

A Walk Around the Block on Vlooienburg (1650-1700)

People, Places and Property in the Jewish Neighborhood of Amsterdam

Maarten Hell

Independent historian

maartenhell@gmail.com

Abstract

In early modern Amsterdam, Vlooienburg was the heart of the Jewish Quarter. The vibrant neighborhood was the home of Sephardic and Ashkenazic Jews, as well as German and Scandinavian Lutherans, Dutch Protestants and Catholics, French and Walloon Huguenots, English Puritans, and a small Black community. Recent spatial historical research sheds new light on these seventeenth-century inhabitants and provides insight about where they lived, their religious backgrounds, families, occupations, daily life, and material culture. For example, only a short walk around the southeastern building block provides a good deal of information about the living conditions of surgeons, bakers, bookkeepers, widows, servants, innkeepers, gamblers, prostitutes, printers – and, not least, the Sephardic merchant and writer, Gaspar Méndez del Arroyo, alias Abraham Idaña.

Keywords: Amsterdam, Jewish Quarter, Vlooienburg, Abraham Idaña (1623-1690), spatial history

Introduction

Walking around the town hall and opera building (Stopera), next to the Amstel River, it is hard to conceive that this used to be the beating heart of the Jewish Quarter of Amsterdam.¹ On the walls of the public passage fake street signs are reminders of the long-forgotten topography of an island that

¹ This contribution is based on my Norman E. Alexander Lecture 2021 for Columbia University Libraries and the research was done as part of the NWO project Diaspora and Identity. I would

was once called Vlooienburg. Yet, the actual fabric and infrastructure of the multi-ethnic neighborhood have completely disappeared. Historians commemorate Vlooienburg as center of the Jewish Quarter of Amsterdam and home of famous inhabitants, like Menasseh ben Israel and Baruch Spinoza. Yet, they prefer to evoke a romantic, vague view rather than identify the original residents, their locations and material heritage. For instance, Simon Schama writes eloquently but erroneously about ‘shipyards’ on the island and dirty water ‘brimming over from the canals and the river’ in the back alleys. Schama and other authors paint a rather superficial image of a vibrant neighborhood, with noisy industries and poor Ashkenazim cramped in wooden houses in back alleys, yet otherwise remain silent about the island and its inhabitants. In reference works on Dutch Jewry, Vlooienburg is totally absent or merely mentioned in passing, although it was the cradle of the largest Jewish community of the Netherlands.²

Adam Sutcliffe used a more analytical approach of the topography of the Jewish Quarter of Amsterdam and its Sephardic residents. He concluded that Sephardim here ‘remained geographically and economically highly concentrated’, compared to eighteenth-century London where they lived ‘somewhat isolated or highly assimilated’. In Amsterdam, according to Sutcliffe, there was less assimilation of the Sephardim, in part because they were active in ‘a relatively narrow range of commercial activities’.³ Sutcliffe derived his knowledge about seventeenth-century Vlooienburg from a single contemporary city description, that by the German writer Philipp von Zesen. Like other historians, he was unaware of the actual spatial population distribution and social interactions between the multiplicity of ethnic groups on the island. An inquiry into the residents of Vlooienburg and their background and families, their exact location and their belongings and consumption patterns could bring us closer to the people who resided in this part of Amsterdam in the early modern period. Instead of fantasizing about life on Vlooienburg, it is possible to paint a broader picture of the residents, their social position and their material legacy. This requires a different approach, rather relying on spatial micro history – or even ‘nano history’ – and relevant primary sources than fabricated fiction. In this reconstruction of a part of Vlooienburg in the

like to thank Tirtsah Levie Bernfeld for her generous assistance, Michelle Chesner for retrieving Idaña’s manuscript and Benjamin Roberts for proofreading.

2 Bodian, *Hebrews*, 46; Blom, Fuks-Mansfeld and I. Schöffner (eds.), *The History of the Jews*; Fuks-Mansfeld, *Sefardim*; Swetschinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans*; Michman, *Pinkas*; Schama, *Belonging*, 162; same author, *Rembrandt’s Eyes*, 432; Nadler, *Menasseh ben Israel*, 19-20.

3 Sutcliffe, “Identity, Space and Intercultural Contact,” 96, 105-106.



Vlooienburg around 1895. Detail from Panorama van Amsterdam. Photo: G.H. Heinen, ca. 1895. ACA, image no. ANWR0025600001.

second half of the seventeenth century, we will observe the main residents from one building block from close range, in the structural frame of a historical city walk.

Overview: Demolished heart of the Jewish Quarter

During the last decades of the sixteenth century, the booming city of Amsterdam in the Dutch Republic became a safe haven for refugees and economic migrants from all over war-torn Europe. Burgeoning numbers of migrants forced the local magistrates to provide more space for housing and industry. In 1596-97, they built a rectangular man-made island in the Amstel River, surrounded by three canals. Because of the previous floods, the island became known as *Vloeyenburch* ('Flooding Borough') which became *Vlooienburg*. Initially the island provided space for trade and was used to store timber and firewood, hence toponyms like *Houtgracht* ('Wood Canal') and *Houtstraat* ('Wood Street'). Four blocks of houses were constructed and, in 1657, the municipality earmarked a significant part of the district for the Dutch Reformed orphanage (*Diaconieweeshuis*), which became the home of hundreds of Protestant boys and girls. The orphans and other members of the Reformed denomination, including many timber merchants, became members of the Southern Church (*Zuiderkerk*) in the Sint Antoniesbreestraat around the corner. Besides these residents, an amalgam of religious dissenters

established themselves on the island: Roman Catholics, Lutherans, radical English Puritans (Brownists) and Jews and *conversos* from all over Europe.⁴

The strong Jewish presence on Vlooienburg began around 1610 with Sephardim from the Iberian Peninsula, followed by several migration waves of Ashkenazic Jews from Eastern Europe. In contrast with the situation in most other European towns, Jews in Amsterdam were not segregated from gentiles but lived side by side with other denominations in the neighborhood, with Vlooienburg as its center. The Jewish newcomers also took up residence on the Jodenbreestraat and the surrounding area. Later, impoverished Ashkenazim inhabited the less prominent man-made islands of Marken and Uilenburg while, from the 1660s onwards, wealthy Sephardic merchants, entrepreneurs and bankers preferred living on the new canals (*Nieuwe Herengracht*, *Nieuwe Keizersgracht*). This spatial segregation divided the Jewish Quarter into upscale living along the canals and less expensive housing in streets and back alleys. Even within the island of Vlooienburg itself, there was some spatial segregation. For example, the Zwanenburgerstraat, established in the 1660s next to the Amstel River, and the surrounding canals, were more upscale than the inner streets, while the back alleys were primarily inhabited by lower-income groups from all denominations.⁵

Vlooienburg was a popular place to settle for immigrants due to its cheap and available housing. Particularly attractive for Jewish settlers were the proximity of coreligionists, places of worship, and socio-religious institutions, such as schools, a kosher meat hall, and ritual baths. The numbers of Jewish inhabitants in Amsterdam increasingly grew in the course of the century, and around 1730, the Ashkenazic community outnumbered that of the Sephardim (9,000 to 4,554, respectively). By the time of the census of 1795, 3,425 men, women, and children, less than a third of the total Jewish population of Amsterdam, resided on Vlooienburg. The average family size was 4.2 persons, and the average number of house dwellers was 19.5. About one-fifth (768 persons) of all residents on the island in 1795 were gentiles, and a majority of them were Roman Catholics and Lutherans.⁶ Considering this mixed population and the freedom of settlement, Amsterdam's Jewish Quarter was by no means a ghetto, like the ones known in some cities in

4 The earliest history of Vlooienburg in Van Eeghen, "Vlooienburg," 17-23; Gawronski, Jayasena and IJzerman, "Gelaagde stad," 28-42.

