, repairs would infrequently have allowed the vessel to function well and in many cases were highly conspicuous, even ugly, additions to the vessels (Willmott 2001:101). Few examples from this period have been recovered, possibly due to the negative effects of subsequent burial on any contemporary glue or 'cement' mixes used to repair broken fragments (Willmott 2001:96). Twenty-two goblets have been recovered from London and southern England, all of which were repaired on the stem with fused lead strips or wrapped gilt wire (Willmott

2001). Rarely, examples repaired with other materials have been recovered. Willmott also refers to a goblet engraved with a hunting scene and the initials 'RB' and 'IB'. This vessel was damaged during the seventeenth century and the missing foot has been replaced with a wooden replica (Willmott 2005:131). In his blog *Past Imperfect* which discusses inventive repair on early modern utensils, Andrew Baseman gives several examples of seventeenth-century repaired vessels from the region (Baseman 2012). These include a Siegburg stoneware jug with a lead plug, and raspberry-prunted forest glass roemer which was fitted with two brass riveted plates to cover cracks or holes in the glass. The lower plate on the stem is dated 1718 and initialled 'DS B' (**Fig. 11. 5. (1)**). This roemer type, gl-roe-2, is usually dated to the mid to late seventeenth century (between 1650 – 1700, Henkes 1994:256; or between 1630 – 1680, Brongers and Wijnman 1968:19), and therefore such an elaborate, difficult and expensive repair made to a vessel at least two decades after its latest possible manufacture suggests that this glass offered a strong incentive to be retained when broken. Possibly it was the age of this vessel which gave it its value.

Fig. 11. 5. (1). Seventeenth-century *roemer* with extensive eighteenth-century repairs. Photo courtesy of Andrew Baseman (*Past Imperfect* - http://andrewbaseman.com/blog/)

One repaired ceramic vessel was identified during this survey, recovered from the In Den Boerenmouw excavation in 's-Hertogenbosch. The redware bowl, with green lead glaze, was of type r-kom-35, and had a hole in the vessel wall filled with a small lead plug (DBBM89103). In contrast to the glass items mentioned above, this repair would have allowed the bowl to remain at least mostly useable. The goblets with broken stems have been retained by their users, despite a complete removal of their practical function, and therefore clearly had some role to play beyond this one characteristic. It has been suggested in the context of modern material culture use that ceramic and glass tableware are particularly valued as heirlooms due to their fragility. Preserving a grandmother's plate from the ravages of time requires dedication and care, representing a "victory of human purpose over chaos" (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981:83), a symbology which gains strength as both the object and the owner grow older.

It seems likely that similar psychological mechanisms were in place for the seventeenth-century Dutch, and that the 'symbolic capital' of the object, acquired through a wealth of familial, personal and societal interactions with the object over the course of its biography, played a potentially greater role in determining its value than its material cost (Courtney

1997a:96). McCracken (1988:31-43) proposes that this value is materialised in the object's 'patina', the wear and shine of age on the vessel, which symbolises the longevity of the household's fortunes, and demonstrates a 'tangible proof of 'old prosperity'' (Dibbits 1996:126), a feature which might prove vital in identity-building in an uncertain time. These aspects of personal-object interaction may all have added to the 'symbolic capital' or experiential value of many household utensils during this period. In contrast to this, some methods of discard may show that objects were of little value to their owners. The lack of cracks or repairs to porcelain tea wares in the cesspit of a wealthy mid eighteenth-century family has been interpreted to demonstrate that little importance placed on these vessels, which had a fast turnover, and were easily replaceable (Bartels 2005:38). The ability to ascribe accurate value to an archaeological object will be discussed further in Chapter 12. 2.

11. 6. Conclusion

The seventeenth century in the Dutch Republic and much of northern Europe offered new forms of personal freedom: financial stability, prospects of social mobility, freedom of conscience, and an increase in the understanding of an individual, in terms of growing privacy and the need for self-expression (Kamen 2000:206, Elias 1994:207-208). Social stratification began to be expressed through access to expensive or limited goods and their conspicuous consumption, including clothing, food and drink, and household utensils (van Deursen 1991:190). In this way drinking wares of the Dutch household have a significance that goes beyond their place as functional objects. The processes and rituals of drinking, as well as the multitude of material culture involved in these activies all created a rich and complex sphere for the presentation and communication of identities.

Much of the effectiveness of this communication relied on the social context in which the drinking took place, whether in the privacy of the home, the local community at the tavern, or on a multitude of feasts, carnivals, and ceremonial occasions. Drinking was a fundamental component of the culture of giving and entertaining, and the drinking wares used for this purpose demonstrate aspects of the importance of maintaining individual prestige as a generous host and provider of hospitality within the community, social features which were emulated at an early age in the miniature playthings of children.

The design, material and decoration of the drinking vessels used by a household gave both direct and indirect indications of the owners' wealth and status. Direct by virtue of the monetary cost of vessels' acquisition; and indirect by virtue of what this told about the drinks customarily associated with those vessels: beer, wine, spirits, tea and coffee. As the latter two of these drinks became newly available and awareness of them percolated through society, an entirely new spectrum of material culture and social behaviours began to grow up around their consumption, from the popularity of coffee houses, the development of a household 'tea ritual' and the gendering of both drinks, to the appearance of domestic tea services and paraphernalia needed to incorporate this new habit into everyday life.

Drinking vessels played their part in a wide range of rituals associated with drinking, from celebrating rites of passage, to the promotion of regional and group pride through guild feasts. Special vessels, such as welcoming beakers and christening cups, were essential in fostering bonds of fellowship and community. In various ways, vessels became essentially exhalted, through artwork and ornamentation, and their role in celebrating group identity and military victory. Vessels could be read as symbols of the aspirations of the upwardly mobile, or as moralistic reminders of the importance of simplicity and humble living. Household utensils and vessels also had a role to play in fulfilling the obligation of gift-giving, and were often marked with personalised details, such as names, dates, coats-of-arms and figures appropriate to the occasion. Drinking vessels also became drawn into a symbolic dialogue, through which they came to represent ideals of hospitality, community, female virtue, religious devotion and Dutchness.

The decorative styles also tell a story of the increasing confidence and economic power of the emerging Dutch national identity. Teacups, initially imported from china, were first valued for their exotic imagery; as the market grew, locally produced faience and maiolica wares showed that Dutch craftsmen could emulate the designs of the imported material. Later on in the century, the amalgamation of both native and exotic styles demonstrated the full adoption of the exotic, even further emphasised by the production by eastern suppliers of vessels produced specifically for the Dutch market. A similar pattern applied to *façon de Venise* glassware with respect to the high quality glass imports from Venice, made to suit their Dutch clients, and the continuing growth and investment in the native *façon de Venise* industry (Liefkes 2004).

Chapter 12

Trends, Patterns and Status Profiles

12. 1. Introduction

The previous chapter examined the way that individual artefacts and types of decoration were used to communicate and interpret different aspects of personal and household identity. It was discovered that numerous social customs and drinking behaviours affected the type of artefacts which were popular and the way in which they were displayed, used and decorated. This chapter aims to take a broader view point and investigate how groups of artefacts changed in popularity in different areas of the country, and the way in which the material culture of drinking changed between the sixteenth and the eighteenth century. This chapter will also propose a method of identifying status from the relationship between artefact groups, and examine several complete assemblages of material, to investigate how the functions of different types of site might be manifested in their material culture. This will involve both the primary dataset as outlined in chapters 4 to 10, and the secondary dataset, detailed in Appendix 4. 2 with artefact numbers and references, to support and illuminate differences and similarities in the consumption patterns being discussed.

12. 2. Determining value

In the previous chapter (section 11. 5), a brief discussion was made regarding the possibilities of identifying value in artefacts from archaeological contexts, particularly value which lay beyond the functional capacities of the object, and related to its sentimental and symbolic capital. Part of this chapter investigates the extent to which status can be identified through the composition of the domestic waste of households, and this relies to a great extent on how successfully the value of certain objects may be inferred, both the symbolic value, and the 'cost' of the object in terms of its market price. The cost of the object, how expensive certain items were to buy and the impact they made on the total resources and purchasing power of the household, have been measured using a number of different methods in past studies.

Many factors affect the choices made by the consumers, including their financial status and economic capital, the availability of objects and the variety of the accessible market, as well as personal tastes and fashions, and judgements over durability or cost-efficiency (Courtney 1997a:99). Several different studies have attempted to analyse the cost of various items of early modern material culture for the households that bought them, using a number of different methods. De Vries (1993:95-96), discusses several studies which use real wage and consumer price indices for analysing the purchasing power of particular wage groups, and the importance of particular commodities in the consumer's income.

Users of these methods have encountered some problems. Often studies are limited to single consumables such as bread, and frequent fluctuations in the price of such essential foodstuffs in relation to other goods might result in these appearing to become over-privileged. Food and fuel together have been estimated in some cases to make up ninety percent of the income, leaving little for the remainder of the household's needs and almost nothing for the acquisition of desirable luxuries (de Vries 1993:96). However, a lack of detailed data hampers attempts to resolve the issues with this method.

In nineteenth-century North America, it has been possible to recreate cost indices for ceramics from the surviving historical documents recording trade and sales (Miller 1980 and 1991). This method provides an absolute monetary cost for the purchase of particular items, clearly an important foothold in determining consumer choice and purchasing patterns, and the quantity of the household resources being devoted to the acquisition of ceramics. However, the lack of sales data for earlier centuries, as well as the greater effect of regional variation, limited access to markets and relative financial instability limits the applicability of this method in earlier periods (Courtney 1997a:100).

Other methods of determining the cost of luxury items in relation to the total income of the household have included investigations of probate inventories. Inventories offer a useful method of determining the value of particular items within the context of the household, as well as identifying items considered to be of particularly luxurious character. Items that were subsequently sold at auction do not appear to have been any less desirable for being second-hand (Dibbits 1996:138), although it is less clear how the cost was affected, or how this related to the original price (Courtney 1997a:100). An inventory made in 1678 of the assets of the inn of De Drye Mooren in Breda states that fifty beer glasses and *roemers* in good condition could expect to be resold at two *guilders* and 10 *stuivers* (Hupperetz 2004:137). Hupperetz estimates that new glassware might have been worth about twice this much, with individual beakers costing about two *stuivers* each, and *façon de Venise* goblets and bottles around four *stuivers*. The conclusion of these estimations is that the ninety-six pieces of glass from the cesspit at De Drye Mooren may have cost somewhere in the region of fifteen *guilders* when new (Hupperetz 2004:137). Baart, Krook and Lagerweij comment that although *roemers* and goblets were both used for wine drinking, *roemers* were significantly cheaper than *façon de Venise* vessels, which could be between three to fourteen times more expensive. They also suggest that the manufacturing cost for *roemers* was low, with a significant mark-up in retail price (Baart, Krook and Lagerweij 1984:44).

Although data on the absolute costs of drinking glasses and ceramics is infrequently available and subject to significant variation across the country, information about regional prices, the complexities of manufacture, and attitudes towards the desirability of particular vessel types, all help to form a picture of relative costs and values of vessels. Epko Bult (1992:90), for instance, quotes several prices for eighteenth-century ceramics in Amsterdam; earthenware dishes cost one or two *stuivers*, decorated faience dishes cost three to four *stuivers*, with plain plates only a *stuiver* or so less due to the low wages paid to painters. Porcelain still remained more valuable, particularly plates which could cost up to eight *stuivers*. Tea cups, bowls and saucers were only a little more expensive than their

faience counterparts (Bult 1992:90). During the seventeenth century, these differences are likely to have been more extreme due to the greater rarity of porcelain. Baart (1986:2) states that an average craftsman would have expected to earn twenty *stuivers* or one *guilder* as a day's wage. He goes on to suggest that a cooking dish would have cost around one *stuiver,* tin-glazed items a couple more, and porcelain around ten times more than a cooking dish. By the eighteenth century he estimates that porcelain would have cost almost a full day's wage, although it is clear that these figures are generalisations. As well as these absolute costs, some attitudes to the relative value of certain material types can be seen through descriptions in probate inventories. For instance in some seventeenth and eighteenth-century inventories, only porcelain and delftware were distinguished by name, where other ceramic vessels were generally referred to under generic names like pots and pans, or even occasionally as 'rubbish' (Bitter 2011: 35-56; Schama 1997:621). Even if fabrics like white earthenware, stoneware or slip-decorated vessels were more expensive, this difference does not seem to be significant during valuations in these particular examples. It is possible that these items had a lower resale value than the other ceramics.

It is more difficult to work out how exotic imports relate to these local products. It has been suggested that early trade in ceramics from western and southern Europe was not a primary trade in its own right, but a by-product of other activities (de Boer 2006:34). De Boer notes the prevalence of exotic imports, in the early period from France, Italy, Portugal and Spain, and later porcelain, is particularly high in coastal Zeeland and those provinces which border onto the North Sea coast (de Boer 2006:34). The vital importance of the international trade networks to the ability of coastal towns to acquire rare ceramics is demonstrable through cesspit assemblages (although see section 12. 5). De Boer notes that Enkhuizen's high point as a trading centre can be seen in the wide range of ceramic imports represented in cesspit assemblages from 1575 to 1625. However, despite the city's excellent trade links, the majority of people would not necessarily have been well off, with the majority if its inhabitants being sailors and fishermen. The wide spread of fragments of exotic material suggests in this area they may not have been so exclusive, possibly being brought back as souvenirs alongside other primary trade goods (de Boer 2006:35).

Estimated costs of some glass vessels are given above, and it is likely that much of the expense of vessels made in the Netherlands related to the complexity of their construction and decoration. Liefkes (2004: 246) records that a master glassmaker and his workers could produce around a hundred simple wine or beer glasses in any one day. More complex vessels, such as *façon de Venise* snake-stemmed glasses or lidded beakers took much more time and expertise to produce; only about twenty lidded glasses could be blown in a day, or twice that number if they were made without lids (Liefkes 2004:247). The need for expert skills during their manufacture is almost certain to have affected the cost of these items, and an understanding of manufacturing complexity played a major part in the way that objects in this study were ascribed value. However, as Bitter notes, it was not only the manufacture and cost of the glass that gave then their value, but also their function and how they relate to the liquids, the process and the experience of drinking (Bitter 2008:164).

Given all of the complexities mentioned above, a determination of the exact costs of vessels has not been attempted for this analysis. Instead, vessels have been grouped into

three categories of comparative value: standard, mid-range, and status vessels. These have been determined using a number of factors:

- The material the vessel is made of
- The distance it has travelled from its manufacturing location (with the assumption that exotic imports had additional value)
- The nature of any decoration, and how complex the decoration is
- The number of steps in the manufacturing process
- The purpose of the vessel
- The rarity of the vessel

Beakers were divided into two different value categories, decided mainly by the complexity of their manufacture and decoration. Vessels which were made in one or two stages and were decorated with common forms of optic-blown decoration, such as *wafelbekers*, *knobbelbekers* and those with ribs, which may be with or without foot rings, were counted as standard vessels. Beakers with more stages of manufacture or complexity of decoration, such as ice-glass vessels, footed beakers, network-patterned beakers, beakers with applied threads, prunts or gilding, and those with foot rings or rims of coloured glass were considered under the category of 'mid-range' glass. *Roemers* were also counted in this category; although they are common and locally manufactured of lower cost forest glass (Baart, Krook and Lagerweij 1984:34-44), they have a multiphase manufacturing process and are associated with the consumption of wine, a status drink. Bitter suggests that *roemers* were the only wine glasses owned by the less well to do, and were used for the everyday drinking of wine in richer households, for whom goblets were reserved for special occasions (Bitter 2008:165). All goblets and flutes were categorised as status glass.

For ceramics, vessels and jugs made of red and white earthenware made up the standard ceramics, and German stoneware and all forms of tin-glazed wares were considered as to be mid-range. Porcelain, other unusual forms of ceramic, and later industrial ceramics, all came into the category of status ceramics. Although these generic groups were used for the majority of vessels, a number of particularly unusual examples were individually assessed and assigned into a group. For example, a gilded *roemer* or beaker would be advanced into the category of status glass. Metal artefacts and other material types were excluded from this analysis as too few examples were found.

The artefacts from different categories were grouped in the following way;

Fig. 12. 2. (1). Table displaying the way artefacts were counted into value groups

Vessel type	Value group
Standard beakers	Standard glass
Roemers/berkemeiers Decorated beakers Bottles and jugs *Stangenglas/pasglas*	Mid-range glass
Goblets and flutes Other glass vessels	Status glass
Local earthenware cups Local earthenware jugs	Standard ceramic
Trechterbekers Stoneware Tin-glazed wares	Mid-range ceramic
Porcelain Other ceramic vessels	Status ceramic

This method is subject to some flaws, as it removes any bias in artefact cost which is affected by region or time, and cannot access personal value ascribed to specific objects of symbolic or personal importance. If delftware was more valuable and desirable in the inland states than the coastal areas, for example, this subtlety would not be reflected. However, this method does prove useful in comparing and illuminating the broad differences and similarities between assemblages when it comes to their possession of items of high and low value. It might also begin to illuminate the consumption patterns of different socio-economic groups being practised within the Netherlands (Courtney 1997a:104). This will be considered further in the following section.

12. 3. Revealing status

As discussed in the previous section, there are certain difficulties in assigning value to objects or assemblages, and many of the same issues apply to determinations of status. The ability of households to determine and promote their place in the highly mobile seventeenth-century society is a key feature of this study, and yet the nature of 'status' and how it was expressed and understood contemporarily is far from clear.

While status is usually linked to social class, the boundaries of class groups in the Netherlands are almost impossible to chart (Schama 1997:4). Previous studies, such as the analysis of probate inventories from Delft (Wijsenbeek-Olthuis 1987) and Maassluis (Dibbits 2001) have grouped the population on contemporary financial divisions, particularly relating to taxation brackets. Households were divided into five groups based on the level of tax they paid and the grouping determined the quantity of death duties paid by the household. The poorest *pro-deo* group paid nothing, and in some areas made up almost half of the population (Bult 1992:95, de Vries 1993:104). Peter Bitter estimated the

value of households in Alkmaar through records of real estate taxation (the *Verpondingen*) which was also paid by poorer residents (Bitter 2008:156). Divisions by taxation or occupation prove extremely useful when examining inventories which are clearly associated with the records of a particular household. However, in the case of cesspit waste, it is rare for a cesspit to be identifiable with a particular household, and in many instances it is likely that multiple households will have contributed to the waste in single pits, from across an area, or over time. Some projects have combined, with much success, contemporary taxation and rent data with cesspit studies to create a nuanced division of status and wealth, such as Peter Bitter's work on the cesspits of Alkmaar (Bitter 2011, Bitter 2008).

Weatherill, in her study of early-modern material culture from inventories across England, uses a simpler three tiered system, which bookends a large middle class of skilled craftsmen, farmers, merchants and professionals with the aristocracy at one end and the remaining unskilled labourers and servants at the other (Weatherill 1988:13-14). A similar system was used by Groothedde and Henkes in their 2003 analysis of cesspit glass and prosperity. The complexes were ascribed status based on previous documentary analysis, and were divided into four categories: rich, wealthy, not wealthy, and those of little means (Groothedde and Henkes 2003a). Given the lack of data regarding household incomes or vessel prices for this study, a similar system of relative status, rather than absolute wealth, has been adopted.

It is unfortunately rather inevitable that a study of archaeological cesspit groups, as well as the above mentioned probate inventories, will over-represent the middle- and upper echelons of society. While archaeological research is generally considered a very useful method of identifying those poorer members of society who would otherwise be invisible in the historic record (Bitter 2008:159), this study is already predisposed towards those who could afford permanent housing, reasonable sanitation in the form of cesspits, as well as those using and discarding archaeologically durable objects. In addition, only material which was in some way contained as a single assemblage was studied, meaning that any single discards of vessels from a household of low means, or their use of large communal municipal dumps, would not have been observed. Due to this, it is unavoidable that a bias towards the middle and upper levels of society occurs within this study.

In her study of probate inventories, Wijsenbeek-Olthuis identified that the poorest citizens of Delft within the lowest taxation group did not, even by the beginning of the eighteenth century, own many essential items like cups and glasses. It was not until the mid- to late eighteenth century that this group was able to acquire more items like metal cauldrons, curtains and bowls, and eventually luxury decorative items like porcelain and statuettes (Wijsenbeek-Olthuis 1987:210-212). With this in mind, the use of the terms 'low status' or 'poor' in this study are referring to the lower end of households represented by cesspit groups, not the citizens of the country with even lesser means who were not significant consumers of material culture. The sites of this study have been divided into three groups: high status, middle status and low status. For some cesspit assemblages, this was aided by publications and previous research identifying historical records and residential data, allowing assemblages to be accurately grouped. For the unpublished sites, the status was

determined from the size and variety of the assemblage, combined with any known historical data, and comparison with the assemblage of known published sites.

12. 3. 1. Status profiles – High status

The grouping of artefacts into value groups and assigning status levels to assemblages are both steps in the process of creating 'status profiles'. This theory asserts that a cross-section of the material from cesspits will, given a large enough sample size, demonstrate aspects about the status and wealth of the contributors based on the comparison of different material types. This can be seen through the numerical data counts, but is best illuminated in the form of pie charts. The following sites (**Fig. 12. 3. (1)** and **(2)**) are all considered to be of high status during the seventeenth century, as determined from historical information regarding the households or house type, individual luxury vessels, and the total quantity of artefacts. Sixty artefacts was considered to be the threshold above which sites could be considered to be rich. This number was chosen to highlight a boundary at this level which already appeared in the original data.

Fig. 12. 3. (1). Examples of seventeenth-century high status sites

Assemblage	Date	Number of artefacts
Bentinckstraat	1550 – 1650	78
Dokke Westzijde Context XXXI	1609 – 1675	149
Eiermarkt (Hof van Batenburg)	1500 – 1850	172
Geertebolwerk	1550 – 1850	66
In den Boerenmouw	1500 – 1650	218
Keizershof (17th C group)	1600 – 1700	303
Lange Voorhout V14A	1623 – 1725	134
Oude Delft 95 B11	1625 – 1725	250
Oudegracht 26 BP 4C	1525 – 1725	94
Polstraat BP 50-10	1675 – 1725	72
Torenstraat	1630 – 1660	127
Voorstraat Kinesis	1580 – 1700	100
Walsteeg	1550 – 1750	87

In the charts seen in **Fig. 12. 3. (2),** glass vessels are shown blue, and ceramic in red, with the darker colour in both cases indicating the most high status artefact groups. The palest blue and palest red show the most utilitarian, standard vessels. As can be seen, there are remarkable similarities in the distribution of artefacts across the sites in this group. In all of these sites, glass makes up two-thirds to three-quarters of the total assemblage, with ceramics contributing up the smaller remainder. Status glass is very prevalent in all cases, and status ceramics make a reasonable appearance in all of the sites dating from after the middle of the century. Mid-range glass and ceramics, in bright blue and bright red, are also well represented, generally making up a reasonably equal proportion to their status counterparts. Standard glass and ceramics, the most utilitarian categories, never make up more than 50% of the total.

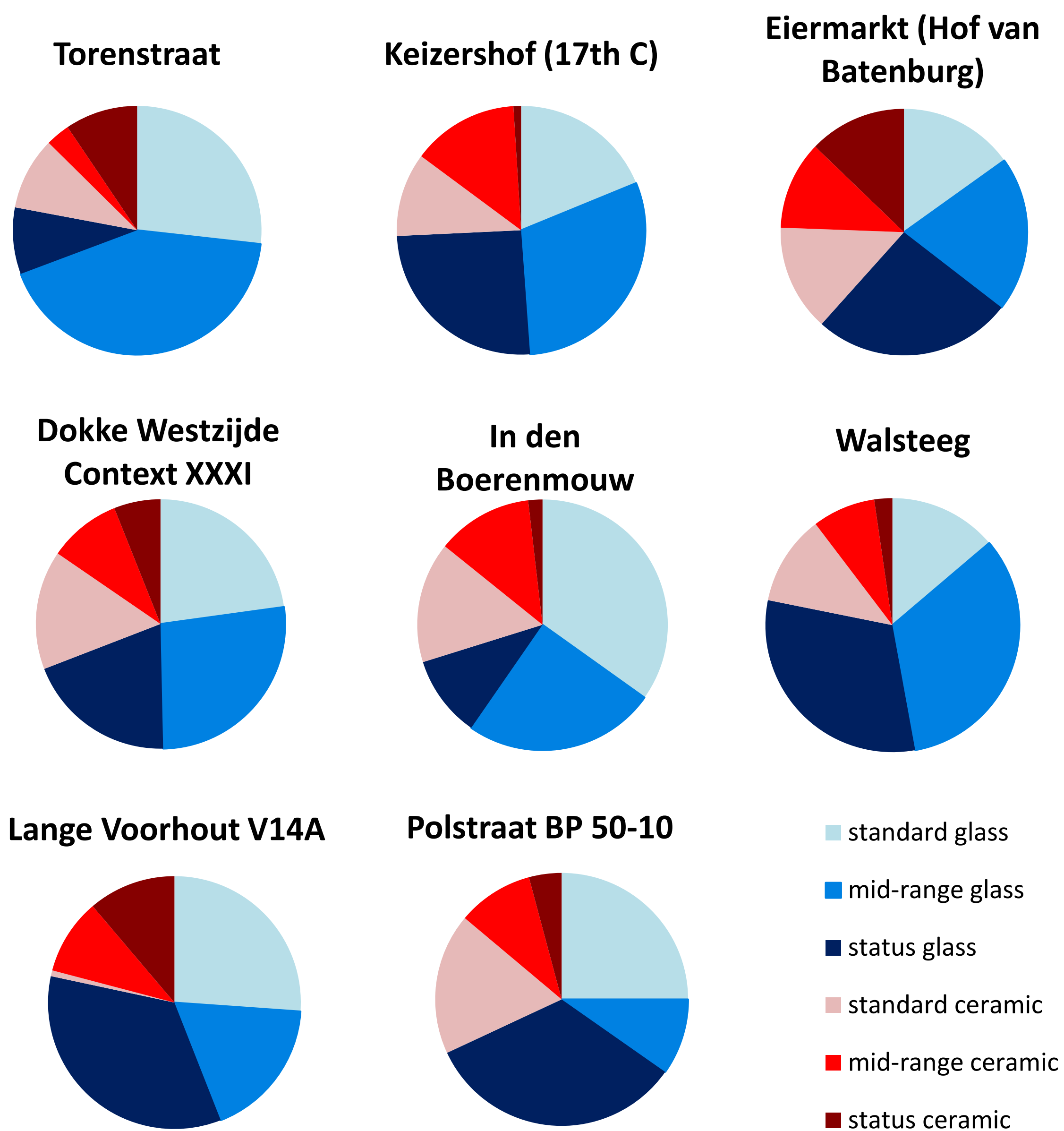


Fig. 12. 3. (2). Charts demonstrating the breakdown of artefact types in high status seventeenth-century sites.

Another interesting phenomenon seen in this data are sites which present a high status profile with a glass majority and a quantity of status vessels, but otherwise do not fit within the criteria of a rich site, either by producing too few artefacts (less than sixty) or too much low status material (greater than 50%) (see **Fig. 12. 3. (3).** and **(4)**).

The following chart demonstrates the status profiles of eight such sites. In all of the pie charts, the glass again makes up the majority of the assemblage, with smaller proportions being made up of status artefacts. It is possible that the sites with high status profiles but which did not produce enough artefacts to pass the status threshold, an arbitrary boundary of sixty artefacts, were indeed formed from the waste of rich households. It may be that either the size of the household was very small, or that much of their waste was discarded elsewhere or lost during cesspit cleaning. Additionally, the sites with more material generally cover a greater time period, allowing for more material to be accumulated. Another possibility is that these assemblages represent the better sort of mid status groups who were able to emulate the material of the wealthy in an accurate fashion.

Fig. 12. 3. (3). Seventeenth-century mid status sites demonstrating high status profiles

Assemblage	Date	Number of artefacts
Annastraat Beerkelder 12B	1675 - 1725	50
Bruintje	1600 - 1675	20
Endelhoef BP A1	1650 - 1750	26
Koningstraat (Ah)	1500 - 1650	17
Lange Voorhout V9B	1600 - 1650	34
Oude Delft 95 B1	1500 - 1700	21
Schoolstraat BP1	1590 - 1665	21
Ursulaklooster S673	1590 – 1750	70
Ursulaklooster S689	1575 – 1725	51
Volderstraatje	1450 - 1750	64
Winston S206	1600 - 1650	16
Wolters-Noorhoff	1650 - 1710	41

Although their profiles appear similar, on average the sites in this second group contain more low status material (averaging 41% in comparison to 35% in the high status group), an equal quantity of mid-range material; and a lower quantity of high status items (18%, compared with the 25% recovered from high status pits). For example, Volderstraatje and Ursulaklooster S673 which both contain more material than the sixty artefact threshold for high status sites, both have a higher quantity of standard material (72% and 54% respectively) and a lower proportion of status pieces (11% and 17%). This suggests that there may be a difference in the consumption patterns causing these profiles in addition to absent material.

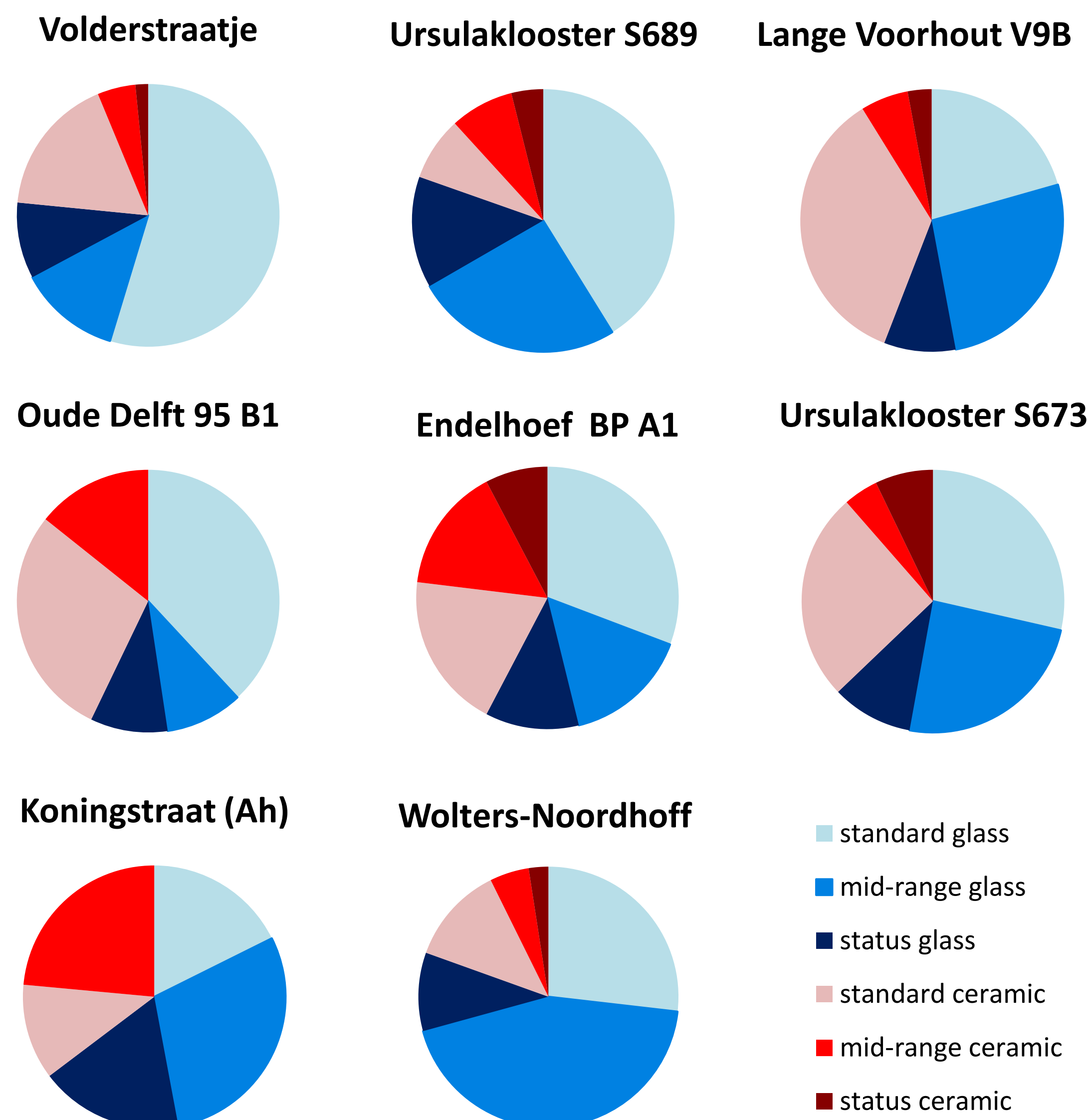


Fig. 12. 3. (4). Charts demonstrating the breakdown of artefact types in mid status seventeenth-century sites which present high status profiles

12. 3. 2. Status profiles – Mid-status

Mid-status sites present more variety between their profiles than high status sites, but there are still a number of overwhelmingly common factors. The most immediately obvious change from the high status groups is the inversion of glass and ceramics. Ceramics are now the majority percentile of the total material, making up around two-thirds to three-quarters of the assemblages. Mid-range ceramics and glass play a much more significant role in the total assemblage, and although status artefacts in glass and ceramics are still present in most cases, they have both decreased in quantity (see **Fig. 12. 3. (5)** and **(6)**).

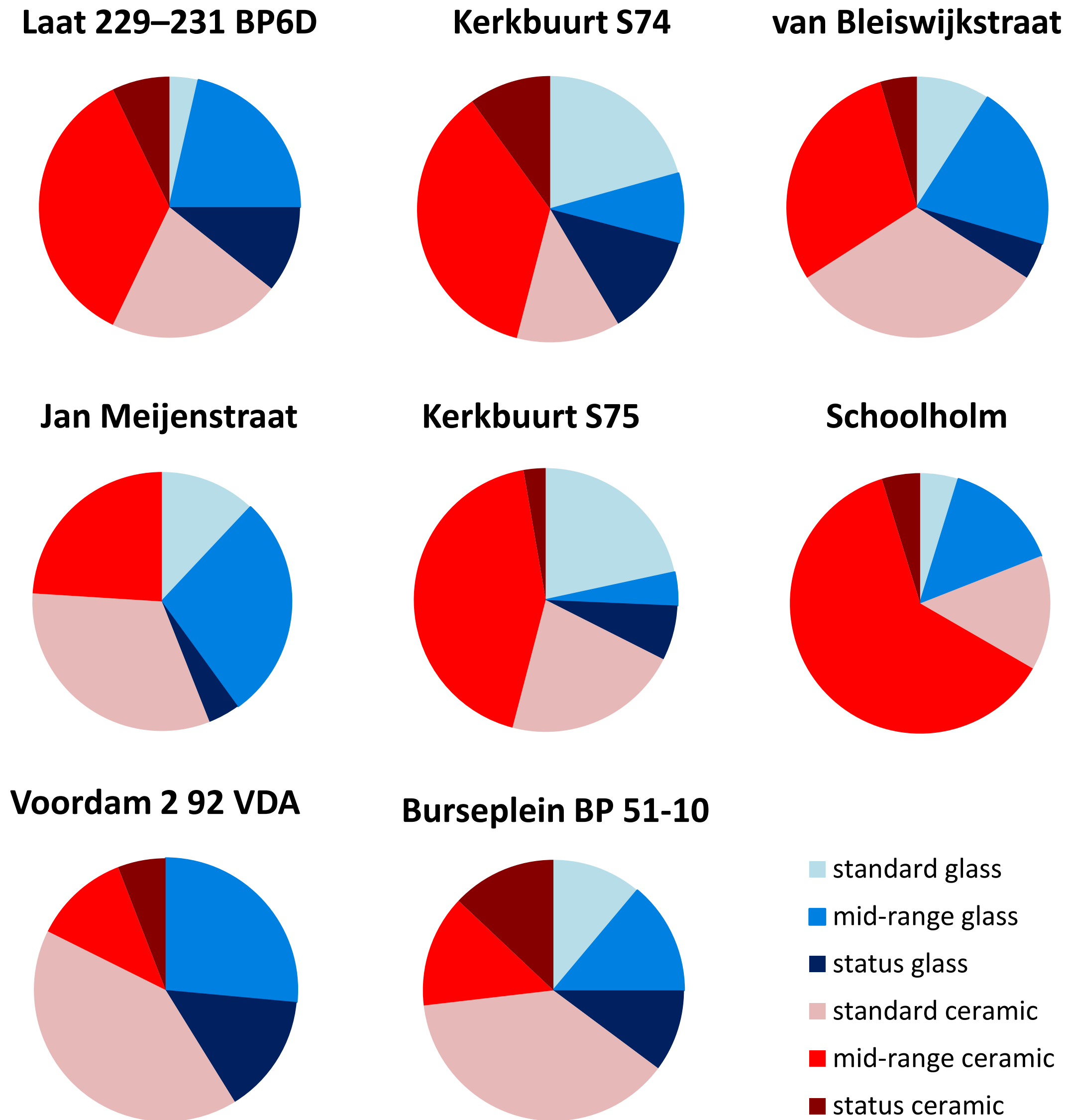


Fig. 12. 3. (5). Charts demonstrating the breakdown of artefact types in mid status seventeenth-century sites

As can be seen from the chart above in the mid status sites, ceramics make up between two-thirds to three-quarters of the total assemblage in mid status sites, with glass vessels now making up the remainder. High status material is still making an impact on the assemblage, but in smaller quantities than in the high status assemblages, averaging 19% of the total, rather than 25% seen in the high status sites. Mid-range ceramics, like stonewares and tin-glazed wares, are much more important in the assemblage (now up to around a third in comparison to 10% in high status sites), where standard glassware had actually decreased in populatity in these groups (12% in comparison to 25% in high status sites).

Fig. 12. 3. (6). Examples of seventeenth-century mid status sites

Assemblage	Date	Number of artefacts
Bakkerstraat	1550 - 1750	18
Boekhorststraat BK 16	1650 - 1700	45
Burseplein BP 51-10	1670 - 1710	108
Jan Meijenstraat	1550 - 1675	30
Kerkbuurt S74	1550 - 1800	572
Kerkbuurt S75	1600 - 1725	74
Laat 229 – 231 BP 6D	1525 - 1800	28
Musiskwartier S1	1600 – 1675	26
Schoolholm	1650 - 1750	21
Speelmanstraat	1500 – 1825	92
Steenstraat BP 1029-69	1650 - 1680	17
van Bleiswijkstraat	1675 - 1725	45
Voordam 2 92 VDA 2	1500 - 1600	34
Weverstraat	1500 - 1725	28

12. 3. 3. Status profiles – Low status

Identifying low status sites from cesspit assemblages has several problems, the first of course being the already noted issue that the very poor may not have had the same access to private or semi-private cesspits in the same way as their mass-consuming, richer neighbours. However, even more fundamentally, poverty tends to be defined by a lack of material goods, and a lack of artefacts in the archaeological record may have resulted from a number of different processes, and were not necessarily completely absent (see Chapter 2. 2 and 2. 5 for further discussion). In some instances it is possible to determine that the profile belongs to an assemblage which is missing much of its original material, such as when a small assemblage contains a greater variety of material than might be expected for its small quantity, such as Delft's Ursulaklooster 558 or St Janstraat in Groningen. These profiles therefore are not likely to represent poor or low status sites, despite their small number of artefacts. The most common format for the profile of low status sites presents a majority of standard ceramics, occasionally with standard glass, and with some pieces of mid-range material (see **Fig. 12. (7), (8), (9),** and **(10)**. Occasionally a very small proportion of high status items are also recovered.

Fig. 12. 3. (7). Examples of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century low status sites

Assemblage	Date	Number of artefacts
Achter Clarenburg	1600 - 1675	7
Annastraat Afvalkuil	1500 - 1600	6
Berghuijs. Kuil 26 (S122+ S 107)	1525 - 1550	6
Bogardeind. Kuil A (WP 94, SP 353)	1550 - 1600	14
Eiermarkt oost. Afvalkuil 1014-36+90.	1575 – 1650	12
Eiermarkt oost. BP 1014-102+105	1575 – 1650	37
Eiermarkt oost. BP 1014-128	1675 – 1725	11
Elfhuizen BP S506	1625 – 1650	17
Groenmarkt BP 9-14+9	1600 – 1625	14
Kerkbuurt S59	1600 – 1700	8
Kerkbuurt S203	1580 – 1680	16
Lange Voorhout V11	1600 – 1650	29
Langestraat 5 BP 3B	1350 – 1650	35
Musiskwartier S43/44	1600 – 1625	14
Musiskwartier S62	1600 – 1800	15
Musiskwartier S115	1650 – 1725	14
Oeverstraat	1600 – 1750	9
Ursulaklooster S427	1575 – 1725	11
Ursulaklooster S504	1580 – 1700	9

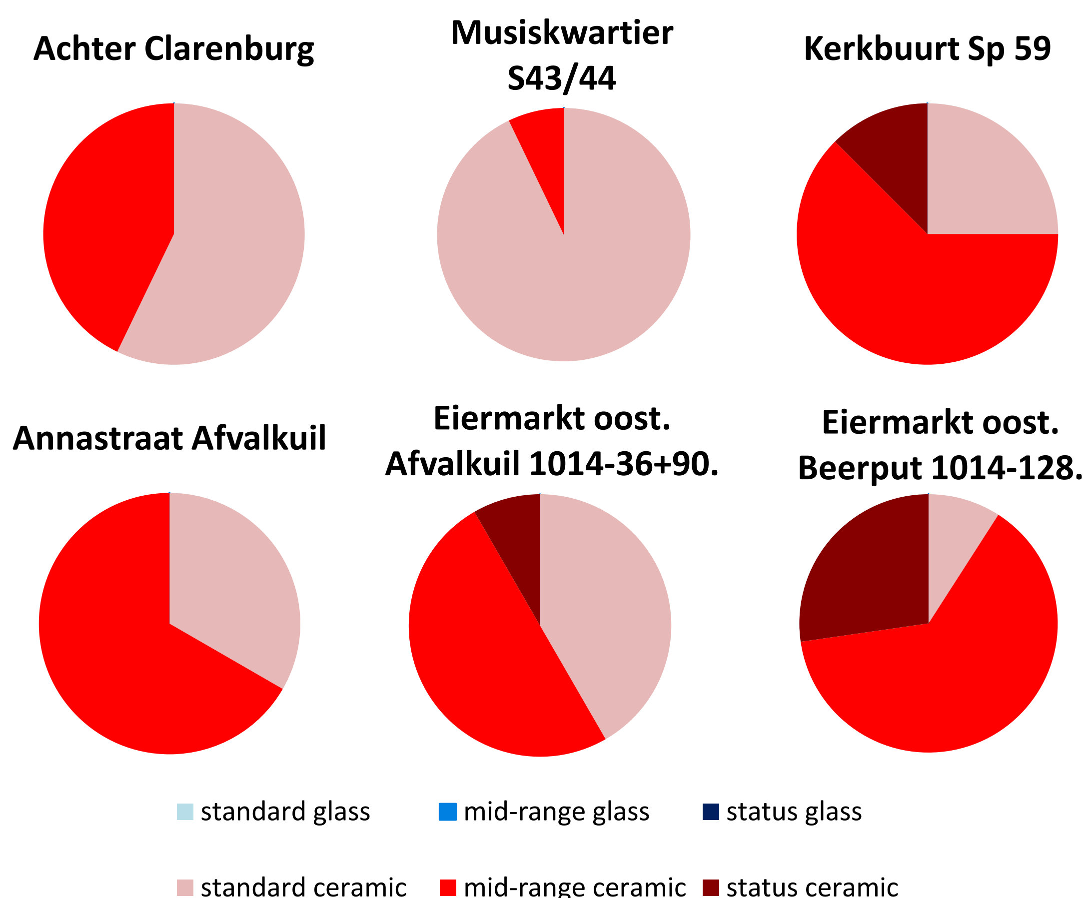


Fig. 12. 3. (8). Breakdown of artefacts in selected low status seventeenth-century sites without glass

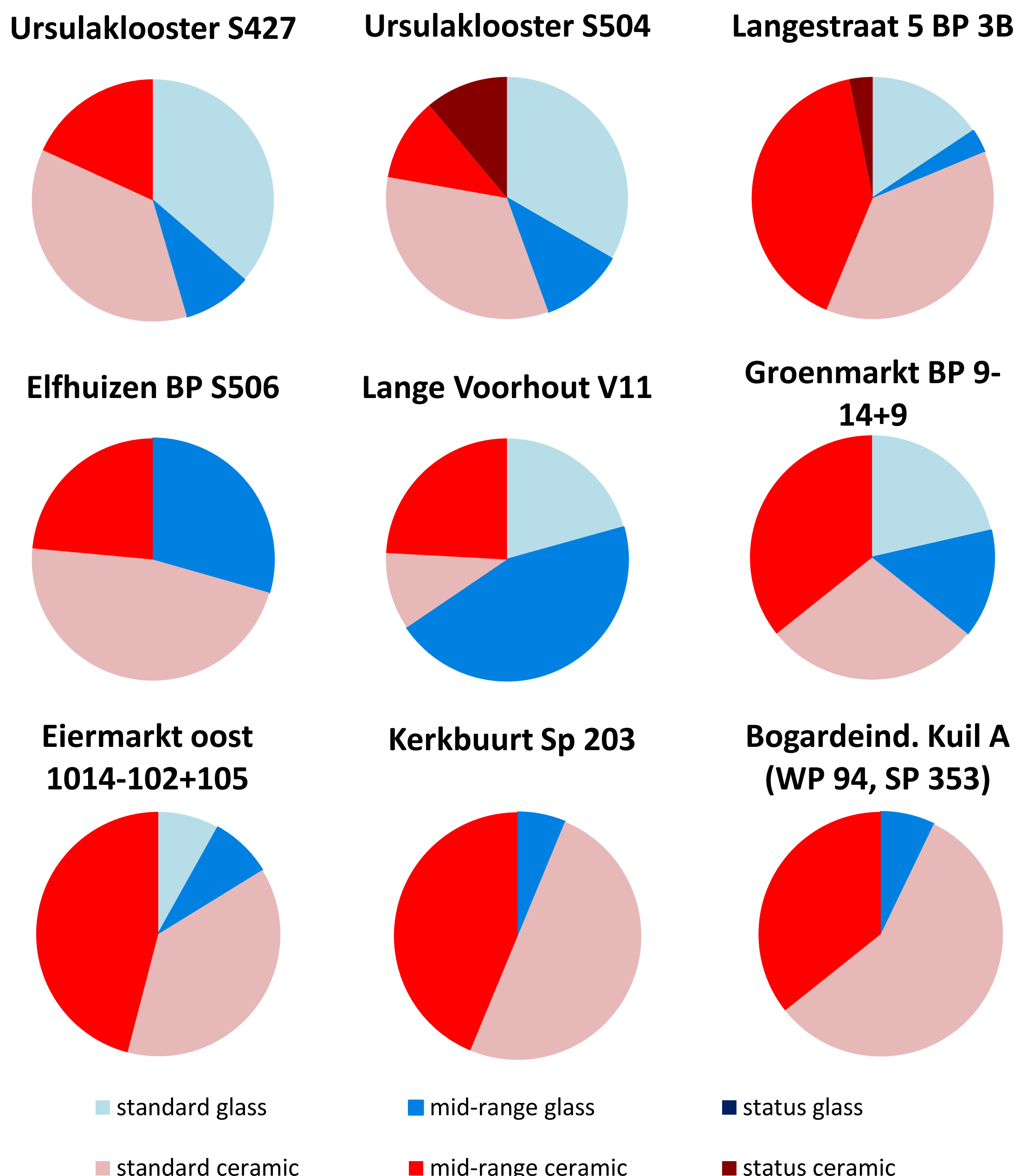


Fig. 12. 3. (9). Charts demonstrating the breakdown of artefact types in low status seventeenth-century sites which contain glass

Given that the small number of artefacts recovered from some of these sites reflect a long period of use, its seems likely that those profiles are the result of pit cleaning which may have removed the majority of other material, making the assemblage seem poorer than was actually the case. Pit S59 from Kerkbuurt contained, for example, earthenwares and stoneware, but also a fragment from an Italian faience salt dish, a high status item (Jaspers and Scheffer-Mud 2009:15). Two other cesspits producing low-status profiles actually had further evidence of status: Beerput 9-14+9 from the Groenmarkt in Dordrecht produced four maiolica bowls and a moulded dish painted with pomegranates (Bartels 1999:795), and the cesspit 3B from Langestraat 5 in Alkmaar was once decorated with painted tiles (Bitter, de Jong-Lambregts and Roedema 2010:43).