5 Levie and Zantkuyl, *Wonen in Amsterdam*, 57; Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad*, 157-161; Lesger and Van Leeuwen, "Residential segregation," 364-365.

6 Levie Bernfeld, *Poverty*, 252, table 31; Farret, Verster and Van Swinden, *Rapport over de telling*, 17.

Italy and Germany. In the nineteenth century, poverty and dilapidation turned Vlooienburg into a depressed area. In 1882, two of the surrounding canals were drained and filled, and became the home of the second-hand market at the new square (*Waterlooplein*), while the once distinguished Zwanenburgerstraat became an industrial zone where three diamond factories were located (ill. 1). In the early twentieth century, many houses were abandoned and demolished, and the population rapidly declined.⁷ During the German Occupation (1940-1945), the *Judenviertel* was fenced off, but the share of non-Jews was too significant to turn it into a restricted ghetto. In 1942-43, the last 1,409 Jewish residents of Vlooienburg were deported. One of them, the 37-year-old mats maker Marcus Werkheim, was one of the first deportees who was murdered in Auschwitz.⁸

In the winter of 1944, with the Jewish residents already deported and the houses empty, many of the buildings on Vlooienburg were stripped of all wood; some collapsed or had to be demolished. After the Liberation, the remaining spaces in the district were used as residences, offices for small companies, pubs, parking lots, and illicit business activities. The neighborhood went into further decline: many buildings were occupied by homeless people. In the post-war era, the municipal council had designated the run-down neighborhood as the location for a new city hall, despite modest objections in the press and fierce protests by the squatters' movement. In 1981-1982, prior to the construction of a mammoth new town hall combined with concert venue (Stopera), the building terrain was excavated.⁹ Archaeologists recovered one hundred houses in the two southern building blocks – between Zwanenburgerstraat and Lange Houtstraat – and the remnants of 95 cesspits. These were privies but also used for the disposal of domestic refuse, including household goods, animal waste, and personal objects. In the NWO research project *Diaspora and Identity*, archaeologists and historians studied these finds and discovered more about the material culture, diet, and the daily life of the population of early modern Vlooienburg.¹⁰

7 Reijnders, *Joodsche Natiën*, 78; Leydesdorff, *We Lived with Dignity*, 91-96.

8 Amsterdam City Archives (hereafter ACA), Archive 5180, inv.no. 12140, population and companies Waterlooplein 14 Feb. 1941; De Jong, *De bezetting*, 167; Roest and Scheren, *Oorlog*, 340-60.

9 Van Kempen and Berg (eds.), *Waterlooplein*; Sander, "Vloonburg," 59; De Liagre Böhl, "Rumoer," 72-73.

10 PhD's J. Bakker and M. Stolk write their dissertations about respectively diet and material culture, while the combined results of the NWO project will be published in a forthcoming monograph.

The historical research of Vlooienburg focused on identifying the original inhabitants, retrieving their exact location on the island, and finding evidence of their consumption patterns and material culture. This resulted in a data set of more than 350 principal residents in the early modern period (1600-1800), and their ‘address’ and background details, including family, occupation, daily life, religion, and possessions. Including information on their spouses, children, household personnel, lodgers and other dwellers, the data represents thousands of individuals, from all religious denominations, origins, and income groups.¹¹

Bakers, merchants, gamblers, and surgeons

Mapping and identifying the residents of Vlooienburg will contribute to the reconstruction of this multi-ethnic neighborhood that has completely disappeared. While many intellectual, religious, and socio-economic aspects of the resident Sephardim – and to a lesser extent the Ashkenazic Jews – have been explored, the spatial background of their habitat remains in the shadows. After research by Vaz Dias and others, we now know the residential locations of some people, including the parental home of Baruch Spinoza, who lived on the Houtgracht around 1650, and the home and printshop of Menasseh ben Israel on the Binnen-Amstel. Other residents, including famous merchants and printers, have not yet been located, while the common folks of Vlooienburg remain completely unknown. To recover the layout of the neighborhood and show its diversity, we will take a walk around the southeastern building block, situated between Lange Houtstraat, Leprozengracht, Zwanenburgerstraat, and Korte Houtstraat. For the period 1650-1700, most of the residents can be identified. The *4D Research Lab* of the University of Amsterdam created a digital reconstruction of the corner at the Lange Houtstraat (ill. 2), based on the relatively accurate map by Berckenrode from 1657. This location – roughly situated in the eastern covered gallery of the present Stopera building – will be the starting point of our tour around the block.¹²

Between 1651 and 1665, the house at the right of the crossroads (ill. 4A) had a bakery, which was operated by Johannes Franck. He was a Lutheran migrant

11 Key sources for the historical research were the banns of marriage (*ondertrouwakten*), the extensive Notarial Archives (ACA, Archive 5075, hereafter: NA), Judicial Archives (Archive 5061) and the insolvency chamber (Archive 5072). Evidence about ownership was collected by H. Bonke, who kindly shared his notes.

12 Vaz Dias and Van der Tak, “Spinoza”; Dudok van Heel, “Rembrandt.”



Impression of the Lange Houtstraat at the corner of the Korte Houtstraat on Vlooienburg, around 1650. Mikko Kriek/Tijm Lanjouw, 4D Research Lab, University of Amsterdam, 2020.

from Andernach in Rheinland-Pfalz (Germany) and was nicknamed ‘redhead’. Franck started as an apprentice in the bakery at the opposite corner of the Lange Houtstraat. Once married to the daughter of his master, he was quickly promoted after his father-in-law passed away. In 1651, the baker Franck was able to buy this large building at the busiest corner of Vlooienburg. The Jewish Quarter had more than a dozen bakers, most of them Lutherans from Germany. They worked for the Jewish community, for example, baking matzo and other holiday specials, but also regular bread. Jews were prohibited from membership in the bakers’ guild, and even baking more than for their personal consumption or possessing significant stoves without consent from the magistrate was forbidden (by law in 1627). The baking process of the gentile bakers was supervised by paid officials of the Sephardic community, who made sure their baking complied with Jewish dietary laws. A busy time was the night before Passover, when matzo had to be prepared for the Jewish communities and its impoverished members in substantial quantities. On one of these nights, in 1682, a baker on Vlooienburg heated up his stoves for this purpose, when his fuel of brushwood and peat caught fire and the back house burned down (ill. 3).¹³

13 ACA, Archive 5020, inv.no. 13, fo. 118v, 14 Sept. 1627; Levie Bernfeld, *Poverty*, 90, 338 n. 97; Van der Heyden, *Beschryving*, 29.