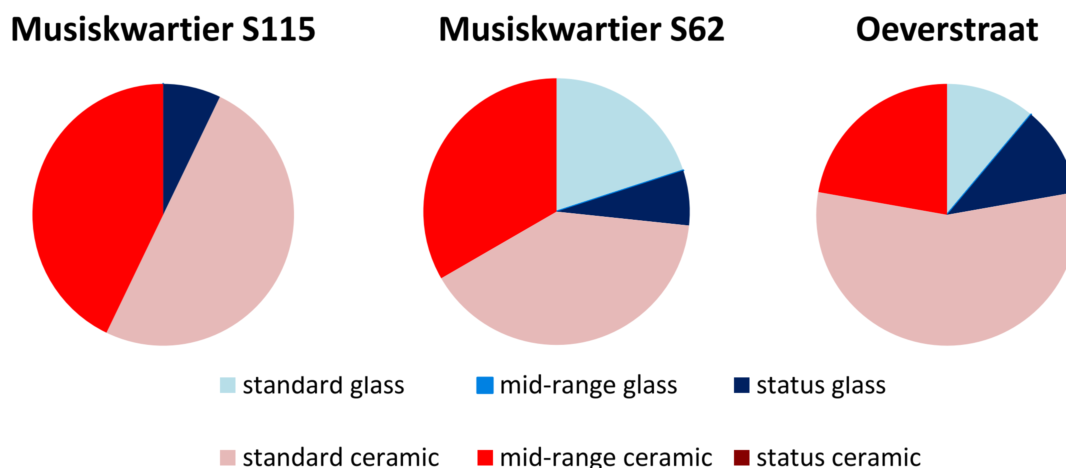


Fig. 12. 3. (10). Charts demonstrating the breakdown of artefact types in low status seventeenth-century sites which contain high status glass

Other sites included in this section include Annastraat which was thought to be of average wealth by the excavators (Carmiggelt and van Veen 1995:36). Without supporting documentary evidence or comparison with other domestic material from the pit, it is difficult to declare an assemblage to be definitively of low status. It is also worth noting that in these small assemblages, a single status artefact will seem much more significant when comparing percentages and charts.

However, some assemblages do come from known relatively poor areas such as immigrant workers' housing (Ursulaklooster, Delft), and small craft workshops and breweries (Musiskwarter, Arnhem), and some comments can be made about these poorer profiles. Generally, low status sites present a higher proportion of standard glass and ceramics than the former status groups (an average of 52%), a slightly lower proportion of mid-range vessels (39%) and a dramatically lower quantity of high status artefacts (10%). Three different groups have been highlighted above: assemblages which did not contain any glass (**Fig. 12. 3. (8)**), assemblages which produced standard and mid-range glass (**Fig. 12. 3. (9)**), and pits producing high status glass ((**Fig. 12. 3. (10)**). If these assemblages were all samples from total groups of similar size, it would be reasonable to conclude that those sites without glass were the least well off, and sites with high status glass or ceramics were the most well-to-do from this category. Assemblages with a greater quantity of artefacts, such as Voorhout 11, Langestraat 5, Eiermarkt Oost BP1014-102+105 and Elfhuizen S506 are considered to be more representative of the total waste from that household. As all of these sites fit into the second group, assemblages containing glass (**Fig. 12. 3. (11)**), this may indicate that this group is the most accurate profile for poorer sites in the mid-seventeenth century.

It is also worth noting that all but two of the assemblages producing high status glass and ceramics can be dated up to the late seventeenth or into the eighteenth century, and therefore represent a later type of profile, perhaps when previously luxury glass and ceramics were becoming more available to lower income households. The cesspit from Kuil A (WP 94, SP 353) at Bogardeind is particularly of interest when examining low status sites.

This waste pit was discovered on the site of a sixteenth-century farm in rural Geldrop, near Eindhoven. The pit contained fourteen vessels, including five stoneware jugs, eight earthenware cups and dishes, and one network-patterned beer beaker (gl-bek-10) (profile seen in **Fig. 12. 3. (9)**). Three of the jugs had multiple handles (s2-kan-8, s2-kan-9, and s2-kan-59); a form often referred to as a 'peasant jug' due to their common appearance in paintings of peasant tavern and wedding scenes (see Chapter 11. 4. 1. for further discussion of these vessel types).

Glass vessels, however, are far scarcer in depictions of this period, with examples only appearing in high status contexts, such as Maerten van Heemskerck's *Family Portrait* (*c.* 1530), or in religious scenes, like depictions of the Last Supper, or the *Virgin and Child* (1525) or *the Holy Family* (1512-13) by Joos van Cleve. However, the pit from Bogardeind demonstrates that as well as quantities of imported stoneware, soda glass vessels were also available in relatively poor rural environments. In fact, it is notable that of all the pits studied in this project, it is very rare for assemblages to contain only earthenwares or simple forest glass vessels. By far the majority of sites, even in the poorest categories shown above, contained one or two pieces of stoneware, faience, minitaure vessels, beakers, or *roemers*, even if the remainder of the material was simple and un-noteworthy. Occasionally this extends to porcelain or *façon de Venise* goblets.

It does not seem unreasonable to suggest that even at this level, households were being put under social or economic pressure to consume and acquire material goods, and owning at least one decorated or imported item was deemed necessary to maintain social position, household pride or as a monetary investment. Weatherill reminds us, however, that the presence of status and luxury artefacts in the assemblages of the less well-off should not automatically be identified as an innate attempt at elite emulation, but as a conscious construction of an independent consumption pattern (Weatherill 1996:25-42, 168-89). Or as de Vries explains it, "appropriation did not need to take to form the emulation", with choice the main factor in forming new taste groups (de Vries 2008:149).

Despite these conclusions, the numerous issues with sample size and lack of a coherent profile suggests that this particular method of study lacks certainty when discussing sites of poorer income and smaller assemblages of material.

12. 3. 4. Eighteenth-century high status profiles

By the latter part of the seventeenth century, the profile of status changed as ceramics began to make a more dominant mark on the household assemblage. The rising importance of tea-drinking and the subsequent decline in the quantities of beer being consumed are partly responsible for this change, which was also rooted in the highly desirable new material types, including lead and lime glass, porcelain and eventually industrial ceramics. The result is that profiles for sites dating into the early to mid-eighteenth century demonstrate a higher proportion of status ceramics than status glassware, and a subsequent drop-off of ceramics considered to be mid-range, notably

stoneware and tin-glazed wares, which were swiftly declining in popularity. While glass remains a large proportion of the assemblage in high status sites, the proportion has decreased, seldom rising above 50%, in favour of ceramics. High status vessels in glass and ceramic are both present; with high status ceramics making a dramatic increase from the seventeenth-century sites (see **Fig. 3. (11)** and **(12)**).

Fig. 12. 3. (11). Mid Eighteenth-century high status sites

Assemblage	Date	Number of artefacts
Keizershof (eighteenth-century group)	1700 – 1850	298
Koornmarkt. van Lidth de Jeude privy (vn 1-9)	1701 – 1778	356
Klokkenberg Bp 1000-19	1690 – 1740	63
Lange Hofstraat 5 BP7 V1287/1288	1750 – 1850	164
Langestraat 115/117 13C bovenlaag	1575 – 1800	84

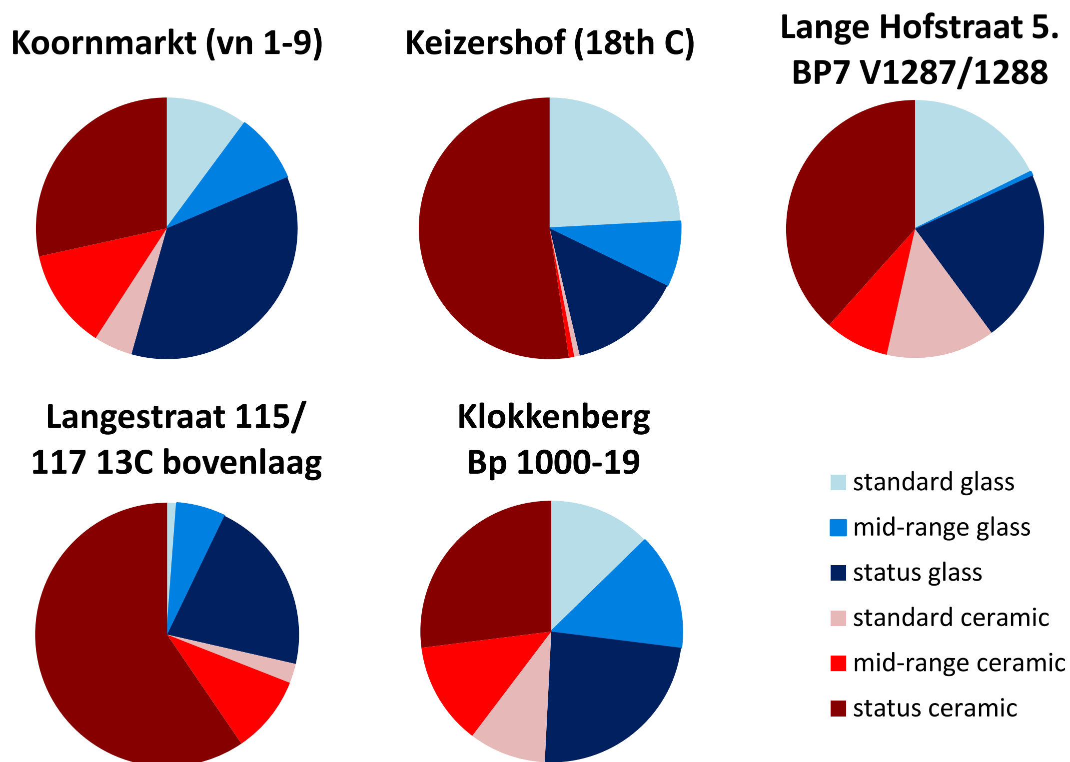


Fig. 12. 3. (12). Charts demonstrating the breakdown of artefact types in high status eighteenth-century sites

12. 3. 5. Eighteenth-century mid status profiles

As with the high status sites above, the mid status profiles also seem to show a greater variety than their seventeenth-century counterparts. The mid status profiles generally have less glass, particularly less high status glass, although large quantities of status ceramics are still prevalent (see **Fig. 12. 3. (13)** and **Fig. 12. 3. (14)**). This is likely due to the increase in tea consumption, growing fashion for porcelain collection, and the changing availability of porcelain from the seventeenth century.

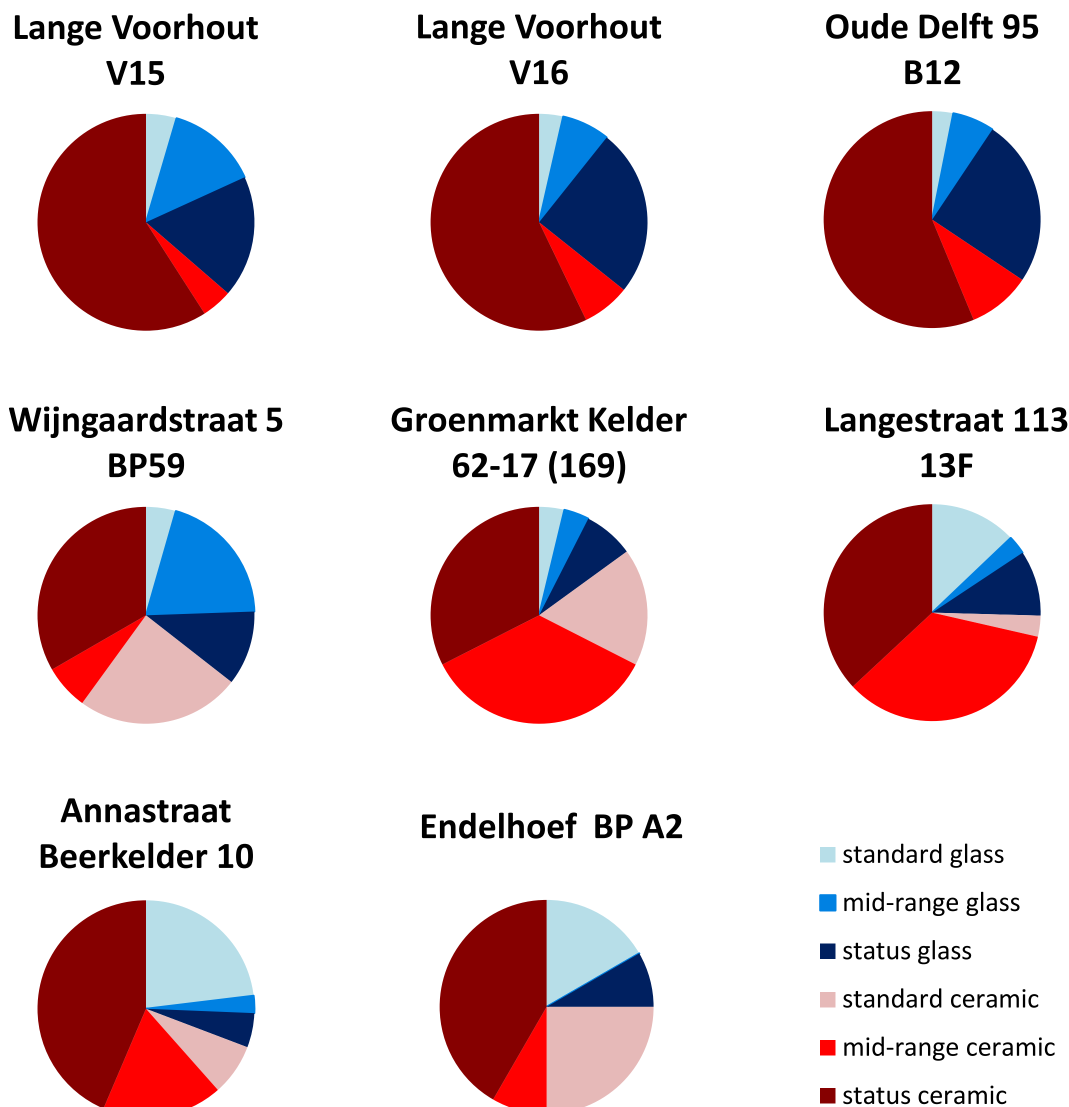


Fig. 12. 3. (13). Charts demonstrating the breakdown of artefact types in mid status eighteenth-century sites

Fig. 12. 3. (14). Eighteenth-century mid status sites

Assemblage	Date	Number of artefacts
Annastraat 10	1725 – 1750	39
Boekhorststraat Waterkelder 16 B	1725 – 1775	16
Endelhoef BP A2	1730 – 1830	12
Groenmarkt Kelder 62-17 (169)	1675 – 1720	82
Langestraat 113 13F	1575 – 1825	287
Lange Voorhout V15	1725 – 1775	22
Lange Voorhout V16	1700 – 1825	28
Oude Delft 95 B12	1675 – 1775	33
Wijngaardstraat 5 BP 59	1600 – 1750	45

Not enough low-status eighteenth-century sites were available for a profile for these groups to be constructed, but previous studies allow us to hypothesise how such a profile might appear. After 1700, earthenware only really remained significant in the assemblages of the lowest income groups (Bult 1992:95), and faience was also said to now have dropped from favour into the possession of the lower classes (Erkelens 1996:119). The category of mid-range glass is likely to diminish in the profile as forest-glass like *roemers* are less commonly in circulation (Bult 1992:95). However, despite the economic downturn of the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-centuries, the unrelenting rise in material goods did not abate, even in low status households, and the total quantity and quality of materials is likely to go up. De Vries' analysis of the probate inventories of Friesian peasants show a marked increase in both the quantity and quality of material acquisitions over the course of two centuries from 1550, including the purchase of clocks, paintings, furniture and silverware. This process of material acquisition showed no sign of lessening or abating, even after 1650 when their incomes were known to be substantially reduced during the economic decline of that period (de Vries 1993:100). During the eighteenth century, it is possible to see porcelain and lead glass also becoming available further down the socio-economic scale as a part of this trend.

12. 3. 6. Status profiles - summary

Status profiles present one method of comparing the status of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century households from their drinking vessels, as well as enabling an evaluation of the change in importance of different material groups over time. This will be discussed further in section 12. 6. of this chapter. In the following chart (**Fig. 12. 3. (15)**) and table (**Fig. 12. 3. (16)**), the average quantities of vessels in different value groups are compared side by side between the different excavated sites, grouped by status and date. This presents a more generalised picture of what has been discussed above in detail; the high status sites are defined by quantities of high status material, with growing emphasis on ceramics during the eighteenth century. Mid status sites, including those which seem to replicate the profile of the high status sites, are close behind in the quantities of elite material, but have a greater proportion of ceramics, particularly mid-range pieces. The proportions of standard ceramics increase further down the social scale, although the opposite is true of standard glass pieces. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that these vessels may have been fulfilling the same function for different status groups.

Fig. 12. 3. (15). Average groups of material during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Material group	Seventeenth-century sites			Eighteenth-century sites	
	Low status	Mid status	High status	Mid status	High status
Status glass	3%	10%	19%	12%	26%
Mid-range glass	6%	16%	30%	7%	7%
Standard glass	9%	16%	25%	8%	16%
Status ceramic	7%	9%	6%	41%	39%
Mid-range ceramic	32%	27%	10%	23%	7%
Standard ceramic	42%	22%	10%	8%	5%

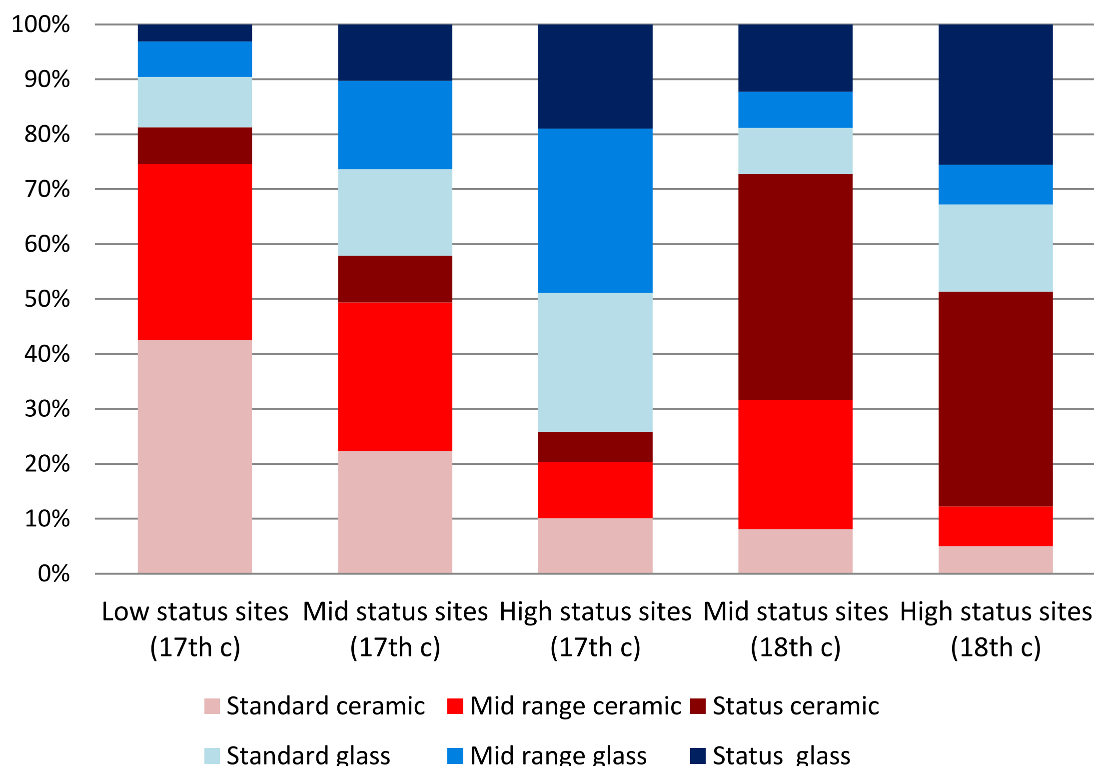


Fig. 12. 3. (16). Average quantities of different value groups of material.