Afbeelding van een Brood-baktery op Vlooienburg, met Rybessen beleide, en geheel agter en tussen andere Huizen inleiggende, in brandt geraakt en geblust den 13 April 1682, omtrent middernachte.

Figure d'une Boulangerie a Vlooienburg, toute entourée de Maisons, et Pleine alors de Fagots, ou le Feu se prit, et fut éteint le minuit du 13 Avril 1682.

Burnt-out bakery on Vlooienburg, 1682. Drawing by Jan van der Heyden in his *Beschryving der nieuwlijks uitgevonden en geotrojeerde slang-brand-sputten*, 1690. ACA, image no. 010001000083.

The first house in the Lange Houtstraat (ill. 4B), adjacent to the bakery, was the home of Jacob Vaz Martines (c.1646-after 1682). In 1666, this silk merchant from Madrid married a girl from his hometown, Hester Lopes Alvin. At the time of the wedding, she was thirteen years old, which was quite young, even for contemporary Jewish marriage standards.¹⁴ Vaz Martines first resided in the Zwanenburgerstraat, but in 1668 bought the house in the Lange Houtstraat, at the other side of the block. He was able to pay the full amount in cash. In the same year (1668), he objected to the capital tax (*zooste penning*), a levy of 0.5 percent on his equity. According to Vaz Martines, his estimated capital (15,000 guilders) was too high, and indeed, in 1674, the appraisers reduced it to 1,000 guilders. Judging from his account at the Exchange Bank, Vaz Martines was not a petty merchant. For handling extensive financial transactions, merchants had an account at this bank, enabling cashless payments. The trade turnover of Vaz Martines (averaging 19,000 guilders between 1668 and 1670) was significantly higher than the average balance of most banking clients in this period (4,000 guilders). Among his trading partners were cashiers from the East and West India Companies and the Portuguese business elite, including Antonio alias Isaac Israel Lopes Suasso and David Curiel alias Lopo Ramires. In 1682, Vaz Martines left Vlooienburg and settled in England.¹⁵

Jacob Vaz Martines's neighbor in the Lange Houtstraat to the left (ill. 4C) was the widow of a Protestant porter. Next to her, behind the lower building, the 1657-map by Berckenrode shows the l-shape contours of a large entertainment complex (ill. 4D). This building was part tavern and part indoor tennis court (*kaatsbaan* in Dutch), and was owned and initially operated by Christians. In the seventeenth century the ball game *kaatsen* had been extremely popular, but in the 1690s it was replaced by *kolven*, which is somewhat similar to today's golf. After the area went into decline, the tavern became a brothel where Jewish and gentile youngsters met Christian prostitutes. Around 1680, it had become a notorious gambling den, managed by Jan Sabbatai Sena (1654-after 1703). Sena, who was a non-practicing Jew from Rome, had an illicit relationship with a Christian woman. In his gambling establishment, he used crooked dices and rigged playing cards to empty the pockets of local patrons and sailors and soldiers that just arrived back from the Dutch East Indies. After several police raids, in 1710 the public

14 Van Weeren and De Moor, *Ja ik will*, 79, 238 n. 19.

15 ACA, inv.no. 5061, nv.nr. 317, pp. 216-217, 30 August 1667 [Zwanenburgerstraat]; Archive 5028, inv.no. 684, inv.no. 662, fo. 575; index marriage banns 5 March 1666; Archive 5077, inv. nos. 66-70; Dehing, *Geld*, 142; Oppenheim, "List of Jews," 112.



Walking tour around the south-eastern building block of Vlooienburg. Detail of Amstelredamum Emporium Hollandiae Primarium Totiusq Europae Celeberrimum, map by Balthazar Florisz van Berckenrode printed by Jacob Aertsz. Colom in 1657. ACA, image no. UZFA00037000001.

house was closed down. Under new ownership, the former entertainment complex was turned into stables.¹⁶

Both houses to the left of the tennis court (ill. 4E) were owned by Imanuel Benveniste (1608-1665), a talented Sephardic printer from Venice. Amsterdam offered him better opportunities for the distribution of Hebrew books. This expanding market served local coreligionists as well as foreign Jewish communities, such as in Poland and the Levant. One of the best-known Hebrew works that Benveniste published was his uncensored edition of the Babylonian Talmud (1644-48). In 1640 he purchased the two adjacent houses in the Lange Houtstraat, in one of which he established his print shop. His personnel included a mix of Jews and Christians, who worked for him as compositors and servants, and his book production was mainly financed by gentile businessmen. After his publishing career ended, in 1663, Benveniste purchased a farm on the outskirts of Amsterdam at the Diemermeer, and owned a barge

16 ACA, index transport deeds 27 April 1733; Hell, *Herberg*, 240, 281.

for transporting dairy products from his fifteen cows. Benveniste, his second wife Hester, their young son, and their Christian maid resided at the farm, while the actual agricultural work was done by a farming couple.¹⁷ Benveniste also generated additional income by letting rooms in his houses on Vlooienburg. This was common practice on the island, where real estate was rented per floor or even in smaller units. In 1656, two Sephardic women shared one of Benveniste's apartments on the second floor. Beatris Rodrigues, the widow of Antonio de Lucena, lived on the front side of the building, while Leonarda Nunes lived on backside. Both women had fled from Seville to escape the Inquisition and came to Amsterdam where they could openly practice their faith. Nunes fled together with her Catholic maid servant, who also converted to Judaism, much to the dismay of her mother in Spain. In 1656, the mother had hired kidnappers to bring the daughter back, but they failed, due to the intervention of Jewish neighbors and protection of the judicial authorities.¹⁸

To the left of Benveniste's houses lived a Black woman named Fela (ill. 4F). We only know of her existence because when she was buried at the nearby graveyard of Saint Anthoniskerkhof in 1658, she was registered as living at this address. Presumably, Fela worked as maidservant, which probably explains why she is only registered by her first name and not her surname. Most of the Blacks in seventeenth-century Amsterdam resided in the back alleys of Vlooienburg and the Jodenbreestraat, after they were brought by Sephardic merchants from Africa, Brazil and the Caribbean. Since slavery was forbidden in Amsterdam, they had to be paid for their services. Besides being employed as domestic servants, blacks worked as sailors and soldiers, and also as actors.¹⁹ Continuing further, we walk pass the house of Leonora Gomes (ill. 4G), who rented her place out to a shopkeeper. Her neighbor to the left (ill. 4H) rented his house to Jacob Barocas Henriques, a merchant from Livorno. This is not the same Jacob Barocas who translated Spanish plays for the Amsterdam theatre, who lived nearby in the Korte Houtstraat. Jacob Barocas Henriques and his family tried their luck in Brazil, but after the capitulation of Recife (1654) they were forced to leave and went to the French isle of Martinique. In 1661, they returned destitute to Holland, where

17 In 1664, there was a violent incident between the printer's wife and the farmers, see ACA, NA 3187/208-208vo, notary H. Outgers, 9 Sept. 1664. NA 1591/293, notary W. Hasen, 24 Dec. 1640; NA 2261B/1131-1136, notary A. Lock, 22 March 1665; NA 2261B/1185, 17 June 1665. Heller, *Printing*, Chapter 2; Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography*, 146-53.