It is interesting to compare this method of artefact analysis with previous studies. The use of status profiles can obscure some previously known aspects of status promotion within assemblages, and Courtney's comments on the importance of diversity within high status assemblages is one good example (Courtney 1997a:101). A wide variety of different artefact types and decorations are particularly notable in seventeenth-century high status sites when looking at the artefacts individually. Diversity played a key part in marking out the wealth and means of the household, before the adoption of matching dining sets gained popularity. This is discussed further in section 12. 6. 1 of this chapter.

However, while the use of status profiles demonstrates the differences and similarities between vessels of particular value groups, they obscure much of the individual novelties and differences between pieces. Another problem with this method is that it cannot

account for the non-static nature of object value; items fall in and out of fashion, a chipped tea service no longer considered of worth may be handed down to servants, or valuable items may have been stolen (Bartels 2005:38, Courtney 1997a:99). The value of these items is markedly variable under different circumstances and to different individuals. Status profiles give all items of the same fabric the same value. With mention of servants, it is also impossible to separate the material culture of the masters of the house and their servants; a large, wealthy house with many servants might be consuming a large quantity of utility ceramics and glass through its servant population, that may affect the proportions in the total assemblage.

The conclusions offered by the examination of the status profiles above is also in direct contradiction to conclusions drawn by Baart, Krook, and Lagerweij regarding cesspits from Amsterdam. After examination of two cesspits from a rich canal-front property and one from a smaller less well-off side street, they noted that there seemed to be no difference in the quality of the glasswork, and only in the quantity that was recovered (Baart, Krook, and Lagerweij 1984:35). While it has been noted that the quantity of artefacts recovered is very important (when separating the high status and middle status households for example), this thesis suggests that this was far from the only difference in assemblages, with consumption habits at different levels of society forming entirely different and distinctive artefact patterns. This result is also likely to be produced by different ethnic and social groups (Courtney 1997a:104). Of course, Amsterdam has not been included in this study, and it is certainly possible that the distinction between the rich and those of lesser means noted by Baart, Krook, and Lagerweij is entirely accurate in that social environment. Both of these sites would, most likely, have fallen well within the ‘status’ category in this analysis.

It can be inferred from Baudrillard’s work that studying consumer goods is the most viable method of accessing status and social standing, as it is the artefacts owned and displayed by individuals which now create and maintain interpersonal hierarchies. He suggests that in consumer societies it is the ownership of particular ‘status’ artefacts which supersedes all other forms of ranking, as objects so strongly signify status and authority that they come to replace previously held values, such as birth status, authority and class (Baudrillard 1968:19-20). The ability to access the objects which form the basis of this cultural code is obviously affected during this period by other factors, such as economic capital and proximity to trade areas, but the fundamental idea, the importance of objects in negotiating social hierarchies, remains integral to this research method. Other studies concerned with the study of artefacts and consumption have argued against the emphasis on status in seventeenth-century consumption, instead empowering choice as a deciding factor in the composition of assemblages. Wijsenbeek-Olthuis (1994:43) in particular emphasised the importance of choice in the consumption habits of Delft inhabitants during the eighteenth century. She concludes that neither status nor income was thought to play a major role in influencing the choice of what material was used, although a number of different factors are also thought to influence the consumption choices of households (de Vries 2008:149).

12. 4. Identifying different types of site from their consumption patterns

While this study intended to limit itself to the waste from domestic properties, the fact that there was often little division between the domestic and work spaces during this period, and that taverns, craft areas and shops were commonly operated out of rooms in a family residence, mean that it is quite likely that material from activities other than domestic drinking were also discarded in household cesspits (Bitter 2011:35-56, Bartels 1999:26). In some instances, this has proved to be particularly interesting as it has produced assemblages with notably different status profiles or a particularly high prevalence of certain artefacts. In some instances, these artefacts were already excluded as they did not form part of the drinking assemblage; the cesspit of medical doctor Zacheus de Jager excavated on Enkhuizen's Torenstraat produced a large quantity of glass and ceramics relating to his medical practice including salve pots, medicine bottles, a glass funnel and four glass urinals (Duijn 2010c). None of these artefacts were included in the drinking vessel assemblage totals. However, other sites may also have produced drinking material which was not used as part of the domestic activities of the household. Individual instances might be suggested by the stoneware jugs with merchant marks, discussed in the previous chapter 11. 4. 2, which may have been materials for trade rather than necessarily being objects in everyday domestic use. Three assemblages from this study were known to contain material from public drinking activities, namely two taverns: De Drye Mooren on Visserstraat, Breda (Hupperetz 2004) and Het Leersien on the Schoolstraat in Groningen (Carmiggelt *et al* 1987); and a men's social club at Witmakersstraat in Maastricht (W. Dijkman pers. comm.).

Fig. 12. 4. (1). Contents of Kelderput 1252 of the De Drye Mooren tavern (1650 – 1675)

Vessel type	Type	Quantity
Roemer/berkemeier	gl-roe-2	2
	gl-roe-10	2
	gl-roe-9	1
Standard beakers	gl-bek-12	2
	gl-bek-15	4
	gl-bek-31a	1
	gl-bek-70	1
	gl-bek-8a	2
Decorated beakers	gl-bek-33	1
	gl-bek-34a	3
	gl-bek-22a	1
Goblets	gl-kel-13	1
	gl-kel-18	1
Earthenware	r-kom-	1
Total		**23**

As can be seen in the tables above (**Fig. 12. 4. (1)**) and below (**Fig. 12. 4. (2)**) which give the contents of the two cesspits from De Drye Mooren, the assemblage has a disproportionate

quantity of glass to ceramics in comparison to other domestic cesspits. Despite this, the division between vessels for wine drinking and for beer drinking is reasonably similar to other large non-tavern sites of the same period (see **Fig. 12. 4. (3)** below). The ceramics which were recovered were also heavily biased towards tablewares (70%) rather than cooking utensils (14%) (Hupperetz 1994:iii). This seems to suggest that the drinking and flatwares were either subject to a faster rate of discard, or waste kitchen utensils were discarded in a different area. The limited period of use of the De Drye Mooren cesspit DM87, twenty months, allows a good reconstruction of the patterns of discard. With ninety-six glasses being recovered, at least one, and occasionally two, vessels were being disposed of in the pit every week, and one ceramic item every month (Hupperetz 2004:137).

Fig. 12. 4. (2). Contents of Beerput DM87 of the De Drye Mooren tavern (1661 – 1663)

Vessel type	Type	Quantity
Roemer/berkemeier	gl-roe-2	9
	gl-roe-5	3
	gl-roe-14	2
Standard beakers	gl-bek-8a	12
	gl-bek-12a	4
	gl-bek-12b	4
	gl-bek-31a	4
	gl-bek-35a	4
	gl-bek-59	4
Glass jugs	gl-kan-3	1
	gl-kan-6	2
Decorated beakers	gl-bek-9?	1
	gl-bek-15a	4
	gl-bek-31b	4
	gl-bek-32	2
	gl-bek-33	1
	gl-bek-66a	2
	gl-bek-70	1
Goblets	gl-flu-7	1
	gl-kel-13	10
	gl-kel-14	1
	gl-kel-18	3
	gl-kel-34	6
	gl-kel-70	1
	gl-kel-	9
	gl-klo-	1
Earthenware	r-kop-35	2
	r-kop-36	1
Stoneware	s2-kan-55	1
	s2-kan-64	2
	s2-kan-28	1
	s2-fle-5	1
	s2-kan-	8
Tin glazed wares	f-kom-3	2
	f-bor-8	1
Porcelain	p-kop-4	1
Total		**116**

Some artefact types seem to be conspicuous by their absence, particularly tin-glazed or porcelain tea cups in any quantity. It is possible that the greater durability of these ceramics than the glass items meant that fewer were discarded. However, it is also possible that the individual examples of these vessel types in pit DM87 were part of a domestic assemblage, and that tea was not being served for the public in the tavern at this time. Another vessel type which is not represented in the archaeological assemblage is pewter jugs; Hupperetz draws on a 1678 inventory of the tavern which refers to a similar number of stoneware drinking vessels to those excavated, but also to a large number (150-200) of pewter vessels and utensils. These are clearly an important contribution to the material culture of the tavern, which would not be identified though the archaeological finds alone (Hupperetz 1994:xii).

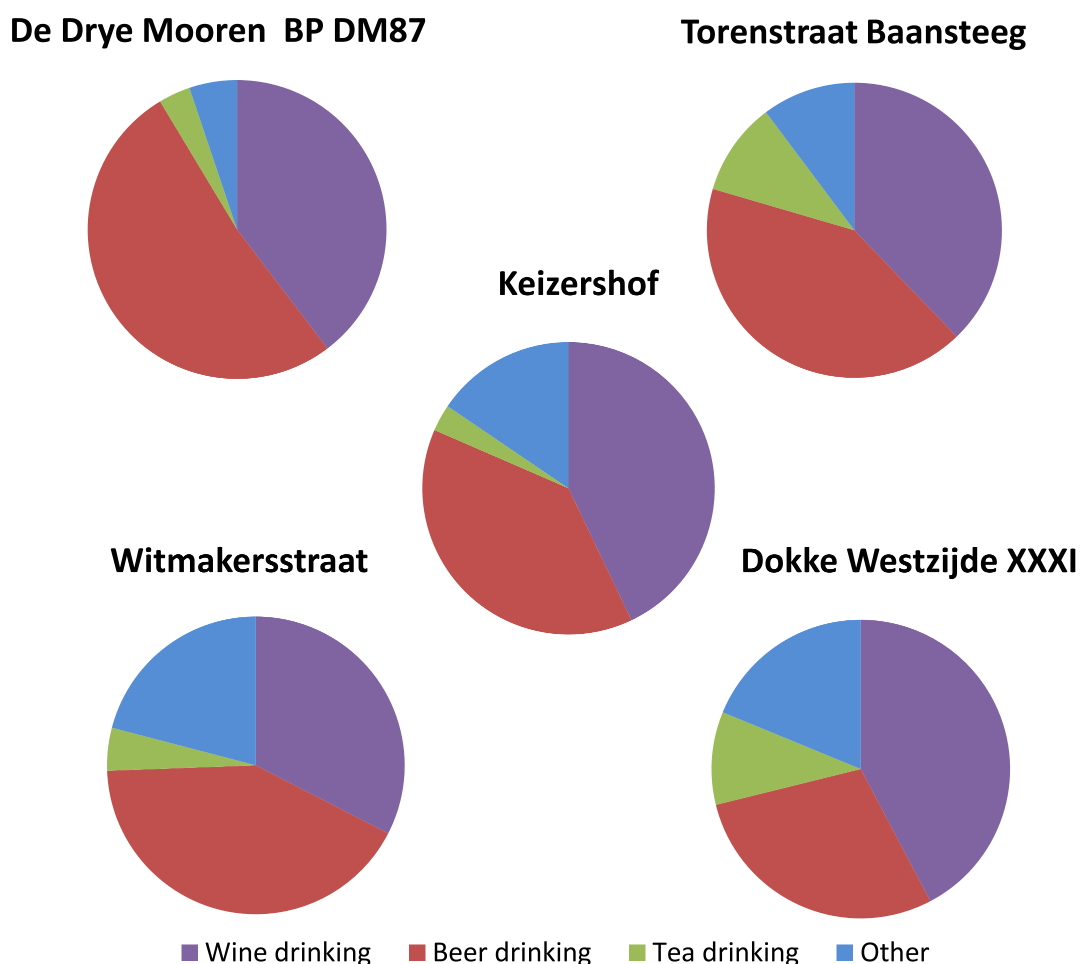


Fig. 12. 4. (3). Charts showing the division between utensils for wine-drinking and beer-drinking in mid seventeenth-century sites

When comparing the assemblage of De Drye Mooren to the other tavern material recovered from Schoolstraat in Groningen, several differences are notable (see **Fig. 12. 4. (4)** and **Fig. 12. 4. (5)**). Beerput One is thought to have been the disposal area for waste from the residential annex of a tavern, and the second pit, while lying slightly further away

on the plot also seems to have been used by the tavern in its earlier period of use, during the mid-seventeenth century.

Fig. 12. 4. (4). Contents of BP1 from Het Leersien (Schoolstraat) (1590 – 1665)

Vessel type	Type	Quantity
Roemer/berkemeiers	gl-roe-	1
Standard beakers	gl-bek-19a	2
	gl-bek-8	1
Stangenglas/pasglas	gl-sta-1	2
	gl-sta-2a	7
Goblets	gl-kel-30	1
Earthenware	w-kop-17	1
	w-kop-6	2
	we-kom-	2
Tin glazed wares	f-kop-1	1
Stoneware	s2-kan-14	1
	s2-kan-	2
Total		**23**

Fig. 12. 4. (5). Contents of BP2 from Het Leersien (Schoolstraat) (1625 - 1800)

Vessel type	Type	Quantity
Roemer/berkemeier	gl-roe-	2
Standard beakers	gl-bek-12	1
Decorated beakers	gl-bek-5b	1
	gl-bek-37	2
Stangenglas/pasglas	gl-sta-1	2
	gl-sta-5	1
	gl-bek-34b	2
Goblets	gl-kel-2	1
	gl-kel-11	1
	gl-kel-42	1
	gl-flu-	1
Earthenware	w-kop-	1
	r-kop-39	1
	r-kom-	1
Porcelain	p-kop-1	16
	p-kop-4	1
	p-bor-1	8
Stoneware	s2-kan-	2
Total		**45**

The assemblages from the pits of Het Leersien tavern, although small, have both produced a large number of *stangen-* and *pasglazen,* vessel types which are strongly associated with communal drinking and feasting activities (see chapter 11. 4. 1), and are frequently depicted in tavern settings in contemporary artworks, although they are also used

domestically. The Schoolstraat pits also contained a much higher proportion of beer-drinking to wine-drinking utensils than the Breda tavern, although the large quantity of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century porcelain utensils from a later period of discard in BP2 slightly clouds this image (see **Fig. 12. 4. (6)**). It is possible that this collection of porcelain itself represents public drinking, either a tavern or tea-house from a later period on the same site. However, historical records were not able to throw any light on this hypothesis.

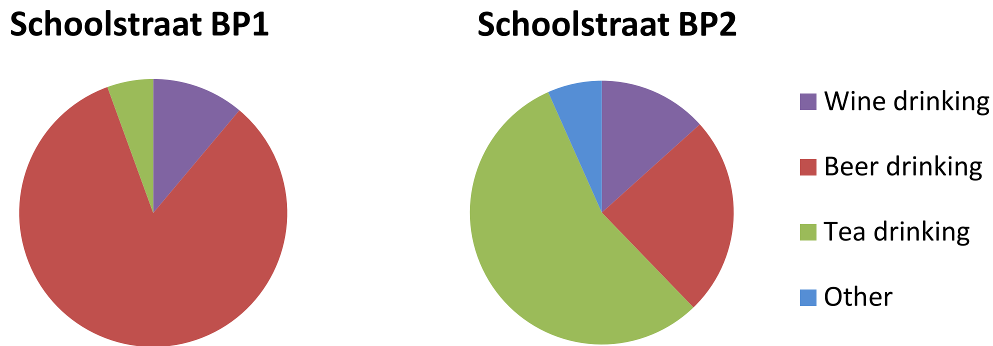


Fig. 12. 4. (6). Charts showing the division between utensils for wine-drinking and beer-drinking in two pits from Het Leersien, Schoolstraat

Both tavern sites produced a slightly different assemblage to those of domestic sites, with a higher quantity of glass to ceramics than is usual, as well as a much larger proportion of standard and mid-range glass (see **Fig. 12. 4. (7)**). As well as the drinking material, another key indicator for a tavern site would be a large number of clay pipes, such as those found at De Drye Mooren (Hupperetz 1994:xii, 152-155).

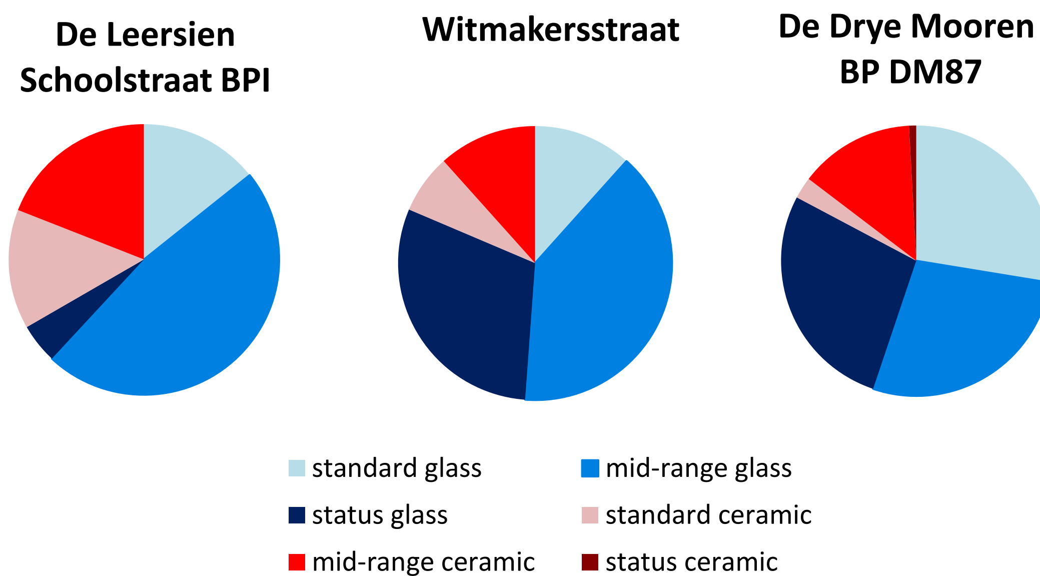


Fig. 12. 4. (7). Charts showing status breakdowns of glass and ceramics for tavern sites.

Fig. 12. 4. (8). Contents of cesspit from Witmakersstraat 12/14 (1575 - 1700)

Vessel type	Type	Quantity
Roemer/berkemeier	gl-roe-6	1
	gl-roe	1
	gl-ber-1	3
Standard beakers	gl-bek-15a	4
	gl-bek-	1
Decorated beakers	gl-bek-29	1
	gl-bek-34a	1
	gl-bek-43	1
	gl-bek-48	2
	gl-bek-	5
Stangenglas/pasglas	gl-sta-	1
Goblets	gl-kel-11	1
	gl-kel-13	1
	gl-kel-14	1
	gl-kel-18	1
	gl-kel-34	3
	gl-kel-37	1
Glass jugs	gl-kan-	2
Glass drinking bowls	gl-dri-	4
Earthenware	w-kop-22	3
Tin glazed wares	f-kop-11	1
	f-kan-2	1
Stoneware	s2-kan-	3
Total		**43**

The cesspit of the social club at Witmakersstraat in Maastricht presented a very similar breakdown between wine and beer utensils to the mid seventeenth-century tavern site of De Drye Mooren, and to other high status sites (**Fig. 12. 4. (8)**). Witmakersstraat also produced a similar status profile to the larger pits from both taverns at De Drye Mooren and De Leerseien. Under the criteria presented in part 12. 3 of this chapter, these sites would then appear to be high status sites, although only Witmakersstraat might actually be counted in that group due to the presence of several *façon de Venise* pieces (snake-stemmed and *vetro a fili* goblets). The lack of status ceramics suggests these sites are not the high status groups they appear, but other than this it is not obvious from the status profiles that these sites contain material from a tavern. A more detailed examination of particularly well represented artefact groups (such as twelve *stangenglazen* from Schoolstraat) or particularly high rates of discard (pit DM87 from De Drye Mooren) would help to illuminate this archaeologically.

Having said this, it is worth noting that similarities with both the status profile, and the breakdown of beer-to-wine drinking material, might help to identify other potential tavern sites. The sites of Bentinckstraat in Arnhem and Voorstraat Kinesis in Delft for example, produce the following profiles (**Fig. 12. 4. (9)**). Both sites produced a great many beakers and a large number of *roemers*, two-thirds of which were small spirit glasses. These assemblages could tentatively also be suggested as containing material from taverns.

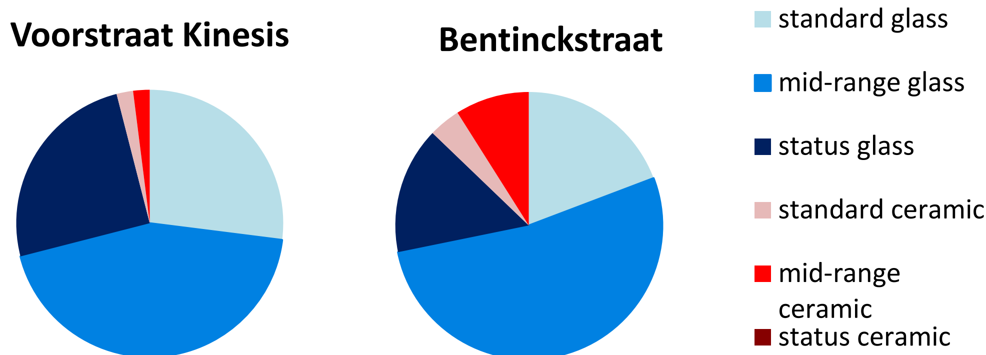


Fig. 12. 4. (9). Status profiles for the cesspits from Bentinckstraat, Arnhem (1550 - 1650), and Voorstraat Kinesis, Delft (1580 - 1700).

Fig. 12. 4. (10). Contents of cesspits Voorstraat Kinesis (left) and Bentinckstraat (right).

Vessel type	Type	Quantity
Roemer/	gl-roe-1	1
berkemeier	gl-roe-2	15
	gl-roe-5	3
	gl-roe-9	10
	gl-roe-10	1
	gl-roe-	7
Standard	gl-bek-5/5a	10
beakers	gl-bek-	5
	12/12b	5
	gl-bek-15a	5
	gl-bek-19a	1
	gl-bek-21	1
	gl-bek-	
Decorated	gl-bek-8	1
beakers	gl-bek-12b	1
	gl-bek-	1
	15a/b	1
	gl-bek-23	1
	gl-bek-33b	1
	gl-bek-36	1
	gl-bek-59	
Goblets	gl-kel-	10
	gl-kel-13	14
	gl-flu-3	1
Earthenware	r-kan-	1
	r-kom-	1
Tin glazed	f-kop-1	1
wares	f-kop-2	1
Total		**100**

Vessel type	Type	Quantity
Roemer/	gl-roe-6	7
berkemeier/	gl-roe-13	1
	gl-ber-1	22
Standard	gl-bek-2b	1
beakers	gl-bek-8a/8b	5
	gl-bek-12b	1
	gl-bek-15	2
	gl-bek-19a	4
	gl-bek-	1
Koolstronk	gl-koo-5	1
Decorated	gl-bek-8b	1
beakers	gl-bek-20	1
	gl-bek-32	5
	gl-bek-45	1
	gl-bek-48	1
Stangenglas	gl-sta-2	1
Goblets	gl-kel-11	2
	gl-kel-36	1
	gl-kel-69	1
	gl-kel-86	1
	gl-kel-	5
	gl-flu-3	1
Earthenware	w-kop-7	1
	r-kop-20	1
	r-kop-	1
Stoneware	s2-kan-26	1
	s2-kan-41	1
	s2-kan-73	1
	s2-kan-	1
	s2-tre-1, s2-sne	3
Total		**76**

In his analysis of seventeenth-century drinking glasses from England, Hugh Willmott suggests that assemblages from tavern sites could be recognised from a large number of vessels of all kinds, and swift turnover of goods due to breakages. He also notes that tavern assemblages tend to demonstrate a higher degree of replicated forms than domestic ones, due to vessels being purchased in bulk lots from the supplier (Willmott 2002:23). The tavern groups discussed above certainly seem to support this view. Drye Mooren DM87 has multiples of several vessel types, including nine raspberry prunted *roemers*, twelve plain beakers, at least four examples in seven other beaker types, and ten small nodule stemmed goblets. The seven *stangenglazen* from Schoolstraat BP1 have already been noted. Both Witmakersstraat and pit 1252 from the Drye Mooren had four prunted beakers, and Witmakersstraat also produced the unusual drinking dishes. This pattern of replication is again repeated in Voorstraat Kinesis and Bentinckstraat, who both produced multiple examples of roemer types, plain and optically blown beakers, and goblets. Interestingly, this is more obvious in the glass assemblage than the ceramics, probably relating to the former's greater fragility and more frequent replacement. Other suggestions had been proposed for this pattern; Meijer hypothesises that Voorstraat contains the waste from glass manufacture (1984:11). However, this pattern of multiple glass forms is more notable when compared to the lack of object repetition usually found in seventeenth-century assemblages. Repetition in artefact groups is usually found in eighteenth-century groups. This is discussed further in section 12. 6. 2. Further historical research would help to confirm the presence of taverns on the sites proposed above. Further comparison with other known tavern sites would also prove illuminating, including those of the eighteenth century (see work by Laan 2003 for example).

One other variant on the domestic site is worth mentioning in this section, the two hospital sites of Oude Nieuwe Gasthuis in Delft, and Niewue Kamp in Utrecht. Although the waste from these sites was clearly not produced by familial households, the hospitals were at least partially domestic as patients and staff may have resided at the hospital for long periods of time. Detailed discussions of both sites appear in chapter 4. 1. Delft and chapter 7. 1. Utrecht but a brief comparison of the key points follows. The material from Nieuwe Kamp was recovered from three pits, and artefacts provided evidence for both the medical nature of the site (particularly salve pots and chamber pots), as well as its earlier function as a monastery (including I.H.S monogram maiolica dishes). The cesspits produced a vastly greater quantity of ceramic than glass vessels, with the majority of the ceramics being earthenware cups. Of the small number of glass artefacts, several pieces were of high status, including an *ijsglas* beaker and an engraved *tazza*.

At the Oude en Niewue Gasthuis, the glass assemblage included beakers with applied coloured threads and prunts, a *vetro a fili* beaker, engraved eighteenth-century beakers, ten *roemers* and several *façon d' Angleterre* goblets. The pit contained a large quantity of utilitarian ceramics, including 286 earthenware cups, as well as twenty tin-glazed and six porcelain tea cups. At Nieuwe Kamp, low status material made up 79% of the total assemblage; at Oude en Nieuwe Gasthuis it was as much as 84%, both much higher than the average of 39% (see **Fig. 12. 4. (11)**).

Certain similarities can be drawn between the two hospital assemblages. At Oude en Nieuwe Gasthuis, the earthenware cups and bowls were of very similar style, possibly also bought *en masse* from the manufacturer. A similar phenomenon occurs at Nieuwe Kamp, with plates, chamber pots and bowls all of the same quality and type (van Helbergen and Ostkamp 2010: 72). This completes a pattern noticed by Langbroek (2012:38), who observed an increasing level of standardisation between the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century cesspits at the Delft hospital, and the material of the seventeenth-century pit.

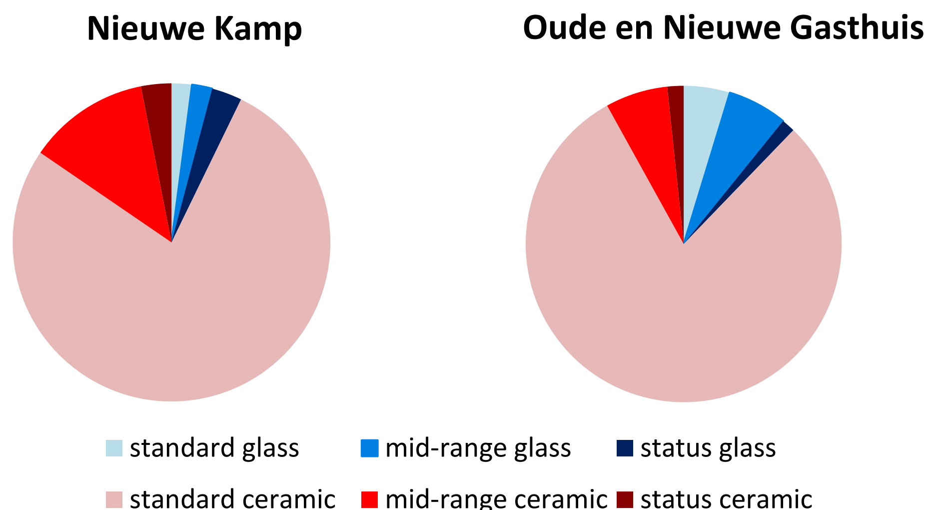


Fig. 12. 4. (11). Charts showing status profiles of glass and ceramics for two hospital sites

Another phenomenon visible in both assemblages is the use of cups and *papkommen* with multiple handles. At Oude en Nieuwe Gasthuis, three two-handled *papkommen* (r-kop-20) were found, along with ten cups with one vertical and one horizontal handle (type r-kop-18). Four vessels from Nieuwe Kamp had three handles (r-kom-41) and as many as twenty-two had two handles. Multi-handled vessels were common during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and formed part of the late medieval communal dining culture (Bitter 2008:159-160) (see RM Inv. BK-NM-2083). However, van Helbergen and Ostkamp (2010:73) have suggested that these multiple-handled cups, particularly the three handled vessels, were in this context used as an aid for the medical staff to feed and care for invalids. In addition to their standardised material, both hospital assemblages also presented several items of different character, these one-off vessels tend to be of better quality and decoration. It is thought that these items were brought in from outside by family members or external carers bringing foodstuffs from home. Several of the decorated glass vessels from Oude Nieuwe Gasthuis might be part of this pattern, along with faience and porcelain bowls. From Nieuwe Kamp, unique vessels include a pomegranate maiolica plate, decorated glass vessels and weser- and werraware bowls.

However, there are also ways in which the two hospital assemblages differ. The absence of more standard drinking glasses from Nieuwe Kamp appears even more unusual in comparison to the Oude Nieuwe Gasthuis material, which contained a large quantity of utility glass. However, it may well be due to poor preservation hampering efforts to identify

small glass fragments on this site which leads the Nieuwe Kamp to look deficient in this area. The Oude Nieuwe Gasthuis has a much higher quantity of material than the Nieuwe Kamp assemblages, over three times as much. This, and the historical data on each site, suggests that not only was the Delft hospital much larger, but it also treated a different class of patient; private citizens rather than the injured soldiers taken to Nieuwe Kamp. The patients would still not have been wealthy, as persons of means would have been cared for at home, and not in a hospital at all (Langbroek 2012:29). However, this suggest an explanation for the quantities of status items recovered from the former site, with only a few unusual items, probably brought in by family members, found at the Utrecht hospital. The more individual glass vessels, the *tazza*, *vetro a fili* beaker and wine goblets and *roemers*, may have been the property of the hospital staff or administrators, who had greater means to consume desirable products on the hospital site than their patients. The standardisation of material, suggesting each patient had access to a predetermined size and form of plate, bowl or cup and chamber pot, limited the ability of patients, particularly the soldiers at Nieuwe Kamp, from making individual decisions about their material culture and prevented the promotion of other aspects of identity through their choices and use of eating and drinking utensils (Langbroek 2012:29, E. Bult pers. comm. October 2011).

12. 5. A sense of place: charting change across the republic

One of the main aims for this research project was to use cesspit assemblages from the provinces of the Republic to investigate the way that artefact usage differed across the country, and to what extent the geographic location of the pit within a certain province affected the material in use. The primary hypothesis suggests that the household's consumption patterns were at least partially affected by the area in which they lived and their proximity to markets and resources, possibly exerting a greater degree of influence on their consumption patterns than their wealth (Courtney 1997a:99). Therefore, provinces lying on the coast, which contain cities with trading ports and footholds of large trading companies, are likely to have greater access to exotic imports in the form of porcelain, and later lead and lime glass and industrial ceramics. The less economically powerful provinces to the east of the country lie along the German border, and it is therefore hypothesised that they will contain the most local and Germanic influenced material culture, such as *roemers* and stoneware, a pattern recognised by Groothedde and Henkes (2003a:18). As these regions tended to be less prosperous than trading cities on the coast, these areas are thought to rely more on locally made earthenware, and have a smaller proportion of elaborate wine glasses and other luxury material culture. In this section, material from sites from across the Republic will be compared to see if these hypotheses have any standing, if any similarities can be found in geographic regions, and what processes might explain these results.

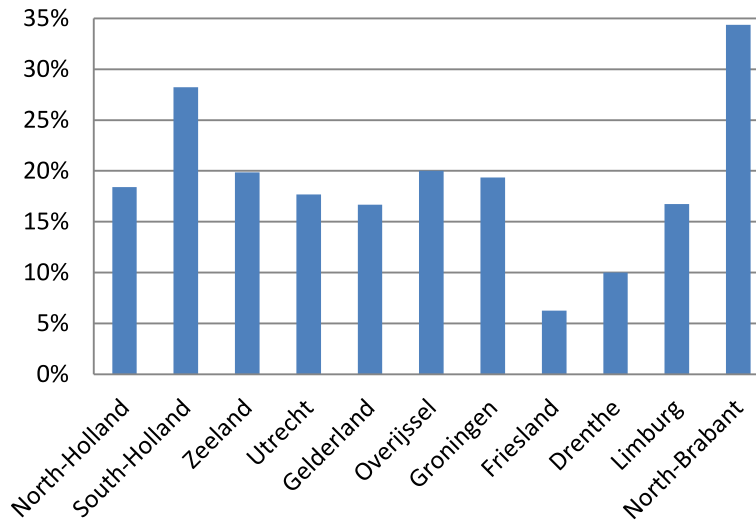
For this part of the discussion, data from both the primary and secondary datasets were used. For more information on how this data was gathered, see chapter 2. 4. These datasets aimed to cover the majority of the area of the seventeenth-century Netherlands, and to provide the best geographic spread possible. Two-hundred and fifteen cesspit groups were examined for this aspect of the study. The complete list of excavations, along with their publications and a summary of their artefacts, can be found in Appendix 4.

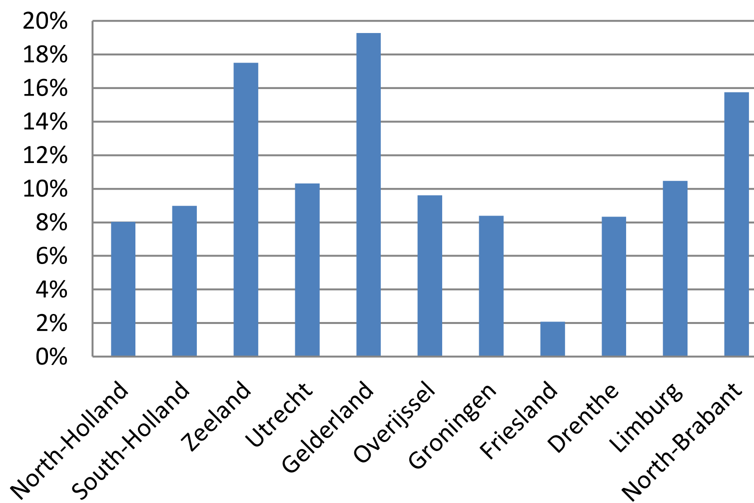
Due to the discrepancies in the numbers of sites and artefacts that were able to be recorded from different areas, the data in the following tables have been presented as a percentage of the total artefacts recovered, rather than as an absolute number. Obviously this method has its own problems, as areas with smaller quantities of material (such as Drenthe with 16 artefacts and Friesland with 144) may appear to over-privilege relatively minor changes in the dataset. In addition, sites from which only the glass artefacts were known, such as several sites from the Zutphen Stadhuis complex, Vredenburg castle in Utrecht, and pits from Bourtange amongst others, were excluded from this part of the analysis as the higher quantity of glass that their inclusion would produce in some areas would affect the final comparison. At this stage the sites were not further examined chronologically, as this will be discussed further in the following section 12. 6.

In the following table (**Fig. 12. 5. (1)**), all of the assemblages were grouped by province, and the artefacts were grouped by material and vessel type. Vessel groups were calculated as a percentage of the total number of artefacts gathered from that province, in order to examine the significance of that artefact type on the assemblage as a whole. The seven United Provinces are compared alongside their peripheral neighbour provinces of Drenthe, Limburg and North-Brabant. In some charts, Holland has been divided along the modern boundary of North- and South-Holland, as this area contained the majority of the sites and material. However, it is recognised that a greater level of division might highlight other changes in this area. The glass data from this table is further illustrated in **Fig. 12. 5. (2a)** demonstrating the percentage of beakers from across the century in different regions, **Fig. 12. 5. (2b)** the percentage of goblets and flutes, and **Fig 14. 5. (2c)** the quantity of *roemers.* In the maps **Fig. 12. 5. (3a)** to **(3c)** and **Fig. 12. 5. (5a)** to **(5d)**, the total quantities of finds from cities for different artefact types are presented. Five different colour grades are used to present increasing the frequency of finds. Cities where no examples of the artefact in question were recovered are not marked.

Fig. 12. 5. (1). Comparison of the percentage of artefact types across the Republic. Any discrepancies in the total percentage are due to rounding, and the exclusion of metal and wooden vessels from this table. Sites from which only the glass was seen were also excluded.

Province	*Roemer/ berke-meier*	Standard beakers	Glass bottles/ jugs	Decorated beakers	*Stangen-glas/ pasglas*	Goblets/ flutes	Other glass	Earthen -wares	Stone-ware	Tin glazed wares	Porcelain	Other ceramics
Gelderland	5%	13%	1%	4%	0%	19%	1%	19%	13%	7%	10%	6%
Holland	9%	17%	1%	5%	1%	8%	1%	24%	11%	11%	8%	4%
Groningen	6%	13%	3%	6%	14%	8%	0%	12%	14%	3%	18%	0%
Friesland	3%	3%	0%	3%	1%	2%	1%	29%	51%	1%	1%	3%
Zeeland	9%	12%	1%	8%	0%	17%	1%	17%	7%	11%	13%	4%
Overijssel	10%	14%	2%	6%	1%	10%	1%	25%	11%	10%	6%	5%
Utrecht	9%	11%	1%	6%	0%	10%	2%	33%	10%	7%	8%	1%
Drenthe	8%	5%	0%	5%	5%	8%	0%	15%	13%	20%	13%	7%
North-Brabant	10%	26%	1%	9%	1%	16%	2%	9%	8%	2%	16%	1%
Limburg	4%	6%	5%	11%	1%	10%	4%	16%	16%	9%	12%	5%





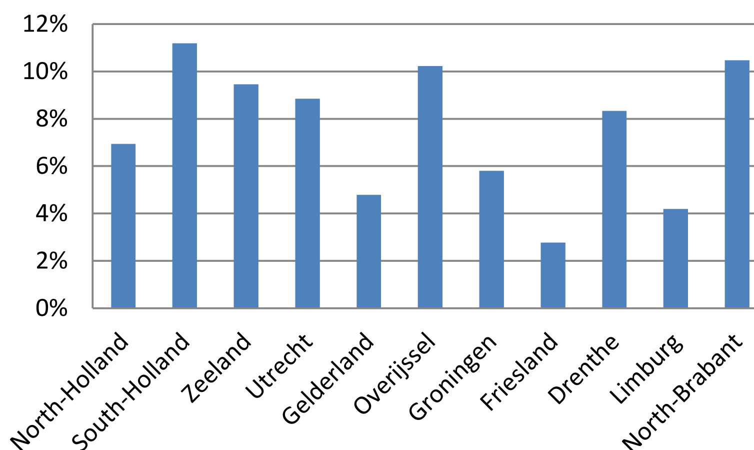


Fig. 12. 5. (2a), (2b) and **(2c).** Charts demonstrating the percentage of particular glass artefact types from the total material of eleven provinces across the Republic and hinterland

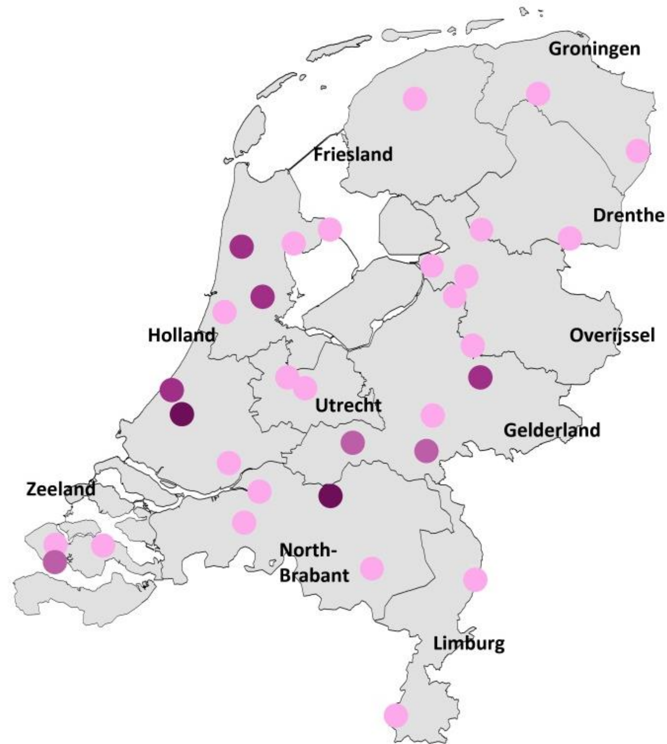


Fig. 12. 5. (3a). Map displaying the location and relative quantity of beakers. The darkest colours indicate areas with highest concentration of finds.

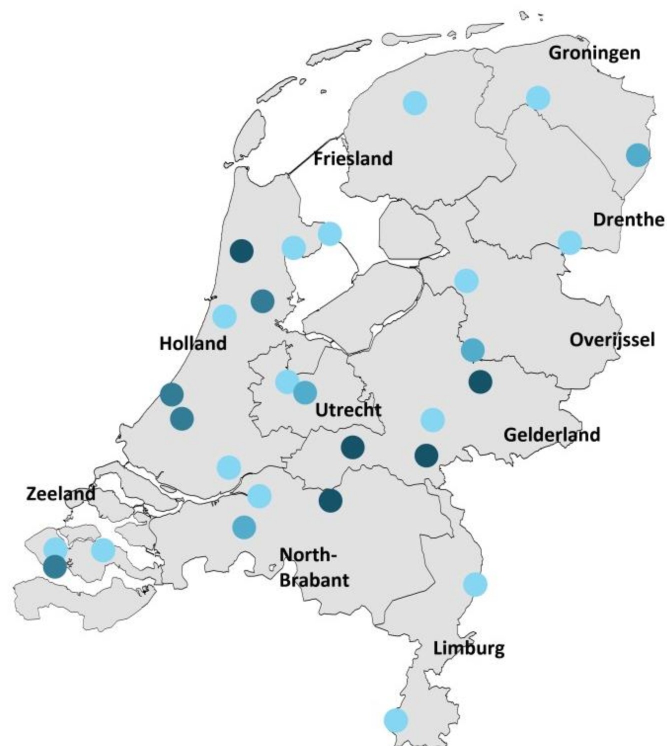


Fig. 12. 5. (3b). Map displaying the location and relative quantity of goblets. The darkest colours indicate areas with highest concentration of finds.

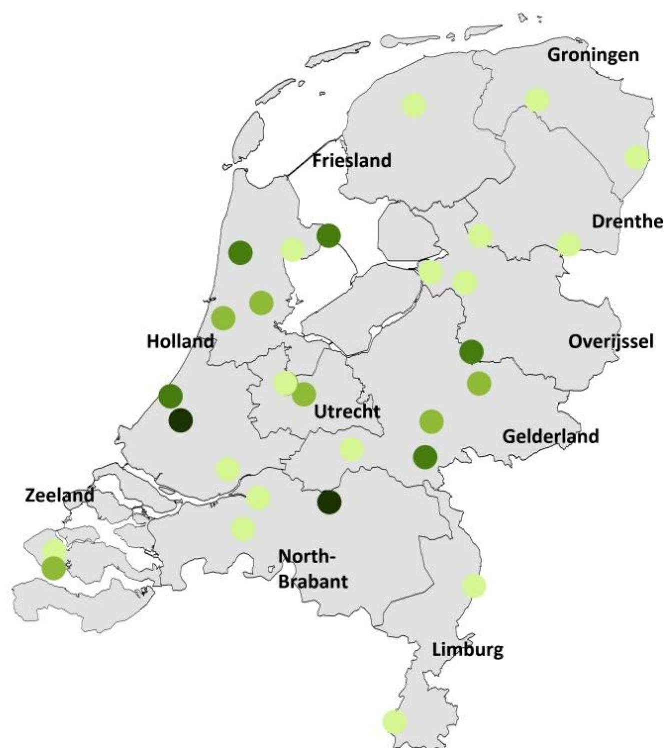


Fig. 12. 5. (3c). Map displaying the location and relative quantity of *roemers*. The darkest colours indicate areas with highest concentration of finds.