18 ACA, Archive 5061, inv.no. 267, fos. 177, 358, 364; Van Eeghen, "Ghana Lopes"; Israel, *Empires*, 408; Matute y Luquin, *Colección*, 56, 195-196.

19 ACA, index burial records 11 Sept. 1658; Albach, "Morianen"; Ponte "Al de swarten," 48-50.

Barocas Henriques died, and his widow and children received a financial handout from the Sephardic community.²⁰

The second house next to the Barocas Henriques residence was called the 'Red Horse' (*Rode Paard*) (ill. 4I) and was rented by the Jewish surgeon and barber Samuel de Crasto (c.1593-1677), an immigrant from Bordeaux. In 1636, he was interrogated by the sheriff about selling stolen goods. Six years later, De Crasto lost his first wife and remarried Judith Israel from Aveiro, Portugal. Surgeons treated flesh wounds and fractures, administered amputations and bloodlettings, and removed urinary stones, while barbers were specialized in shaving beards and cutting hair but also provided medical treatment. Both professions were less respected than university-educated medical doctors, such as Ephraim Bueno, who was a model for Rembrandt and also resided on Vlooienburg, at the corner of the Korte Houtstraat and Houtgracht. Before 1674²¹, Jewish surgeons were banned from the local surgeons guild. Afterwards they had the same status as quacks: by paying a substantial admission fee they were allowed to practice their profession, as long as they did not provide medical care to non-Jewish patients. In the 1660s, De Crasto was one of the regular surgeons and barbers on the payroll of *Bikur Holim*, the organization of the Portuguese community providing medical care for their sick and poor. After the house Red Horse was sold to the merchant Jacob Delmonte alias Del Sotto, in 1662, the surgeon had to move. The new owner renovated the house. In 1670, it was rented by his nephew Isaac de los Rios (1632-1701), the son of the well-to-do merchant Joseph de los Rios.²²

Printer's paradise

At the end of the Lange Houtstraat (ill. 4J), just before the corner at the Leprozengracht, resided Joshua Sarphati Pina (c.1625-1681). This accountant and writer published a best-selling study about international money transfer.

20 ACA, NA 1138/295, notary J. van de Ven, 20 Sept. 1661; Archive 5044, inv.no. 281, fo. 172v; Archive 334, inv.no. 24, p. 15v, Elul 5421; inv.no. 174, p. 483, 5422; *ibid.*, p. 461, 5422; *ibid.*, p. 474, 5422; *ibid.*, p. 486, 5422; Levie Bernfeld, *Poverty*, 38; Wiznitzer, "Exodus"; Jautze, Álvarez Francés and Blom, "Spaans theater," 32-33.

21 Based on Bloom (*Activities* 23, 67-68), Swetschinsky (*Reluctant Cosmopolitans*, 21) contends that the surgeon's guild 'never excluded Jews', cf. Cohen, "Joodse chirurgijns," 2235-2236.

22 ACA, Archive 334, inv.no. 215, p. 232-3; index marriage banns 20 July 1622 and 21 August 1642; Archive 5061, inv.no. 301, 8-9 Feb., 27 Feb., 8 March 1636; Archive 5044, inv.no. 281, fo. 173; Archive 334, inv.no. 520A, p. 87 notary A. Lock, 20 Aug. 1670; Levie Bernfeld, *Poverty*, 108-11, 364, n. 316; Hagoort, "Del Sotto's," 42, n. 59.



Gravestone of Leonore de Paz alias Ester Levy Maduro (ca.1609-1666) at Beth Haim in Ouderkerk. Photo: T. Levie Bernfeld, 2021.



At the left, the former house of Leonore de Paz alias Ester Levy Maduro, when it was demolished in the 1890s. Anonymous photographer, Archive Office for Monuments and Archaeology, Amsterdam. ACA, image no. 012000001828.

From this address, Sarphati Pina sold copies of his book, and also financed and corrected the edition of a Jewish prayer book.²³ Around the corner, on the Leprozengracht, most houses were owned by Sephardim. In 1661, the widow Leonore de Paz alias Ester Levy Maduro (c.1609-1666) renovated her house (ill. 4K and 5B) and renamed it the Tabby Cat (*Cyperse Kat*). Her tombstone at Beth Haim, the Jewish cemetery in Ouderkerk, is also decorated with cats, probably alluding to her family crest (ill. 5A). Two houses further down (ill. 4L) resided David d'Aguilar alias David Arent Scherenberch (?-1673). He was the accountant and interpreter of the abovementioned Jacob del Sotto. In 1670, after serving his master for thirty years, Del Sotto received a generous bequest (20,000 guilders) from his legacy. D'Aguilar resided in the front house, the Black Kettle (*Zwarte Ketel*), and had two sugar refineries in the back part, named The Bath. This name referred to the hardware of a former dyehouse on this location.²⁴

²³ ACA, index marriage banns, 23 Dec. 1651. *Oprechte Haerlemsche courant* 25 Nov. 1670; Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography*, 287.

²⁴ Cf. Van Kempen and Berg (eds.), *Waterlooplein*, 59. NA 2889/10, 5 Jan. 1660, notary P. Padthuijzen; NA 3586/279 notary J. Snel 30 March 1670; Bloom, *Activities*, 39, 65; Hagoort, "Del Sottos," 36, 38.