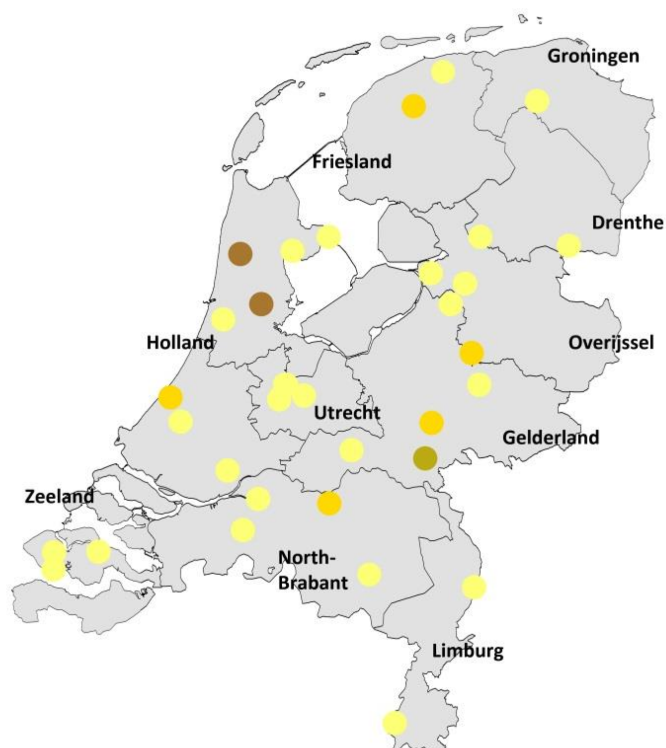
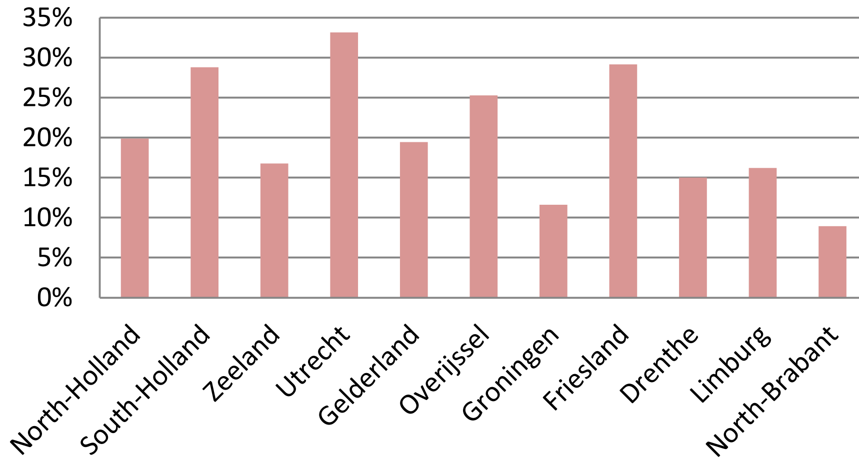


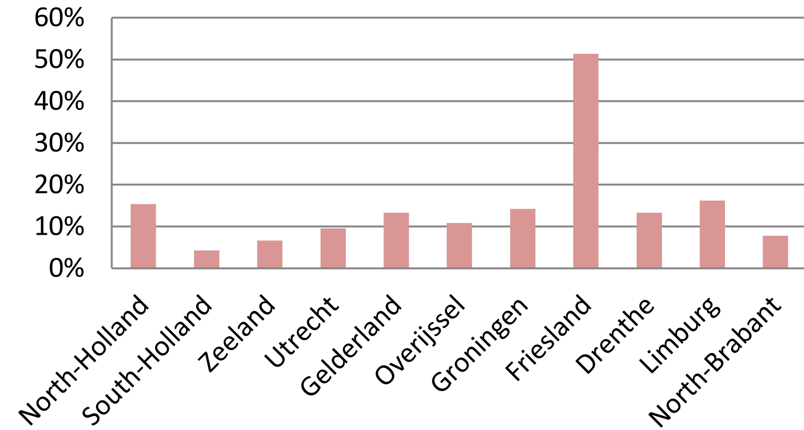
Fig. 12. 5. (3d). Map displaying the location and relative quantity of stoneware. The darkest colours indicate areas with highest concentration of finds.

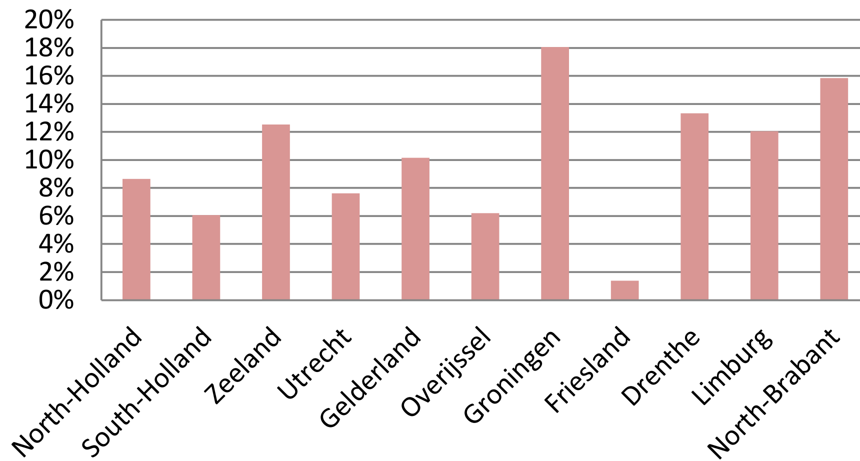
While there is significant variation across these vessel types, some consistencies can be noted. In the charts shown in **Fig. 12 . 5. (2a)** to **(2c),** glasses can be seen to make up a high proportion of the material from both North-Brabant and Zeeland, this is likely due to some sites from these areas being of high status. North-and South-Holland both contained good quantities of all three major glass types, although both regions have fewer goblets than were expected (7-9%) and a greater quantity of *roemers*, given the coastal nature of the province (8-11%). Provinces along the German border, Groningen, Overijssel and Gelderland, had fairly equal quantities of beakers, although Gelderland had significantly higher proportions of goblets and fewer *roemers* than the other provinces. Gelderland and Zeeland surprisingly produced the highest proportions of goblets out of all the provinces, and the former did not produce exceptionally high numbers of *roemers*, being a little under the average. Outside the Republic, Limburg had a much lower proportion of glass than North-Brabant which had a particularly high quantity of beakers, but was also well represented in the other glass categories. One province which particularly stands out is Friesland, which didn't produce above 6% for any glass type. This province did have one of the smallest quantity of artefacts, suggesting that if more abundant sites were also targeted, these figures would improve. However, it is notable that Friesland does lie in the poorer northern area of the Republic.

In **Fig. 12. 5. (4a)** to **(4d)**, the percentages of various ceramic types are also compared from the eleven regions. One immediately notable change from the glass material is that Friesland is now high up in terms of the quantities of stoneware and local earthenware. The stoneware chart (**Fig. 12. 5. (4b)**) looks particularly dramatic, with most other regions presenting between 5-17%, and Friesland 51%. This does not really support the hypothesis of eastern provinces utilising more German material, although while Gelderland, Overijssel, Groningen, Drenthe, and Limburg did produce reasonably similar quantities of stoneware to each other (between 10 to 16%), none of these were particularly higher than the coastal provinces, despite Rhineland trade routes passing through Gelderland. The discrepancy between North-Holland (17%) and South-Holland (5%) is interesting, as this puts North-Holland somewhat at odds with the other provinces in this western area, with Zeeland at 7%, North-Brabant at 8% and Utrecht at 9%. The reason for this relative popularity of stoneware is unknown.

Porcelain seems to be particularly prevalent in North-Brabant and Groningen, though the relative numbers of artefacts mean these quantities are actually very different (177 and 28 respectively). This high proportion of porcelain from Groningen has already been explained above in section 12. 4 as potential material from a tea or coffee house. The porcelain table is particularly interesting when compared with the one above for earthenwares (**Fig. 12. 5. (4a)**), which seems to show a definite inverse correlation between porcelain and earthenware. This would seem to suggest these vessel types performed similar roles for different groups or at different times. The lack of notably significant porcelain use in both areas of Holland is again interesting, as these provinces, home to much of the major international trade, would have been thought to have the greatest availability of porcelain and imported material. It is possible that the number of low status sites viewed from these areas is bringing the total proportion down. Other areas with access to coastal trade, Zeeland and North-Brabant, are better represented.







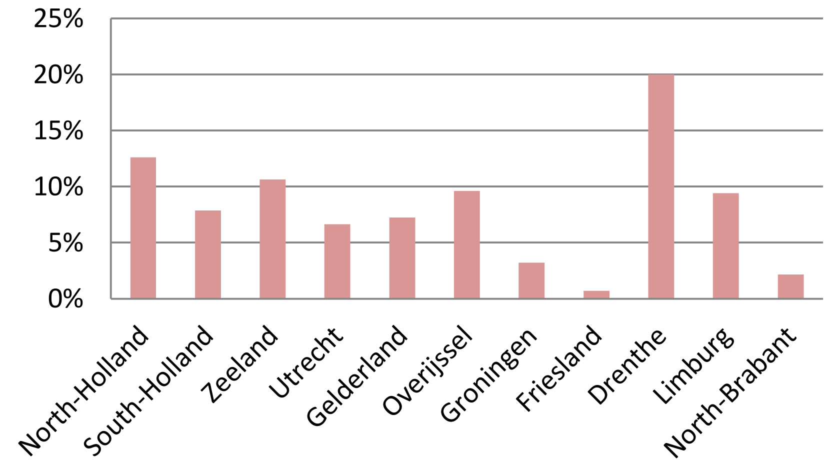


Fig. 12. 5. (4a), (4b), (4c) and **(4d).** Charts demonstrating the percentage of particular ceramic artefact types from the Republic and Generality Lands.

The prevalence of tin-glazed wares in Holland and Zeeland is as expected, given the proximity to major manufacturing regions in Delft, but the large quantity of this material type in Drenthe was not predicted (although again the actual numbers are low: twelve pieces). Very little tin-glazed material was recovered from Drenthe's neighbouring provinces of Groningen and Friesland, or from North-Brabant. In the case of North-Brabant, it might be that this material, while appearing in most sites, was less desirable in comparison to this region's apparently high consumption of porcelain.

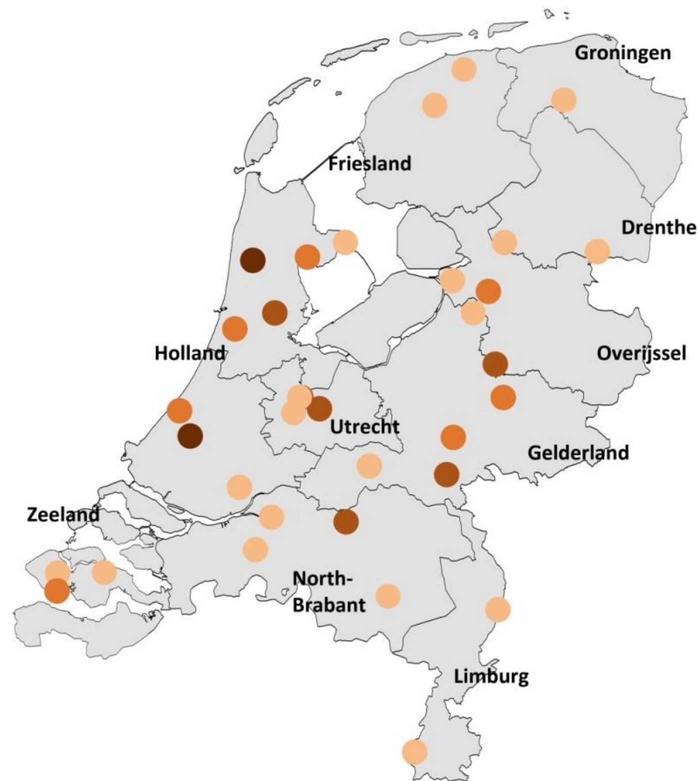


Fig. 12. 5. (5a). Map displaying the location and relative quantity of earthenware. The darkest colours indicate areas with highest concentration of finds.

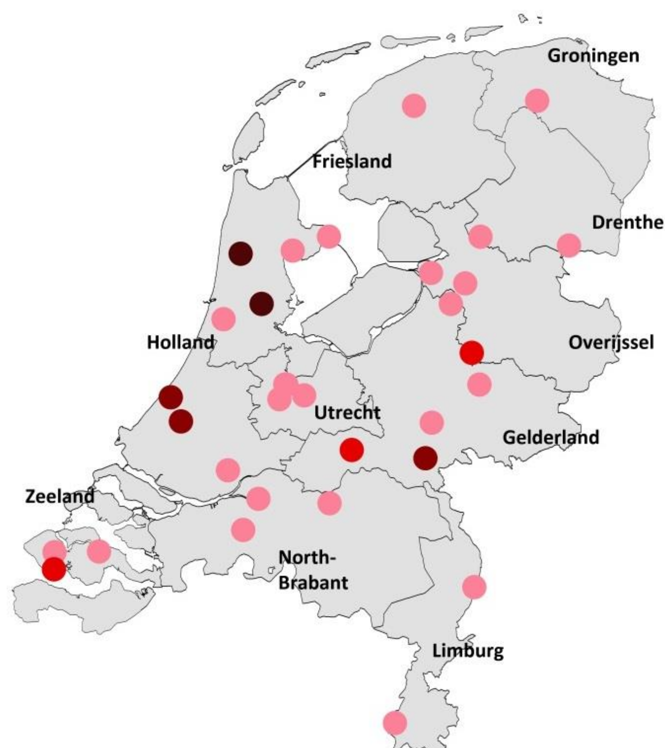


Fig. 12. 5. (5b). Map displaying the location and relative quantity of faience. The darkest colours indicate areas with highest concentration of finds.

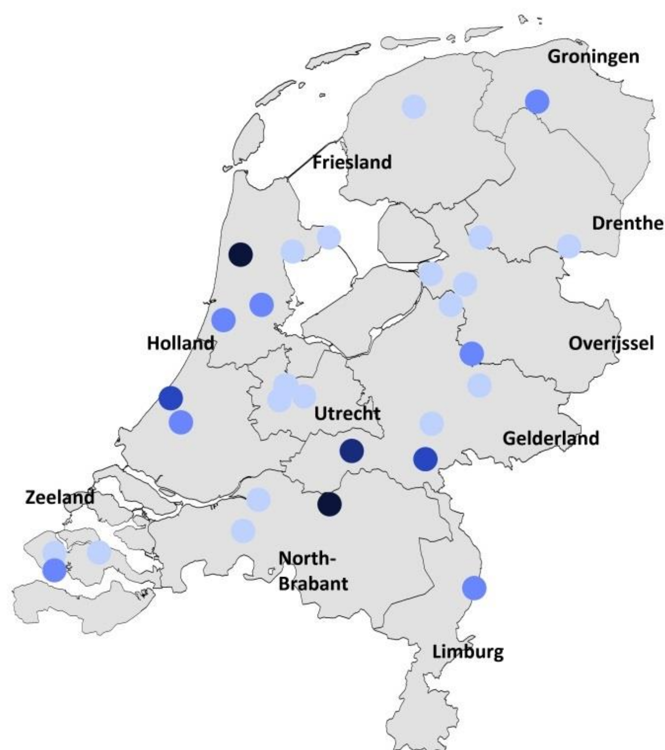


Fig. 12. 5. (5c). Map displaying the location and relative quantity of porcelain. The darkest colours indicate areas with highest concentration of finds.

12. 5. 1. Summary

This analysis seems to suggest that while there is a difference between province areas, it is rather subtle and cannot be easily divided between the simple groupings of 'coastal' and 'inland'. Some internal areas, which it was hypothesised would contain more Germanic style glassware and stoneware ceramics, do not present a particularly unified profile to each other. Overijssel and Groningen for example, which have similar proportions of beakers, goblets, tin-glazed ceramics and stoneware, are very different in their consumption of *roemers*, earthenware and porcelain. Despite their similar economic and geographic positions, Friesland and Drenthe also produced very different material from each other, with Drenthe having better goods: porcelain, tin glazed material and glass, than Friesland. Only Overijssel and Drenthe produced the anticipated high percentage of *roemers* for eastern border sites, but in both areas this was coupled with a low quantity of stoneware. *Roemers* almost seem to be of a higher percentage of the total assemblages in the coastal areas. The inevitable conclusion of this is that there is no discernible material culture 'package' of German-influenced material; *roemers* and stoneware are distinct material groups which were used in an independent fashion. It is possible instead that *roemers* had more interaction with goblets and flutes, as in some areas, such as Holland, Utrecht, Gelderland, Overijssel, Limburg and possibly also Drenthe, these had a degree of incompatibility, which while not entirely mutually exclusive, does seem significant. This is pattern is not visible, however, in Zeeland, Groningen, Friesland or North Brabant. The Generality Lands remain, for the most part, seemingly independent of the fluctuations of the Republic, with good access to quantities of material such as porcelain, goblets and *roemers*. Limburg has slightly greater reliance than North-Brabant on ceramics, particularly earthenwares and tin glazed wares.

Given the results above, and observing the maps in **Fig. 12. 5. (3)** and **Fig. 12. 5. (5),** it seems that in archaeological terms, the division in consumption, rather than being along an eastern (inland) and western (coastal) line, could be proposed to function in three rough areas: coastal (Holland and Zeeland), northern (Friesland, Groningen, Drenthe), and along the branches of the Lower Rhine trading routes (Utrecht, Gelderland and Overijssel and some areas of North Brabant).

Having said this, Dibbits notes that the old division between coastal and inland material can be seen in inventories of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with residents from Doesburg in Overijssel generally possessing much smaller quantities of porcelain, and fewer methods of display such as cabinets, than from households in the coastal town of Maassluis at the same time (Dibbits 2001:110). She associates this difference at least partially with the ability of coastal towns to gain faster access to the new products of trade, as well as new ideas and behaviours. However, while acknowledging that different regions do produce remarkably different consumption patterns, particularly between urban and rural assemblages, Weatherill believes that there was little difference in the fundamental behaviour creating them, nor are these differences necessarily representative of a 'regional consciousness' (Weatherill 1988:45). In England, broad differences between industrial and agricultural, (in the Netherlands adjusted to inland and coastal) are not enough to explain

the diversity of consumption (Weatherill 1988:60). She credits wealth as having a greater influence on consumption patterns than proximity, and indeed, in the evidence above it certainly seems that geographic location cannot be said to have a dramatic difference on consumption which cannot also be explained by the wealth and status of the households studied.

It must also be remembered that much of this pattern may be due simply to the processes of archaeological research. Areas which appear to be wealthy or possessing large quantities of artefacts also coincide with areas where particularly intensive excavation and research has taken place. Despite a large number of sites being studied, it is impossible to avoid this bias entirely.

12. 6. Growth and decline: change in vessel use over time

As well as revealing changes in artefact use across the different regions, the data also demonstrates patterns of change in material, artefact type and drinking habits across the several centuries touched by these deposits. Some material changes during this period are well studied; and it is now recognised that from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries onwards, the ceramic landscape of Europe began to change. Gradually ubiquitous grey wares began to be replaced by red earthenware fabrics and in an increasing variety of forms. These vessel types, such as *grapen* pipkin cooking pots, *bakpanen* skillet pans and basins, were often imitations of forms previously found in metal, and became part of a growing set of functionally specialised material (Verhaeghe 1997:30). By the fifteenth century, stoneware drinking dishes and jugs joined this specialised object set, and by the sixteenth century, maiolica products began to spread down the social scale from items of elite consumption to objects which were more commonly available. Verhaeghe notes that by the fifteenth century, most objects had acquired a specialised function and form, one which changed very little over the next two centuries (Verhaeghe 1997:31). At the end of the sixteenth century, the availability of new designs in stoneware, earthenwares and forest glass began to make their mark on the domestic assemblage, swiftly followed by a dramatic upturn in goblets and beakers of soda glass in a multitude of new models and decorations as soda glass began to be produced in the northern Netherlands (Bult 1992:101).

However, the changes that occur in the ceramics of the seventeenth century were generally alterations of decorative style rather than form, particularly with regards to the powerful influence of the oriental designs. Throughout this period, decoration began to grow in importance and complexity, and the seventeenth century saw a wide variety in available products, including new *façon de Venise* glassware, slip decorated earthenware, Dutch made tin glazed ware, and the slow adoption of porcelain (Bult 1992:82). These latter two groups played a key role in the introduction of specific functional groups to deal

with new products, such as tea cups and pipes. By the eighteenth century, porcelain had become fully embedded into Dutch material culture, and was accompanied on the dinner table by Bohemian lime glass, English lead glass and *façon d'Angleterre*, to the gradual detriment of faience and forest glass, the latter of which stopped being produced in the Dutch glasshouses relatively early on (Bult 1992:101, Baart, Krook, and Lagerweij 1984:236). Other material types which are not well represented archaeologically, such as pewter, are also known to have been very significant in assemblages (see, for example, Hupperetz 2004:136), and their changing influence should also not be forgotten. Chronological change is represented through a number of different aspects in this study, and these will be addressed in detail in this section.

12. 6. 1. Diversity and uniformity

One of the most striking features visible from the seventeenth-century assemblages is the sheer diversity of artefact types, particularly amongst the glass. This is a phenomenon which only seems to develop during that period; glass assemblages from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries demonstrate an unremarkable consistency in object types. One example is the cesspit of Gravin Gijsberta (Zutphen-Stadhuis V473), which dates between 1425 – 1475 (**Fig. 12. 6. (1)**). This pit contains twenty-one beakers, which represent only five different categories.

Fig. 12. 6. (1). Vessels from the cesspit of Gravin Gijsberta (Zutphen-stadhuis V473)

Types of vessels	Numbers of vessels of each type
gl-bek-1a	6
gl-bek-2a	4
gl-bek-18	7
gl-bek-	2
gl-koo-	2
Total	**21**

In contrast, seventeenth-century assemblages offer a much wider variety of types, and even in rich groups like the Keizershof, there are few categories which contain duplicate objects of the same type and, with a few exceptions, these are not high. This can also be seen in the assemblage of Kelderput 1252 of De Drye Mooren tavern above (**Fig. 12. 4. (1)**), as well as in the majority of the mid seventeenth-century sites. However, as the deposits from Keizershof move into the eighteenth century, the quantity of types decreases, despite the total number of objects remaining reasonably constant (see **Fig. 12. 6. (2)**), and material of high status actually becoming better represented.

Fig. 12. 6. (2). Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century glass vessels from Keizershof

Seventeenth-century glasses from Keizershof		Eighteenth-century glasses from Keizershof	
gl-bek-15/a/b	27	gl-bek-25/b	28
gl-bek-5/a	7	gl-bek-6/b	22
gl-bek-29	4	gl-bek-23	20
gl-bek-1/a	3	gl-bek-38	14
gl-bek-21	3	gl-bek-7/a	3
gl-bek-2	1	gl-bek-21	2
gl-bek-8	1	gl-bek-26	1
gl-bek-14	1	gl-bek-84	1
gl-bek-19a	1	gl-bek-	3
gl-bek-32	1	gl-kel-2	14
gl-bek-34	1	gl-kel-1	5
gl-bek-37a	1	gl-kel-32	4
gl-bek-40	1	gl-kel-8	4
gl-bek-48	1	gl-kel-27	3
gl-bek-53	1	gl-kel-26	2
gl-bek-59	1	gl-kel-54	2
gl-bek-70	1	gl-kel-21	1
gl-bek-77	1	gl-kel-35	1
gl-bek-	1	gl-kel-5	1
gl-ber-1	9	gl-kel-7	1
gl-mai-1	5	gl-kel-9	1
gl-roe-9	13	gl-kel-	5
gl-roe-	5	**Total**	**138**
gl-roe-10	2		
gl-flu-3	1		
gl-flu-6	1		
gl-kel-11	8		
gl-kel-2	4		
gl-kel-18	4		
gl-kel-34	4		
gl-kel-42	3		
gl-kel-5	2		
gl-kel-8	2		
gl-kel-13	2		
gl-kel-35	2		
gl-kel-48	2		
gl-kel-28	1		
gl-kel-93?	1		
gl-kel-95	1		
gl-kel-	22		
Total	**153**		

The re-standardisation of eighteenth-century assemblages can also be seen in the Zutphen cesspits of Burgemeester Optenoord (Zutphen-Stadhuis V647, V413, V284, and V201) dated 1685 – 1744, and the later pit BP7 V1287/1288 excavated at Lange Hofstraat 5 (1750 - 1850) (see **Fig. 12. 6. (3)**). The pit of Burgemeester Optenoord contains twenty beakers of

five types, and twelve goblets of six types. By the end of the eighteenth century, thirty-five beakers from the assemblage of Lange Hofstraat 5 BP7 can be divided into six categories, and forty-two goblets into just nine types. Some vessel types, such as the small beakers gl-bek-6, gl-bek-23, gl-bek-25 and gl-bek-26 leap into popularity, overtaking previously popular forms of mould-blown beakers, like the *knoppenbeker.*

Fig. 12. 6. (3). Eighteenth-century vessels from Zutphen cesspits showing increased standardisation

Burgemeester Optenoord (Zutphen-stadhuis V647, V413, V284, V201)		**Lange Hofstraat 5 (BP7 V1287/1288) 1750 – 1850**	
gl-bek-6	9	gl-bek-6	15
gl-bek-23	3	gl-bek-23	11
gl-bek-26	6	gl-bek-80	3
gl-bek-10	1	gl-bek-2	1
gl-kel-2	1	gl-bek-18	1
gl-kel-7	1	gl-bek-25b	1
Total	**21**	gl-bek-	3
		gl-kel-2	13
		gl-kel-23	13
		gl-kel-21	6
		gl-kel-1	2
		Total	**69**

The diversity of seventeenth-century groups is tied strongly into the display of status during this period, as a wide variety within the household assemblage suggests access to limited sources and highly desirable rare artefacts (Courtney 1997a:101). Diversity might also suggest that artefacts have been gained through gift exchange and inheritance, indicating close social and familial ties and a sense of historic permanence. It is the rising popularity of dining services and the desire for matching sets of plates and glassware towards the beginning of the eighteenth century which caused this medley of vessels to fall out of fashion. Dining services in faience begin to be ordered from Delft manufactories by the 1680s, although it goes without saying that during this period, such items were only available to the elite (van Dam 2004:73-74). Despite the fragmentary nature of the archaeological record, matching sets of material can be observed in some instances, such as Beerput 72 at Oude Markt 8 in Venlo, where three different groups of matching faience plates, with designs of landscapes, birds and fruits, were recovered (Van der Velde, Ostkamp, Veldman and Wyns 2009). Matching tea cups were also recovered from several sites: in *Kangxi* porcelain from Tonput 1 at Stadsschouwburg in Goes (Ostkamp and van Benthem 2004); and of polychrome faience excavated from Context XXXV-b at Peperdijk perceel 513 in Vlissingen (Claeys, Jaspers and Ostkamp 2010). All three sites are dated to the end of the seventeenth century.

By the mid-eighteenth century, much of the material recovered from large pits, such as the privy from the Koornmarkt in Tiel, was formed of matching, or similarly designed hollow and flatware, as well as with tea cups with matching saucers. Nine different services of

plates were recognised here, as well as several sets of matching glasses, and nine different porcelain tea sets (Bartels 2005:25, 31, 38). The change towards this type of material culture was all part of the adjustment of table etiquette and the formalisation of social dining ritual taking place throughout the early modern period, although with roots that reached back to the fourteenth century (Gawronski 2012:77, Verhaeghe 1997:32). This also stems from the use of vessels and flatware, particularly plates, as display items during the early part of the seventeenth century (Bitter 2008:162). Dining services were formed of a common set of artefact types which, alongside dishes, plates and bowls for eating, also could include all manner of table items; preserve dishes, salt cellars, candle sticks, and tea drinking wares. These items were linked into a common group through their design, shape and decoration, often inspired by items made in silver (van Dam 2004:80-81). What this does show is that while the variety in terms of shape and decoration of artefacts was decreasing, that more and more vessels were being produced as part of services to fulfil very specific dining functions (Bitter *at al* 1997:224). The heyday of the drinking glass as a marker of elegance, diversity and uniqueness, however, had come to an end.

12. 6. 2. Changes in drinking practice

The eighteenth century sees the end of some aspects of communal drinking practice, namely the use of shared vessels, as well as many of the vessels designed for particular drinking games. *Stangenglazen* generally lose their popularity from around 1650, and beakers with *passen* threads a few decades later. Later examples of *stangenglazen*, such as that recovered from the mid eighteenth-century pit of Burgemeester Optenoord, are thought to be anachronistic remnants from previous cesspit emptying (Henkes 2003f:2). Similarly, oversized *welkommen* beakers vanish after about the 1680s (see **Fig. 12. 6. (4)**).

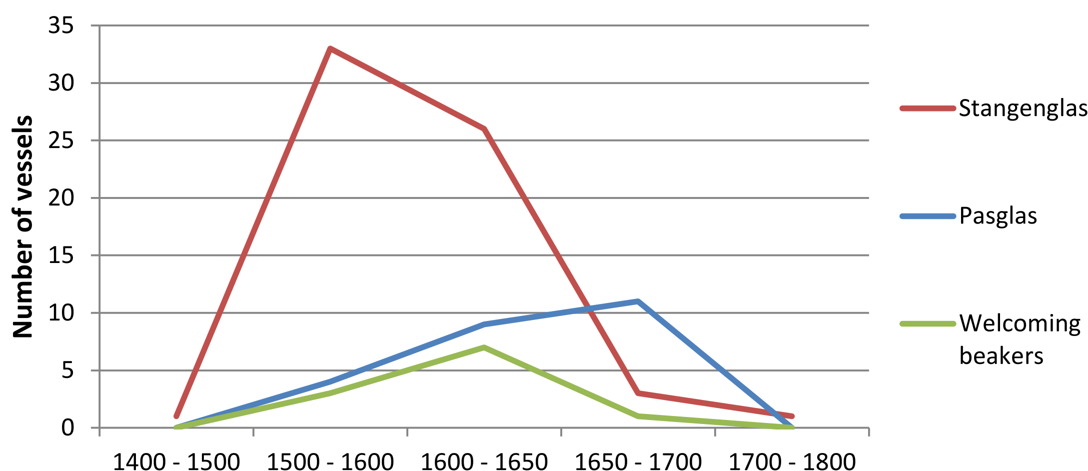


Fig. 12. 6. (4). Quantities of welcoming and passing glasses across the study period

The dominant trend, particularly with the adoption of lead and lime glass in the last decades of the seventeenth century, is for much smaller straight sided or gently waisted

conical beakers with a vastly reduced volume (the average volume of eighteenth-century beakers now being approximately 337ml). The most common of these beaker types are represented in the Deventer Code by numbers gl-bek-6, gl-bek-7, gl-bek-23, gl-bek-25, gl-bek-26 and gl-bek-58. From the prevalence and eventual dominance of these smaller vessel types, it seems reasonable to assume that beer was no longer being consumed in the same quantities as earlier in the seventeenth century, where the average volume of a beer glass was almost twice as much, somewhere around 600ml. The increase in size of beer beakers at the beginning of the seventeenth century has been link to improvements in manufacturing techniques, rather than changes in consumption practice (Henkes 1994:123). However, by the end of that century, beer was both stronger and more expensive than previously, leading to a corresponding change in vessel types (Roedema 1997:92). Beer was also falling in consumption during the last decades of the seventeenth century. Beer production in the United Provinces was damaged by the decades of war, diseases and grain shortages occurring after 1670, and soon faced stiff competition from wine, tea and coffee which were found in almost all households after about 1750 (van Uytven 2007:172, 139). The growing popularity of spirit liquors, from rum, brandy, gin and imported rice wines, are also likely to have impacted on the quantity of beer drunk, all of which were undergoing a dramatic price drop and growing popularity amongst the lower classes (van Uytven 2007:119-120).

Tea, coffee and chocolate drinking rituals replaced the former practice of welcoming with beer, and as a consequence, the corresponding rise in tea/coffee drinking cups, saucers and paraphernalia is also highly visible, both in the archaeological assemblages and probate inventories (Dibbits 2001:158-160). Around 83% of turn-of-the-century sites contain tea drinking paraphernalia in tin-glazed wares or porcelain, which is not a hugely significant increase from the 70% of sites containing this material in 1650. However, tea and coffee drinking utensils have become a much more significant part of the total assemblage, averaging 34% of post-1700 sites, as opposed to just 15% of the assemblages from 1650 – 1700. This supports the records from inventories, which suggests that by the mid-eighteenth century, a rich household in South-Holland could be expected to have up to around three hundred pieces of porcelain (Dibbits 2001:108). This picture is no doubt somewhat skewed by the growing pattern of porcelain collecting, particularly amongst women, which may not necessarily indicate tea consumption (Wijsenbeek-Olthuis 1996:121). Dibbits recounts the contents of the ‘porcelain room’ belonging to wealthy Maassluis residents, the Metternach family, who had acquired a huge number of vessels and flatware in a variety of forms, with drinking material including chocolate, coffee and tea bowls, a tea pot, saucers and a milk jug (2001:108-109). The extent to which this material is decorative as opposed to purely functional cannot fully be known. However, discard of pieces after breakage does tend to suggest they were more likely to have been in functional use, although this does not preclude damage during display.

Another change which is well evidenced in these assemblages is the swift decline of the *roemer* in comparison to the rise in number of goblets in use. The following table depicts how the percentage of *roemers,* and also beer beakers, gradually decrease in favour of the use of goblets (**Fig. 12. 6. (5)** and **Fig. 12. 6. (6)**). Bult notes a similar phenomenon in his

overview of Delft cesspits but with more vivid changes (Bult 1992:106). In this study, however, while the percentage of goblets does seem to jump, when both wine drinking vessels are viewed together it is possible see a gradual decrease in the overall quantity of wine-specific vessels from the mid-seventeenth century. This in turn would imply that wine was losing some of its importance. This is likely to be due to the rising influence of tea and coffee in everyday consumption.

Fig. 12. 6. (5). Table comparing the relative quantities of glass vessels from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries.

	1500 – 1599	**1600 - 1649**	**1650 - 1699**	**1700 – 1800**
Roemers	11%	19%	10%	1%
Goblets	6%	13%	14%	21%
All wine glasses	17%	32%	25%	22%
Beakers	23%	24%	27%	21%

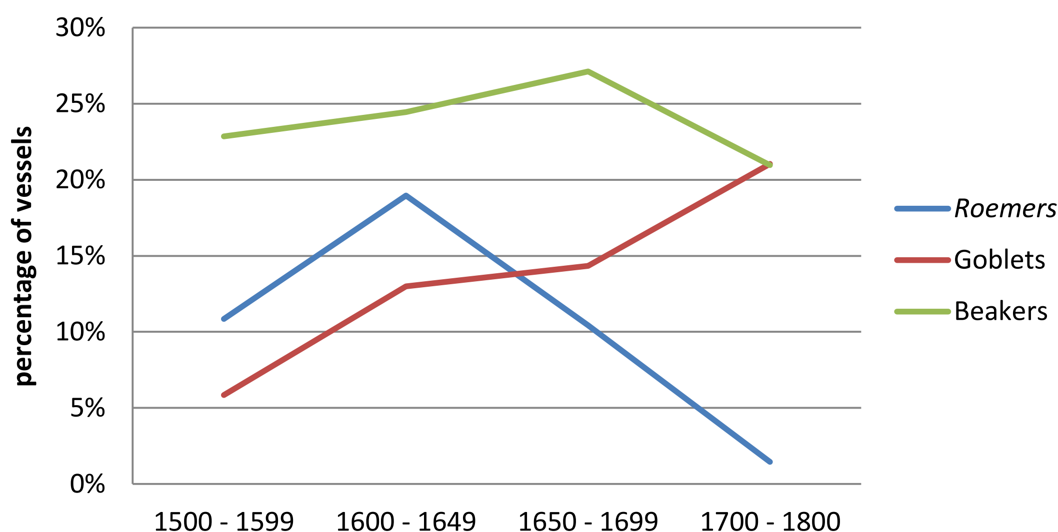


Fig. 12. 6. (6). Chart comparing the relative quantities of goblets, *roemers* and beakers from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries.

In addition to changing drinking practices altering the consumption of material, this period also demonstrates several instances where some material types came to supersede and replace others while maintaining the same function. Dibbits suggests, for example, that in coastal regions, pewter was replaced reasonably swiftly by the spread of delftware, a process which was much slower in other areas (Dibbits 2001:128-129). Lead-glazed earthenware, which had held a primary position in most assemblages of the seventeenth century, began to decrease during the following decades, when porcelain and stoneware were on the rise (Bult 1992:94) (see **Fig. 12. 6. (7)**).

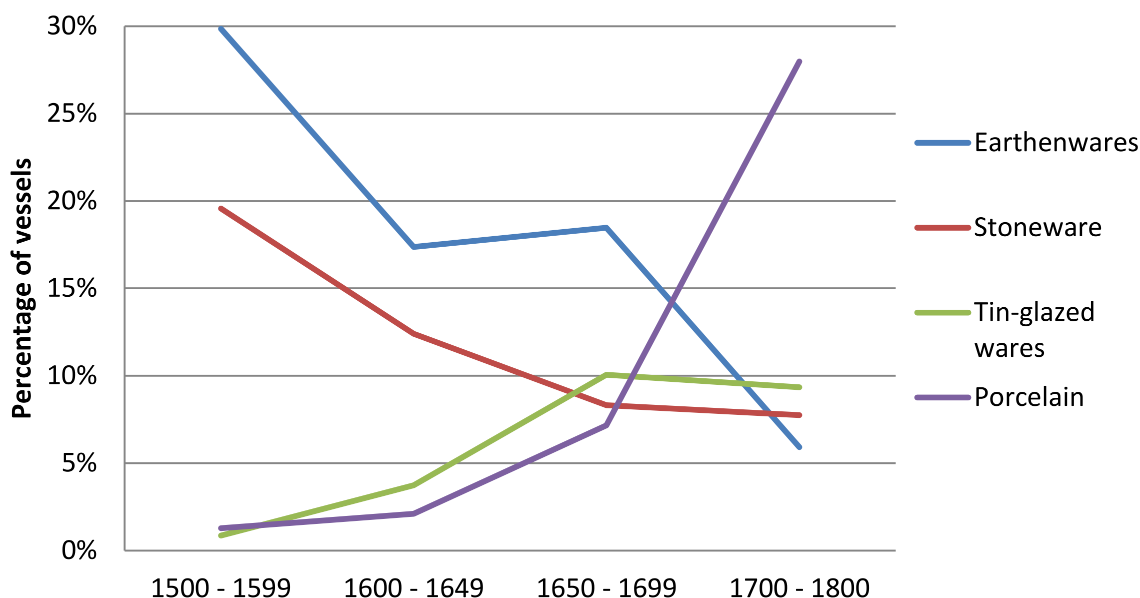


Fig. 12. 6. (7). Chart comparing the relative quantities of ceramics during the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries.

Gawronski suggests the decline in the use of earthenware may not be related to these other fabrics at all, but to the greater availability of copper and iron utensils, which were particularly more suited to cooking and food preparation than the ceramic cooking pots of the previous centuries (Gawronski 2012:77). This suggests both a change in the availability and cost of the vessels, as well as a potential change in drinking and eating habits. A similar, though less dramatic decline also occurred in tin-glazed wares, which while undergoing high popularity in the middle of the seventeenth century during their first period of 'mass production', began to fall from favour until they were no longer used by 'decent people' ((Bitter 2008:162, Erkelens 1996:119). The function of earthenwares have become obsolete, or they have been replaced in their role by one of the other material types, most likely porcelain, and later in the century, by industrial ceramics. Of course, it is unlikely that this happened at the same time or to the same extent in all regions. As discussed in chapter 11. 3. 1., in some areas, local products may have been valued over exotic imports, a phenomenon also recognised in other regions, Courtney (1997a:101) cites several such examples. In other instances, the difference between vessel types may not have been of note at all; Hester Dibbits' comments on the lack of distinction between porcelain and delftware have previously been noted (Dibbits 2001:13). But whatever the processes behind the selection of material, it is certainly clear that by the eighteenth century, some formally popular fabric types, such as German stoneware and forest glass, have almost completely disappeared (Bult 1992:84-85).

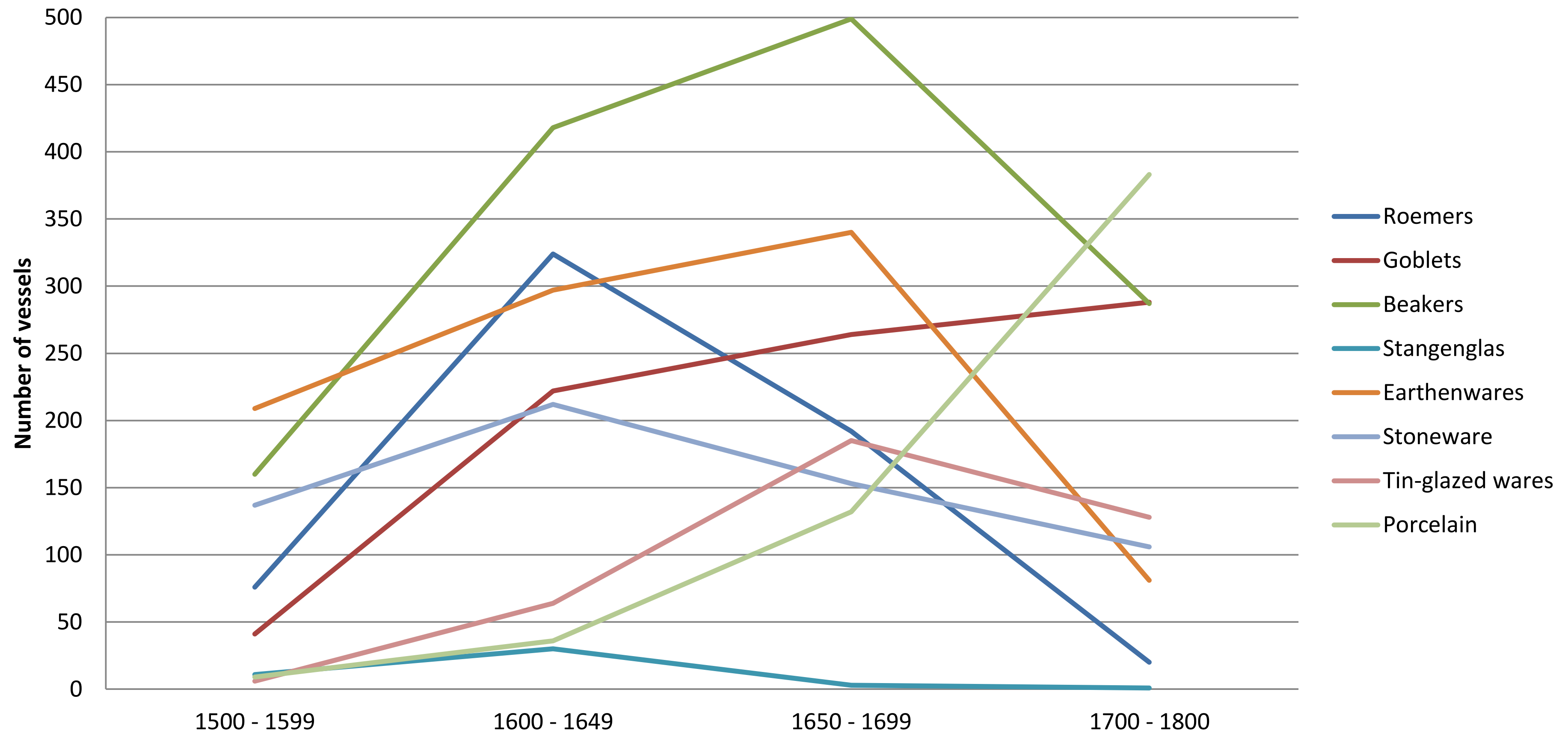


Fig. 12. 6. (8). Table comparing the relative quantities of all vessel types from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries (hospital sites of Oude en Nieuwe Gasthuis (Delft) and Nieuwe Kamp (Utrecht) were excluded due to their atypical quantities of earthenware). Note that the X-axis date groups are not of even size. This is to counteract the effect that smaller numbers of sights were seen from these periods.

Fig. 12. 6. (8) demonstrates the major changes in the use of different material types from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, all vessel types are increasing. Earthenwares and beakers are the most numerous type, closely followed by stoneware. Porcelain and tin-glazed wares make a slow initial appearance but by the second half of the century they are both well represented. Popular seventeenth-century vessel types of German stoneware and *roemers* led the decline in the second half of the seventeenth century, and are eventually joined by beakers and earthenware. Porcelain and goblets begin to dominate the assemblages, and will later be joined by European porcelain, English stoneware and industrial wares, although these categories were not included in this graph. These cesspits provide excellent evidence for the slow but inevitable drive towards greater acquisition of goods during this period; the apparent drop-off of artefacts during the eighteenth century is only due to the relatively few sites studied in this thesis.

A rising tide of material goods is also supported in other sources such as probate inventories, which reveal a clear pattern of growing consumption in England, America, and the Netherlands from the seventeenth through to the eighteenth century, and with a significant increase in both quantity and quality of material culture found (de Vries 1993:99-100). Despite the serious economic downturn after 1670 which marked the end of the Golden Age (van Zanden 1993:25), the need for material goods was driven to new heights in all levels of society, and significant effort seems to have been made to acquire what de Vries calls “socially strategic commodities” (de Vries 1993:100), even if that meant making sacrifices in other areas.

Despite this widespread pattern of increased consumption, the actual monetary value of conspicuous items began to decrease during this period. While the quantity and luxury nature of many items were increasing within households, it seems that their total value was making up a smaller proportion of the inventory, and that luxuries had a smaller financial significance within the estate. De Vries proposes that this phenomenon can be explained as the result of falling prices and a ‘reduced durability’, both of which encouraged a faster turn-over of goods, dictated by fashion (de Vries 1993:104). The driving forces behind this increase were social as well as economic; these ‘shortened fashion lifestyles’ presented a more dynamic and swift-changing stage for the promotion of hierarchies and maintenance of social position (de Vries 2008:148).

12. 7. Conclusions

This chapter has examined and compared several complete assemblages of material gathered in the primary and secondary datasets of this study, to examine how the consumption of drinking vessels of all kinds developed and changed over the course of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and across the provinces of the Republic. This chapter was also concerned with recognising value and status through assemblages and artefacts, and how status affected consumption patterns. One key method of analysis

introduced in this chapter is the use of status profiles; a proposed method of recognising status from cesspit assemblages, by examining the relationship between artefacts groups. Vessels in glass and ceramic were grouped into three categories of relative value; standard, mid-range and status, and the profile was created through the comparison of these groups. High status sites were required to produce more than sixty artefacts, and the profile was revealed to have between 66-75% glass vessels of which more than half was mid-range and status glass, in addition to mid-range and status ceramics (**Fig. 12. 3. (2)**). Sites which produced the same profile but with fewer than sixty artefacts may also have been high status sites whose pits were more frequently emptied, or represent middle class sites successfully emulating elite groups (**Fig. 12. 3. (3)**). These sites differed from the middle status profile which now had a majority of ceramic vessels, with a greater quantity of earthenware, and more representation of the mid-range glass and ceramic groups. Status glass and ceramics were still present but in lower proportions (**Fig. 12. 3. (5)**). It was more difficult to identify and create a profile for low status sites due to the absence of artefacts in their assemblages. Generally these sites had a majority of standard vessels, with some mid-range glass and ceramics, and very occasionally a more elaborate piece (**Fig. 12. 3. (8)**, **(9)** and **(10)**).