Sugar refineries and dyehouses were not the only businesses that dominated the neighbourhood. Vlooienburg also had a flourishing Hebrew book printing industry. Besides Benveniste in the Lange Houtstraat, the first and foremost professional printer, Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel, resided at the Binnen-Amstel (modern address Zwanenburgerstraat 61), next to the house at the corner of the Leprozengracht (ill. 4M).²⁵ The rabbi lived together with his brother-in-law, the broker Jonah Abrabanel, and both their families. Menasseh ben Israel loved his neighborhood, where he established his print shop and witnessed Jews and Christians living together in harmony. After he passed away in 1657, followed by his brother-in-law in 1662, his brother-in-law's son became the main resident. This merchant-doctor, Joseph Abrabanel Barboza (1631-1709), studied medicine at the University of Leiden. In 1655, he started as a doctor in Amsterdam, and 19 years later his equity was assessed at 24,000 guilders, together with his brother Menasseh Abrabanel.²⁶

Seven houses to the left of doctor Barboza (ill. 4N) was the first location of another famous printing company of the Sephardic Joseph Athias (1635-1700). Athias' father had stayed behind in Spain and was burned alive at the auto-da-fe in Córdoba (29th June 1665), together with almost a hundred coreligionists. Athias commemorated this inhuman tragedy on the title pages of his editions, and Daniel Levi de Barrios wrote a long poem in honor of the victims (*Contra la verdad no hay fuerça*). Joseph Athias was the first Jewish printer to be admitted to the craft guild of Amsterdam (1661). Most of the actual printing was done by Dutchmen and Ashkenazic Jews, and occasionally by Portuguese Jews. For his first publication of a Hebrew Bible, in October 1658, Athias hired the presses of Jan Bruyningh, a Protestant printer on the Lange Houtstraat (ill. 4U).²⁷ In 1667, Athias published his Hebrew bible with the official approval of both Jewish and Christian scholars. This was not his only multi-confessional project: together with the Catholic printer's widow Schippers, he published tens of thousands of Christian Bibles in all sizes for the English and Scottish markets. Athias was able to print such

25 The house was owned by his brother-in-law and the location is mentioned in all relevant marriage registers. See also: Dudok van Heel, "Rembrandt".

26 The numerous ointment jars in the cesspit behind his house [object nos. WLO-306-24-30] could relate to his medical profession. ACA, Archive 27, inv.no. 20A, p. 8; Archive 5028, inv.no. 662, f. 572v; marriage bann 29-3-1658; Dudok van Heel, "Rembrandt".

27 This attempt was frustrated by 'a man from Leiden', probably Nisselius. ACA, NA 2206/991, notary A. Lock, 27 June 1659. Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography*, 289-93; Swetschinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolists*, 153; Dunkelgrün, "Johannes Leusden," 20-23.



Household goods from the cesspit behind the home of Menasseh ben Israel and his brother-in-law Jonah Abrabanel in the Zwaneburgerstraat. Clockwise: ointment jar (WLO-306-26); chamber pot (WLO-312-6); candle holder (WLO-312-15); serving dish or *grabbelbakje* (WLO-305-1). Photo's: Office for Monuments and Archaeology (MenA), Amsterdam.

large quantities in limited time because he used an innovative technique with stereotypes, which required large capital investments.²⁸

Before he married in 1663, Joseph Athias rented the house in the Zwaneburgerstraat. His new wife, Isabella Duarte, alias Rahel Abolais, lived in the busier Sint Antoniesbreestraat, and he probably moved in with her.²⁹ Athias sold Jewish publications, like Ashkenazic prayer books, from his house (*Wapen van Engeland*) on that street, while he rented a warehouse in the Zandstraat for storage purposes. In or before 1675, Athias moved to another location in the Zwaneburgerstraat (ill. 4V), next to the corner of the Korte Houtstraat.³⁰ He rented a house called the *Prophet Elia*, from

28 Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography*, 288-290.

29 ACA, index transport deed 1 Nov. 1660; index marriage banns 4 May 1663.

30 Joseph Athias never lived in at the corner of the old Muiderveer, which house was owned by his nephew and his business associate, cf. Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography*,

the Sephardic merchant Abraham Pinheiro. The corner house – property of Athias’ sister-in-law Leonora Duarte and her husband, jeweler Gabriel Alvares – was probably rented to his business associate, the widow Schippers, who was obliged to reside nearby.³¹ In 1685, Athias and Schippers relocated to a newly-built house at the Nieuwe Herengracht, where he lived together with his son and business partner Immanuel, his family, and the Christian head-servant Jan Bus. The remaining property was spacious enough to be used for printing presses, type-foundry, to store supplies, and for other business facilities. Eleven years later, in 1696, Athias went broke and had to hide from his creditors.³² After his death in 1700, his cabinet containing the steel punches and matrices to produce Hebrew fonds survived.³³

Museum and more merchants

Next to the first location of Athias in the Zwanenburgerstraat was a sugar refinery (ill. 4O), which was managed and owned by a German Lutheran family. In 1639 the painter Rembrandt and his spouse Saskia lodged here, before moving to their new home in the Jodenbreestraat, the current Rembrandt House. Two houses further down from the refinery was the noisy workplace of a coppersmith from Hamburg, another Lutheran (ill. 4P). His neighbor was also an artisan, a Reformed carpenter (ill. 4Q).³⁴ Halfway down the Zwanenburgerstraat, we take a sharp right turn into the Korte Houtstraat. Here, in the house named after the naval hero *Admiraal Tromp* (ill. 4R) lived the second Jewish surgeon, Isaac Baruch Bueno.³⁵ Just like Samuel de Crasto, he was on the payroll of the Sephardic community and took care of their poor members. Baruch administered bloodletting to his patients and prescribed them ‘hirudin’, an anticoagulant substance produced by leeches.

290, 295, and Van Eeghen, *Boekhandel*, Vol. 3, 149. *Oprechte Haerlemsche courant* 14 Dec. 1669; *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.* 2 July 1667.

31 ACA, NA 3595/233 notary J. Snel, 30 Jan. 1675.

32 ACA, Archive 5072, inv.no. 620, fos. 59v-64; I.H. van Eeghen, *Boekhandel*, Vol. 4, 102-14; Levie Bernfeld, “Matters Matter,” 209; Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography*, 300.

33 The Athias Cabinet is on display at the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam, while the typesetter’s case is on loan at the Jewish History Museum. Offenbergh, “Athias Cabinet”.

34 ACA, NA 4169, notary D. van der Groe, 5 August 1694; index marriage banns 3 Dec. 1694, 4 May 1641.

35 Cohen (“Chirurgijns,” 2237) mistakenly identifies him as Abraham Baruch de Castro from Burgos. ACA, index marriage banns, 15 July 1695 [son David Baruch Bueno]; index transport deeds 12 Nov. 1686.

In 1683, Baruch was reprimanded for refusing to pay his contribution to the surgeon's guild. His two sons, David and Joseph, who were born out of wedlock with Gratia de Crasto, later followed in his footsteps and became surgeons.³⁶

Down the Korte Houtstraat a bit (ill. 4S) was the first religious museum of the Dutch Republic. This was founded in the home of the Hebrew teacher and writer Jacob Jehudah Leon 'Templo' (1602-1675). Outside the building hung a sign on the awning displaying Solomon's Temple. Visitors from all over Europe paid a small admission fee to admire his wooden scale model of Solomon's Temple of Jerusalem, the Tabernacle, and a display of the Jewish journey through Egypt. In the museum, Leon Templo sold prints and editions of his book with pictures of the temple. In 1661, he was reprimanded by the Mahamad for being open and displaying his model on the sabbath and other holy days. In the same year, Leon Templo ordered his daughter and her husband to leave the house. As an incentive to get them out, he promised them their share of the entrance fees. Nevertheless, as they suffered from economic hardships and had three children to feed, the Mahamad forced Templo to support them. One of his sons, the broker Eliau Jeudad de Leao, also benefited from the entrance fees. He was active in the religious community: he had studied with Saul Levi Mortera, wrote Torah texts as a *sofer* and restored Torah and Esther scrolls. By 1662, it was time to spread his wings and rent his own house with his wife. Templo gave him 50 guilders per annum, on the condition that he would stop bringing visitors to the museum.³⁷

Templo also displayed his religious models at fairs in other Dutch cities, and in 1675 even in London and at the court of Charles II. The new Portuguese synagogue, which slightly resembled the architecture of the temple, was consecrated that same year. However, Leon Templo did not live to see that, as he had died a month earlier. In the eighteenth century the scale model mysteriously disappeared, but it was reconstructed in 1990.³⁸

36 ACA, Archive 366, inv.no. 213, fo. 4; Archive 334, inv.no. 215, pp. 232-3; index marriage banns, 24 Nov. 1679; Cohen, "Chirurgijns," 2237-2238; Levie Bernfeld, *Poverty*, 211, 364, n. 316.