Profiles were also proposed for high and middle status sites from the early to mid-eighteenth century. These demonstrated significant change in the relationship between glass and ceramics, with status ceramics now dominating the assemblage at 30-60%. High status glass made up the next highest category, somewhere between 15 and 35%, with standard and mid-range glass and ceramic vessels making up a fairly even remainder (**Fig. 12. 3. (12)**). This demonstrates the rising importance of porcelain and industrial ceramics in the household assemblage. Mid status sites from the same period had fewer than sixty pieces or produced smaller quantities of status glass and ceramic, although the latter group was still significant. Standard glass and ceramic were more prevalent than in high status sites (**Fig. 12. 3. (13)**). A low status profile for this period could not be formed, although it is thought more earthenware and soda glass would be found, albeit the quantities and quality of material would have increased from the previous century.

Assemblages from several variants on the domestic home were examined to see what differences were presented in the excavated material. Seventeenth-century taverns appeared to have a notably higher proportion of glass to ceramics than was common in domestic houses, particularly standard and mid-range glass, and a large proportion of mid-range ceramics. Tavern sites might tentatively be identified through a fast rate of discard, combined with unusual quantities of certain material types, such as *roemers* or *stangenglas*, combined with an absence of status ceramics. Two hospital sites from Delft and Utrecht were revealed to have very similar status profiles, with 77-79% earthenware, 7-12% mid-status ceramics, and small quantities of all other status groups. Many of the earthen- and stoneware vessels were equipped with multiple handles, a feature thought to aid in patient care. Much of the material at these sites was relatively standardised, with several versions of the same vessel type being in evidence. More unique and status vessels in glass or ceramics are thought to be vessels brought into the hospital by visitors, or as the possessions of hospital staff and represent their greater freedom of material expression.

Differences in the use of drinking material across the Republic were also discussed. The material suggests that there was, in fact, very little delineation in material use between the coastal towns and inland towns. Germanic material culture, such as *roemers* and stoneware, were not noticeably more prevalent in the east of the country or along the Rhine, although they were a little more common in the northern provinces. The provinces of Friesland and Drenthe are the only areas which are consistently different to the rest of the country, although this is likely to be due to the smaller samples from these areas, and to their relative poverty. Porcelain and earthenware seem to have some degree of inverse correlation, although the areas with a higher percentage of porcelain are not those which might be expected; the Generality Lands, Groningen and Gelderland, and not the coastal trading areas of Holland or Zeeland. In the central areas of the country, higher numbers of *roemers* tended to indicate fewer goblets and vice-versa. Generally, there is no consistent use of Germanic material culture, and no clear significance in the use of imported material along the coast. Potential groupings of regional activity might instead be coastal, northern inland and southern inland. However, it seems likely that wealth and status had a greater impact on the material used than any particularly overt regional material consciousness.

Household assemblages have been characterised by patterns of increased quantity, quality and diversity since the fifteenth century, when domestic artefacts first began to form into a predetermined set of vessels with specific functions (Verhaeghe 1997:30). Changes were prompted by trade, production and demand, and were now sustainable due to the increased means of consumers and the greater capability for social competition (Verhaeghe 1997:32). While the rate and quantity consumption had not yet reached the mass levels of the eighteenth century, seventeenth-century assemblages demonstrate a high level of diversity and variety, particularly in glassware. While these vessels retain more or less the same function, the opportunities for decorative multiplicity have been fully utilised. In a change from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, seventeenth-century cesspits demonstrate a wide array of types, sometimes with only a single glass in each. However, by the eighteenth century, a re-simplification of the drinking assemblage has occurred, as the quantity of vessels is seen to increase but the number of types falls. This is thought to tie in with the development of dining services made up of matching sets of material which came into popularity during the last two decades of the seventeenth century, as dining practice adopted a more formalised etiquette. As part of this process other formerly popular items fell out of use, including communal drinking vessels and passing glasses (**Fig. 12. 6. (4)**). The social rituals surrounding these vessels were coming to be replaced by those involving tea. The quantities of beer also decreased as glasses got smaller, and tea and coffee wares and paraphernalia took a more important role in the assemblage. Formerly popular vessels such as the *roemer* and earthenwares were replaced by newer, more desirable vessel types in lead and lime glass, metals and industrial ceramics (**Fig. 12. 6. (8)**). While the quantity of goods, and the relentless demand for them, crept up and up, it has been noted that the total value of luxuries within the household began to fall. Reduced durability and dropping prices caused faster fashion changes and a swifter rate of discard and accumulation, resulting in even more detailed stratification and social hierarchies than had been seen before (de Vries 2008:148).

Chapter Thirteen

Conclusion

13. 1. Identity construction and drinking

This study was undertaken in order to fulfil several main objectives. The first goal of the research was to examine how the material culture of drinking was used to communicate aspects of identity during the seventeenth century. Previously unpublished domestic cesspit assemblages from nine cities were examined first hand and the drinking material culture described and recorded in detail, according to the Deventer System, to allow greater comparability with other studies (Bitter, Ostkamp, and Jaspers 2012). The use and decoration of the vessels were discussed alongside any historical information which was known about the cesspits. This material was assembled into a primary dataset, discussed in chapters four to ten. This data was accompanied by a secondary dataset which included published assemblages from twenty-one other cities, in order to give a wide geographic and chronological spread across the Republic.

In the introduction, chapter 1, the revolt against Spain, the collapse of traditional class hierarchies, high levels of immigration, relative social and religious freedom, and increasing prosperity were all seen as factors in creating an era in which identity at all levels was in flux. One aim of this thesis is to determine which aspects of identity may have been communicated through drinking vessels, and how this was achieved. Chapter eleven addressed this issue in detail by focussing on individual vessel types and decorative elements, accompanied by details from historic documents, museum pieces and contemporary artworks. Social drinking was found to have taken place under a wide set of circumstances and audiences, both at feasting events, at taverns and inns, and at home, which often involved guests and visitors. Drinking was therefore tied into most of the social interactions and community bonding of this period, from births, deaths and other rites of passage to the conclusion of business deals and the marking of historic anniversaries. Within the home, alcohol was used to greet and entertain guests, as well as being a normal part of everyday drinking.

As well as practical objects, vessels also fulfilled an important role as decorative pieces and status indicators, and great provision was made for the elegant decoration of the Dutch house with display cases and buffets for vessels and expensive goods. Within these contexts of conspicuous consumption and domestic display, drinking vessels, amongst other types of material culture, became symbols for a number of different facets of identity and action. Vessels were strongly associated with particular drinks, which had symbolic status in their own right. Vessels and drinks were tied up in a complex system of wealth and display, which could be both desirable and dangerous. Glassware and ceramics could be elegant, exalted artworks, associated with a moral and wholesome celebration of

bounty; or become the exact opposite, threats of imminent mortality and a perilous slide into gluttony and vice. Both aspects are commonly depicted in contemporary artworks (chapter 11. 3).

Straddling the line between these two extremes, glassware and ceramics were used as part of social rituals to forge bonds and maintain the norms of cultural behaviour (chapter 11. 4. 1). Glasses were manufactured for particular drinking rituals including games, and large welcoming beakers were made to be passed around between attendees. Later on, tea and coffee began to take over the function of domestic and social ritual drinking from beer. Drinking vessels could also be used for aspects of promotion, either personal or group, and could be personalised with initials, dates, coats of arms, and affiliations of identities, the latter being particularly used in the expression of regional and group identities. Guilds of merchants and artisans used ritual feasting and drinking activities to strengthen their group bonds and promote a sense of their exclusivity, including the use of ceremonial guild beakers (chapter 11. 4. 3). Coats of arms from particular Dutch towns were also used, probably to promote the interests or superiority of the owner's home town. Family coats of arms were used as a symbol of status, power and belonging, and the decorative style of the 'fantasy' coat of arms grew up, to provide the 'aristocratising' bourgeoisie with the symbolism of traditional authority and power.

The use of family symbols as part of a complex language of imagery also evolved around the process of gift giving, particularly related to weddings (chapter 11. 4. 4 and 11. 4. 5). Gift items for weddings and christenings were often personalised, such as engraved glasswork or slip decorated ceramics, and carried with them a symbolic authority often related to the value of the item. Christening gifts for instance were often extremely expensive, and precious metal gifts were common. This reflected both on the status of the receiving family, but more importantly on the giver, as well as representing the child's first piece of property. Wedding gifts often represented the other end of the economic scale; in which earthenware was used to represent not only the wife's domestic duties, but also a humble standard of living, a fragile transience, and the role of motherhood. A great variety of imagery was used on wedding gifts along with personalised names, dates and poems; including a large number of animal and bird motifs, hearts and arrows, hunting and fishing scenes, and portraits, as well as religious text and morality images.

It was found that religious symbolism was used on vessels, both in a direct, politically motivated and often critical fashion, and as more general decorative features which may also have expressed ideas about female virtue and domestic harmony (chapter 11. 4. 6). Criticisms, usually directed towards the Catholic Church, are expressed in the form of ceramic beakers in the shape of monks, as well as stoneware vessels with medallions satirising church figures. Less contentious religious imagery, such as crucifixions, instruments of the passion and biblical scenes were often depicted on stoneware jugs, although the level of mass production of these vessels means it is difficult to determine just how personal the decorative elements were, especially as non-religious scenes are equally as popular. Highly personal religious decoration did exist through engraved glassware, but this is rare and few examples are found. Edifying texts, such as those reminding viewers not to forget God during their drinking are very much more common and appear on a

variety of vessel types. Interestingly, drinking vessels from the houses of known religious minorities, such as Catholics and Jews, were not noticeably different from their Calvinist neighbours, although their religious affiliation was easier to read in other items of material culture, such as holy water troughs, incense holders, Sabbath lamps, kosher leads, and the designs on plates (van Rooijen and Stafleu 1997:103; Gawronski 2012:63, 77).

As well as regional and group affiliations, status indicators, marital status and religious belief, it is also possible to recognise aspects of age and gender identity through drinking material (chapter 11. 4. 7 and 11. 4. 8). The particular links between women and tea, and later with porcelain collecting, mean that it is possible to suggest that large quantities of tea furniture or porcelain might indicate a dominant female presence in the household. Coffee, in comparison has been linked to male drinking activities. However, tea drinking was far from an exclusively female habit, and this gender division has been questioned by studies using probate inventories (Weatherill 1986:140, 143-144). Women and children were however the primary users of dollhouses and miniature objects. Telling the difference between children's play items and high status decorative dollhouse ornaments is rather difficult, as neither size nor material precludes one eventuality or the other. Both object types, however, do demonstrate the ritualization of quotidian activities, and the desire to control and perfect the domestic space.

13. 1. 1. Determining status

Chapter twelve used groups of material and complete assemblages to discuss how material use and practice may have changed across the region and over time. A new method of identifying status was proposed in chapter 12. 3, known as 'status profiles'. This method applied a relative value to groups of drinking material culture based on some probate inventories, previous discussions of costs and prices, and the complexity and rarity of the object type. Material from each assemblage was then clustered into these 'value groups' to create a visual profile of the assemblages' value. It was found that distinctive patterns could be seen across the profile groups of the seventeenth century. Sites which had been considered 'high status' due to historical documentation or the quantity of their finds produced a distinct profile, with large quantities of high status material, primarily in glass. Mid-status sites had an equally large proportion of mid-range ceramics, with glass being less prevalent and fewer pieces of high status material. Low-status sites were difficult to recognise and were not well represented. However, low-status groups tended to have a majority make-up of low status material, but mid-range ceramic and glass were still a significant part of the assemblages. The same method was also applied to early eighteenth-century sites, although fewer excavations were studied from this period. For this century there was much less consistency in the profiles, but it was clear that high-status ceramics had become the dominant status signifier in the most well-to-do groups, with status glass now having a much smaller role than previously. In mid-status sites from this period, high-status ceramics continue to be important, with glass falling even further behind. Standard ceramics become more prevalent again, although generally the change in profile between high- and medium-status groups has become far less distinct.

While not its initial purpose, the 'status profile' technique also proved to have some benefit in identifying sites which produced unusual breakdowns of material (chapter 12. 4). Three of these were already known to contain material from taverns or social clubs, but by comparing the material from these known sites with the rest of the data, two further tavern sites were hypothesised. The tavern groups produced quantities of mid- and low-range glass and mid-range ceramics, usually with large quantities of one particular artefact type (*stangenglazen*, porcelain cups or small spirit *roemers*). The assemblages from hospitals also produced a distinctive profile, with large quantities of earthenwares dwarfing the remaining material groups, as well as containing some very distinct types of material culture, such as multi-handled ceramics for assisted drinking and eating, and multiple copies of the same types of cups and bowls. These probably were part of a standard set of utensils given to each patient.

13. 1. 2. Change over time and region

As part of the objective to discover how material use changed throughout the United Provinces during this period, the assemblages were analysed to determine if any regional behaviours could be recognised in the consumption of the drinking material culture (chapter 12. 5). It was hypothesised that material use in the country would be grouped into regions; the proximity of the German border and Rhine valley trading would lead to a more distinct 'Germanic' material culture in the east of the country, such as forest glass *roemers* and stoneware vessels. The western coastal provinces, on the other hand, would demonstrate their greater accessibility to the resources of trade ports and manufacturing areas by using a larger quantity of imported ceramics, *façon de Venise*, and tin-glazed ceramics. Earthenware may make up a larger proportion of the material in the less affluent eastern regions.

However, the analysis demonstrated that regional differences are subtle and not easily divided into clear groups. *Roemers* and stoneware do not seem to have been used as a recognisable cluster of 'Germanic' material, but in independent fashion, and neither are any more prevalent in the eastern or Rhineland areas than elsewhere in the Republic. Roemers do seem to have an inverse correlation with goblets in many areas, such as Gelderland, Overijssel, Utrecht and also Holland. Friesland remains the most dramatically different in terms of material use, as it did not produce greater than 6% for any glass type, but instead producing high quantities of stoneware and earthenware. This might relate to the known poverty in this areas during the seventeenth century, but could also be caused by the small quantity of sites examined from this region.

Earthenwares seem to have an inverse correlation with porcelain, possibly as these vessel types performed similar roles for different status groups in certain areas. The Generality Lands, Limburg and Brabant seem to stay relatively independent from fluctuations of material in the other regions, and both areas have good quantities of material such as porcelain, goblets and *roemers*, although there are some differences between the regions. It is possible that Limburg particularly maintained its Southern Netherlandish consumption

patterns, while North-Brabant may have benefited from the Rhineland trade. It was therefore concluded that the division in consumption patterns in the main Republic, rather than being divided along an eastern (inland) and western (coastal) divide, should instead be linked between three areas: coastal (Holland and Zeeland), northern (Friesland, Groningen, Drenthe), and along the branches of the Lower Rhine trading routes (Utrecht, Gelderland and Overijssel and some areas of North Brabant). However, even these groupings are relatively speculative, and it is likely that there were no fundamental differences in behaviour, and no broad demonstration of 'regional consciousness' at this level (Weatherill 1996:45). The rivalries and pride between cities and regions (discussed in chapter 1. 3) were being expressed more in the decoration of vessels and objects rather than in any real fundamental changes in drinking habits. It is thought that wealth, status and choice made a greater difference to consumption than geographic location.

The change in the type of material in use over time was also discussed in chapter 12. 6. By the seventeenth century, new manufacturing techniques, trade links and a greater degree of specialisation resulted in a huge variety of objects, many fulfilling very specific functions. In addition, assemblages from the early to mid-seventeenth century display a great level of diversity in drinking ware, with a large variety of different types and decorative styles being present, but with few matching pieces. By the eighteenth century, changing consumption and dining habits appear to have resulted in a greater desire for conformity, meaning the same number of vessels are now divided into fewer decorative and stylistic categories. Matching types of cup and plates begin to appear in cesspits from the last decades of the eighteenth century, and this was the result of the growing desire for matching sets and services of decoratively consistent material, creating a sense of visual harmony on the dining table.

Changes in drinking practice also brought about changes in the material recovered from cesspits. Communal drinking is visibly in decline towards the end of the century, with pipe *stangenglazen*, beakers with *passen* threads, and large welcoming beakers all going into clear decline after the mid-1600s. This is all part of a trend of decreasing beer consumption and changing domestic habits, which also led to the decrease in the size of beer beakers after 1700, which almost halve in volume from the larger seventeenth-century beer beakers. Tea, coffee and spirits were replacing beer as the main 'social' drinks of this era, with a corresponding rise in the importance of hot drink paraphernalia in household assemblages. While other materials and vessels undergo a reasonably rapid decline, such as forest glass and particularly *roemers*, the overall number of vessels for drinking wine were also entering a slight decline, also probably indicative of the growing importance of tea and coffee.

13. 1. 3. National identity

Further to the construction of personal, household and group identity, the overarching aim of this research was to identify the first appearances of a 'national' Dutch identity on material culture and what forms this united identity might have taken. In chapter 11. 4. 3.,

several examples of coats-of-arms were discussed as an indicator of this nascent national identity, as the names and arms of the southern provinces began to disappear from vessels to be replaced by portraits of the princes of Orange. Declarations of support and images of the arms and portraits of Orange-Nassau grew more important towards the end of the century and particularly towards the end of the politically charged Stadtholderless Period and the *Rampjaar*, and continued in the eighteenth century (van Dam 2004:46). There is also evidence from the material culture of a process of "inventive antiquarianism" (Schama 1997:181). This process of adoption of a mythic past to justify contemporary group identity can be seen through links to the Batavian revolt against the Roman Empire, through the use of 'Teutonic' drinking horns, *tazze* and the ritualization of medieval drinking practice.

Patriotic feeling was also evidenced through the use of vessels to celebrate military victories and anniversaries, which also tied into a strong regional identity and a provincial or city pride, as well as an extent of political independence. Stoneware, silver and glass vessels decorated with the coats of arms and symbols of towns and regions also reflect this. Local rivalries all made up part of the layered complexity of the developing Dutch identity. In addition, further evidence of a more subtle, creeping sense of national identity might be witnessed in the material culture of drinking, which began to be decorated with iconic Dutch scenes and images, such as ships, fishermen and hunting scenes, which began to be incorporated into the Chinese designs used to decorate Delftware. The lion also became used as a symbol of the Netherlands during the struggle for independence from Spain, and the lion as a symbol came to be used on all forms of material culture in a way that may go beyond a purely decorative function.

13. 2. Suggestions for further research

At numerous points in this thesis reservations have been expressed regarding how representative the data gathered from cesspit assemblages can be, due to unknown factors in the quantity of discard, pit emptying or disturbance, preservation, excavation and storage. While many cesspits still do provide a rich source of evidence for studies of domestic material, the difficulties of assigning this material to distinct periods of discard or even to specific individuals cannot be avoided, and perhaps should not be attempted unless under very specific circumstances. Instead it may be more informative to continue to study cesspit assemblages with the understanding that they are not closed or discrete contexts of material, but instead are representative of *some* of the activities taking place on the site.

Due to the issues with cesspits as sources of data, an understanding of the material used in households of this period is best achieved through a cross-disciplinary examination of multiple sources. Probate inventories give some evidence of the large quantities of material which were not preserved within cesspits, such as pewter and precious metals. Probate inventories can be drawn upon to give a more complete idea of household usage. They also offer, to some extent, contemporary value judgements, both in the resale cost of

household goods, and in the descriptive language. Inventories, property rent values and taxation brackets would also help to give an overview of the wealth and prospects of a particular area in order to fit the excavated cesspit assemblage into an approximate economic group. This may help to examine how different materials are used within different sections of society. Paintings and museum pieces, while obviously not representative of everyday drinking activities, do aid in the understanding of the elaboration and importance of utensils as display objects and social commentators.

Further work should draw on all of these resources to create a full picture of the consumption patterns of drinking, and there is potential for a future study to examine additional locations in the Netherlands, such as rural sites. While some smaller town and village groups are included in this study (such as Bogardeind in Geldrop), it is mainly focused on large towns and cities due to the more prevalent opportunities for excavation which takes place in urban areas. While cesspits are generally an urban phenomenon, some do exist in more rural locations along with other waste disposal methods, and a study of these along with written sources would also be interesting to see what role drinking material played outside city environments.

One interesting development to which further work could contribute would be to undertake a similar study for the many cesspits excavated from Amsterdam. As mentioned in chapter 2. 4., this city group is likely to be dramatically different to other cities in the Republic due to its large size, dense population and extremes of wealth, power and poverty during the seventeenth century. While it was decided that including the material from Amsterdam in this thesis would mask other smaller regional differences, a larger study could compare the drinking material from Amsterdam with artefacts from the rest of the country to see exactly how extreme the differences are, and whether Amsterdam has its own regional identity. This would be particularly interesting if combined with status profiles, to determine just how the resources of Amsterdam were utilised in the household assemblage. To develop status profiles as a method of analysis in the rest of the country, it would be advantageous to test the method further against more published sites, especially those which have previous historic research, to confirm the known status of the household against the excavated material. This method could also be extended into the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, if appropriate value groups could be constructed for material culture of these periods. Additionally this method could also be extended to include other forms of domestic material culture, as well as drinking vessels, to create a broader-based view of status.

In order to truly recognise national patterns of artefact use, and the development and expression of a Dutch identity, another potential study should examine material from Dutch cities in comparison to those of other cities in Europe. On-going and forthcoming research in the southern Netherlands and Antwerp by Danielle Caluwé and Natasha Reijns amongst others, would be a good starting point for a comparison between the material culture of the republic and their contemporary neighbours. For neighbouring European countries, some analyses of contemporary material have already been produced in recent years, such as the newly published study of excavated French glass *La Verrerie archéologique* by Hubert Cabart (2011), and Willmott's *Early Post-Medieval vessel glass in*

England (2002). German material has been described in part by Edgar Ring in *Glaskultur in Niedersachsen* (2003). A comparison of material from the Dutch republic with that of other European countries would help to illuminate just how different Dutch consumption patterns were, and whether the view of a nation-wide commonality of artefact use can be justified. Previous studies have begun the process of comparing Dutch excavated material with artefacts excavated in the New World and other colonial regions to determine if identifiably 'Dutch' material culture continued to be used, and at what point colonies began to assert their own tastes and identity differently. An overview of New World Dutch ceramic material types has been undertaken by Schaefer (1998), and other studies in the field include Cohen's (1981) study of the Dutch settlers in New Netherland; Janowitz, Morgan and Rothschild (1985), and particularly work by Paul Huey on the material culture of Fort Orange (1988). A more detailed understanding of Dutch consumption patterns and material culture use would aid in further studies of this kind, and further help to understand just how the Dutch expressed and understood their personal and national identity during the dramatic changes of the seventeenth century.

Fig. 13. 2. (1). *Een drinkend paar* by Jan Havicksz. Steen (1660 – 1679). RM Inv. SK-C-233.
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