37 ACA, index marriage banns 9 Nov. 1656; Archive 334, inv.no. 21, between p. 15 and 16, 5422, 12 elul [27 August 1662]; inv.no. 334, 1052, fo. 31/41v, 34/44, 34v/44v; inv.no 1116, p. 24/46, 5418; *ibid.*, p. 39/76, 5421; inv.no. 215, p. 21, 5423, 29 Elul; *ibid.*, p. 219, 1 Nisan. Levie Bernfeld, *Poverty*, 89-90, 338, n. 96.

38 This model by Freek Putto belongs to the collection of the Bijbels Museum in Amsterdam. ACA, index transport deeds 12 Feb. 1647; Archive 334, inv.no. 19, p. 493, 5421 [1661]. Offenbergh, "Jacob Jehuda Leon"; same author, "Jacob Jehudah Leon en zijn tempelmodel."



Self-portrait by Abraham Idaña, in Libro yntitulado Providencia de dios [...] (Amsterdam 1683). MS Spinoza 193Sp4 FM68, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Libraries, NYC.

Diagonally across from the temple museum on the Korte Houtstraat (ill. 4T) was the home of Gaspar Méndez del Arroyo, alias Abraham Idaña (1623-1690; ill. 7). He was born in Don Benito, a village between Madrid and the border with Portugal, in the current province of Badajoz. In 1660, after agents of the Inquisition pursued him, Méndez del Arroyo, who had been a well-to-do merchant in Madrid, was forced to leave behind a good business reputation, friends, and a third of his equity. Méndez del Arroyo, his wife Clara Lopez,³⁹ and their two young sons – twelve and fourteen years old – managed to cross the French border. They travelled north to the Dutch Republic and sought refuge in Amsterdam, where they converted to Judaism. Gaspar Méndez del Arroyo adopted the name of Abraham Idaña, which reveals a Portuguese background (referring to a village in the eastern district of Castelo-Branco), while his wife changed her first name from Clara to Sara. Five years later, an effigy of the couple was burned at the stake during the forementioned auto-da-fé of Córdoba, where also the father of the printer Joseph Athias was executed.⁴⁰

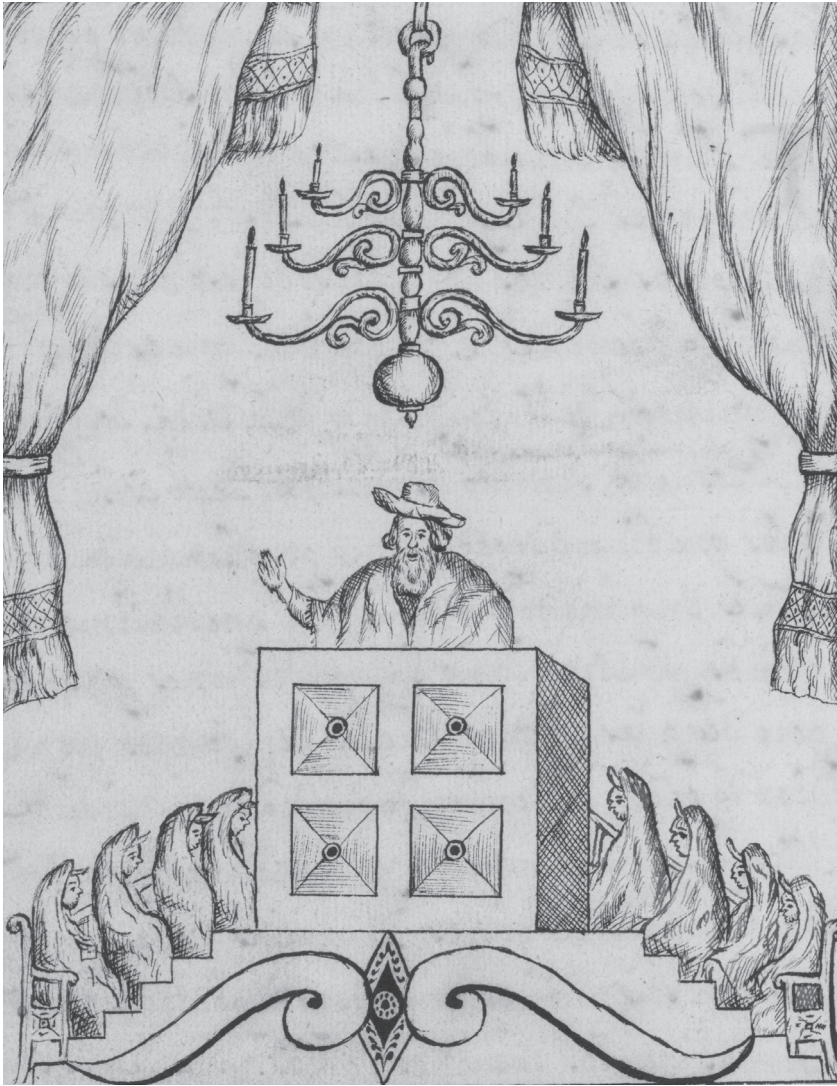
In Amsterdam, Abraham Idaña settled down in Vlooienburg. In July 1661, he paid 5,140 guilders for a house in the Korte Houtstraat (ill. 4T), which became their new home. A year later, he purchased another property, the house *Saint Peter* across the island of Vlooienburg at the Leprozenburgwal, for 4,700 guilders.⁴¹ These substantial expenditures indicate that this religious refugee had been able to bring money or valuables from his home country. By renting the lower floors of his house in the Houtstraat to a Dutch couple, Idaña supplemented his annual income by 260 guilders. The tenant, a wine merchant, resided at another address, so he probably used this location for storage facilities or as public drinking house. This would explain the stipulation in the rental contract, that prohibited gambling, domestic disturbances, or other indecencies. Idaña, his wife and their two sons themselves lived in the two rooms on the upper floor. The youngest son, Isaac, later moved out to the nearby Houttuinen, where he was employed as a diamond cutter. In January 1675, he married a local Sephardic woman, and only a few months later his older brother Jacob married a sixteen-year-old girl from Spain.⁴² In his new hometown,

39 Their Spanish names are mentioned in Herrera, *Auto general de la fee* [unpaginated].

40 Teensma, "Fragmenten."

41 ACA, Archive 5067, inv.no. 9, fo. 255; Archive 5066, inv.no. 18, fos. 134-134v; Archive 5062, inv.no. 53, fo. 31v, 31 Aug. 1662 [Saint Peter].

42 ACA, NA 3074/1-2, notary H. Friesma, 1 Jan. 1663; index marriage banns 11 Jan. 1675 and 4 Oct. 1675.



Saul Levi Mortera by Abraham Idaña, in Libro yntitulado Providencia de dios [...] (Amsterdam 1683). MS Spinoza 193Sp4 FM68, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Libraries, NYC.

Abraham Idaña continued his commercial business. Among his trading partners were other Sephardic Jews, as was registered in his account at the Exchange Bank. One of them was the forementioned silk merchant Vaz Martines, who lived around the corner. Compared to Vaz Martines'

account, Idaña generated a modest turnover.⁴³ He also was involved in high-risk short selling (*actiehandel*), but after the stock market collapsed in 1672 and the shares of the Dutch East Indies Company plummeted, he could not fulfill a payment and was threatened with a lawsuit.⁴⁴ In the tax register of 1674, Idaña's capital was assessed at 2,000 guilders, yet the combined value of his real estate already exceeded that amount. It seems that his business slowed down, though, and in 1676 he closed his bank account. The rental income from both houses amounted to a total of six hundred guilders per annum, which was similar to the income of the *hazan* of the Sephardic community, and twice as much as the average wage of a craftsman.⁴⁵

Reaching the respectable age of 60, in 1683, Abraham Idaña became active as a writer. The library of the Municipal Archives of Amsterdam has several manuscripts in Spanish, partly written by himself and partly copied by him. In the form of fake letters to his nemesis – a representative of the Spanish Inquisition in Madrid whom he ironically addressed as *mi amigo* – he praises and describes his new hometown in great detail, including the flourishing Sephardic community and its institutions and synagogues. In another letter dating from 1686, Idaña recounted his escape from the Iberian Peninsula and contends that this kind of suppression turned conversos into zealous religious Jews, like himself. Both letters seem to have been written to convince his coreligionists to flee Spain and migrate to Amsterdam, where there was religious freedom and where they could continue their commercial businesses.⁴⁶ The copies made by Idaña are polemical works against Christianity – Catholicism as well as Protestantism – with which he became acquainted after adopting Judaism. He was especially impressed by a manuscript of rabbi Saul Levi Mortera, the *Tratado da verdade da lei de Moisés*, a treatise that he had read in a Spanish translation (*Providencia de Dios con Ysrael*). Such theological-polemical works in Iberian languages, directed against Christianity, were kept out of print because of the internal censorship of the Jewish community and the regulation by the local magistrates of 1616 that warned not to speak or write against Christian religion, yet they circulated in manuscript. Between 1662 and 1664, the Sephardic

43 ACA, Archive 5077, inv.no. 69, p. 873; inv.no. 72, p. 873.

44 Petram (Stock exchange, 113, n. 67) misreads his name as 'Mendes de Garvoijs' ACA, NA 2239/683, notary A. Lock, 1 July 1672.

45 ACA, Archive 5028, inv.no. 662, fo. 575vo; Klein, *Trippen*, 264; Kaplan, "Jews," 138.

46 ACA, Library (15030), inv.no. 130527 (MS O 826), translated by Teensma ("Fragmenten" and "Beschrijving").

master calligrapher Luis Nunes Dovale alias Jehudah Machabeu⁴⁷ produced five copies of Mortera's treatise, each with its own distinctive artistic quality. Two of these are in Amsterdam, in the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana and the Ets Haim Library. Idaña transcribed his version⁴⁸ of Mortera's treatise in 1683, thirteen years after it had been written. This copy wound up in the collection of the German Spinoza-scholar Carl Gebhardt and eventually became part of the collection of the Columbia University Library, together with two other Spanish versions.⁴⁹

Abraham Idaña also included in his manuscript an illustration of Mortera (ill. 8) preaching at the pulpit in the new Portuguese synagogue. This primitive drawing is one of the rare portraits of the rabbi-philosopher, who was never depicted by Rembrandt, as Zwarts suggested in 1926, nor posthumously by the etcher Romeyn de Hooghe.⁵⁰ At the top of this drawing, Idaña depicted the same set of curtains as seen in his self-portrait and on the title page. These textiles are described in the inventory of his widow, after her death in 1693, as old woolen purple drapes. This leads us to the material possessions of Abraham Idaña, who himself died in 1690. His apartment on the second floor of the Korte Houtstraat was not elaborately furnished. The household had nine old chairs, a small table, six cheap paintings, kitchenware, and out of fashion textiles. His most valuable possessions included a few silver objects and two golden rings, which he bequeathed to his offspring, and had a total value of around 90 guilders. The inventory list even included pieces of broken pottery, which normally would have been tossed into the cesspit behind the house. In the 1980s, one of the objects archaeologists discovered was an earthenware *vuurtest*, which was used to heat a wooden foot stove with glowing coals (ill. 9). We can easily imagine that Abraham Idaña, who was not quite accustomed to the northern climate with its icy winters, used this to warm his Spanish feet.

47 Machabeu also falsified Spanish trade documents to trick Inquisition officials. Swetschinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolists*, 13, 121, n. 30; Salomon, *Traktaat*

48 *Libro yntitulado Providencia de dios con israel verdad y heternidad de la lei de moseh compuesto por ... Saul Levi Mortera ...*, to be found under signature MS Spinoza 193Sp4 FM68 in the collection of Spinoza Manuscript (Bindings) Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Columbia University, New York.

49 Salomon, *Traktaat*, lvi; Kaplan, "Jews," 139. Translation of the Spanish manuscript in English (Treatise on the Truth of the Law of Moses) by Kaplan, *Arguments*.

50 Cf. Alexander-Knotter, Hillegers and Van Voolen, *Rembrandt*, 34-37. Gebhardt (*Spinoza*, 16) describes Mortera's appearance as '*Haar- und Barttragt die des Ostjuden, aufgeworfene, plumpe Nase, fanatisch stechende kleine Augen*' ('hair and beard in fashion of the Ashkenazim, a pronounced, bulky nose and fanatic, stabbing eyes').



Earthenware *vuurtest* to heat a stove, pottery from cesspit 40, behind the house of Abraham Idaña. Office for Monuments and Archaeology (MenA), Amsterdam, WLO-163-8. Photo: Ron Tousain.

Through the self-portrait of Abraham Idaña, behind the window of his house in the heart of Vlooienburg, we know what he looked like. Archival documents tell us more about his wealth, possessions, and even the relationship he had with his gentile downstairs neighbors. However, not all inhabitants of Vlooienburg can be identified and localized in great detail. For some, the only evidence of their existence is a name, while for others, who might have been never registered, there is even less, as the archives from the early modern period are incomplete. For instance, it is noticeable that we did not encounter Ashkenazic Jews during the walk around the south-eastern block, which was largely dominated by Sephardic merchants and printers and Lutheran and French Protestant artisans and manufacturers. This can be explained by the fact that German Jews in majority settled in the two northern building blocks of the island, where in 1635, the first *minyán* celebrated Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, at home with *hazan* Ansjel Rood, and where later the Jews from Poland-Lithuania had their own synagogue – including a *mikwe*.⁵¹

Reconstructing the complete population of premodern Vlooienburg, including all subletters in the smallest interior alleys, seems to be an impossible

51 Sluys, *De oudste synagogen*, 5-9; Van Agt, *Synagogen in Amsterdam*.

task. Yet, a spatial historical approach can illuminate the multi-ethnic nature of the neighborhood, the residential distribution of the inhabitants and their mutual interaction at a microscopic level. Furthermore, we can learn more about the socio-economic status, profession, country of origin, gender, age, wealth, and other characteristics of the lesser known residents. Each kept within their own social networks, religious congregations, and other boundaries, but also worked, lived, loved, quarreled, fought and relaxed in close proximity.

Bibliography

- Agt, J.J.F.W. van. *Synagogen in Amsterdam*. The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij, 1974.
- Albach, B. "Morianen en morendansen op het toneel van de Amsterdamse schouwburg, 1648-1651." *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 13 (1997): 385-96.
- Alexander-Knotter, M., J. Hillegers and E. van Voolen (eds). *De 'joodse' Rembrandt: de mythe ontrafeld*. Zwolle: Waanders, 2006.
- Bloom, H.I. *The Economic Activities of the Jews in Amsterdam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Williamsport PA: Bayard P, 1937.
- Bodian, M. *Hebrews of the Portuguese nation: conversos and community in early modern Amsterdam*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.
- Cohen, D.E. "De Amsterdamsche joodse chirurgijns." *Nederlands Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde* 74, no. 1 (1930): 2234-2256.
- Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.* 2 July 1667.
- Dudok van Heel, S.A.C. "Rembrandt en Menasseh Ben Israël." *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* (1993), no. 1: 22-29.
- Dunkelgrün, T. "Never Printed like this Before". *Johannes Leusden, Joseph Athias, and the Hebrew Bible (1659-1667)*. Amsterdam: Menasseh ben Israel Instituut, 2014.
- Eeghen, I.H. van. *De Amsterdamse boekhandel 1680-1725*. Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema, 1967.
- Eeghen, I.H. van. "De befaamde drukkerij op de Herengracht over de Plantage (1685-1755)." *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 58 (1966): 82-100.
- Eeghen, I.H. van. "De geschiedenis van het eiland Vlooienburg." *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 40 (1953): 17-23.
- Eeghen, I.H. van. "De strijd om Anna of Ghana Lopes." *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 44 (1957): 30-31.
- Farret, J.P. A.G. Verster and J.H. van Swinden et al. *Rapport over de telling van het volk van Amsterdam*. Amsterdam: P. den Hengst, 1795.
- Fuks, L., and R.G. Fuks-Mansfeld. *Hebrew Typography in the Northern Netherlands, 1585-1815*. Leiden: Brill, 1987.

- Fuks-Mansfeld, R.G. *De Sefardim in Amsterdam tot 1795: aspecten van de ontwikkeling van een joodse minderheid in een Hollandse stad*. Hilversum: Verloren, 1989.
- Gawronski, J., R. Jayasena and S. IJzerman. "De gelaagde stad onder het Waterlooplein." *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 103, no. 1 (2016): 28-48.
- Gebhardt, C. *Spinoza*. Leipzig: Reclam, 1932.
- Hagoort, L. "The Del Sotto's. A Portuguese Jewish Family in Amsterdam in the Seventeenth Century." *Studia Rosenthaliana* 31, no. 1/2 (1997): 31-57.
- Hell, M. *De Amsterdamse herberg 1450-1800: geestrijk centrum van het openbare leven*. Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2017.
- Heller, M.J. *Printing the Talmud. Complete Editions, Tractates and Other Works, and the Associated Presses from the Mid-17th Century through the 18th Century*. Leiden: Brill, 2019.
- Herrera, P. de. *Auto general de la fee: laureadas las triunfadoras sienes de la religion chatolica [...]*. Cordova: Andres Carrillo de Paniagua, 1665.
- Heyden, J. van der. *Beschryving der nieuwljks uitgevonden en geotrojeerde slang-brand-spuiten*. Amsterdam: S. Emmering, 1968 (reprint edition of 1735).
- Israel, J.I. *Empires and Entrepots. The Dutch, the Spanish monarchy and the Jews, 1585-1713*. London: Hambledon Press, 1990.
- Jautze, K., Álvarez Francés, L. and F.R.E. Blom. "Spaans theater in de Amsterdamse Schouwburg (1638-1672). Kwantitatieve en kwalitatieve analyse van de creatieve industrie van het vertalen." *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 32, no. 1 (2016): 12-39.
- Jong, L. de. *De bezetting 1*. Amsterdam: Em. Querido's Uitgeverij, 1965.
- Kaplan, G. *Arguments against the Christian religion in Amsterdam by Saul Levi Morteira, Spinoza's Rabbi*. Amsterdam: AUP, 2017.
- Kaplan, Y. "The Jews in the Republic until about 1750: Religious, Cultural, and Social Life." In *The History of the Jews in the Netherlands*, edited by J.C.H. Blom, R.G. Fuks-Mansfeld and I. Schöffer, 116-163. Oxford; Portland, OR: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2002.
- Kempfen, K. van, and H. Berg (eds). *Waterlooplein – De buurt binnenstebuiten*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2020.
- Klein, P.W. *De Trippen in de 17e eeuw een studie over het ondernemingsgedrag op de Hollandse stapelmarkt*. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1965.
- Kuijpers, H.M.E.P. *Migrantenstad. Immigratie en sociale verhoudingen in 17e-eeuws Amsterdam*. Hilversum: Verloren, 2005.
- Lesger, C., and M.H.D. van Leeuwen. "Residential segregation from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century: evidence from the Netherlands", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 42, no. 3 (2012), 333-369.
- Levie, T. and H. Zantkuyl. *Wonen in Amsterdam in de 17de en 18de eeuw*. Amsterdam: Amsterdams Historisch Museum, 1980.

- Levie Bernfeld, T. "Matters Matter: Material Culture of Dutch Sephardim (1600-1750)." *Studia Rosenthaliana* 44, Mapping Jewish Amsterdam: The Early Modern Perspective (2012): 191-216.
- Levie Bernfeld, T. *Poverty and Welfare Among the Portuguese Jews in Early Modern Amsterdam* Littman Library of Jewish Civilization. Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2012.
- Leydesdorff, S. *We Lived with Dignity: The Jewish Proletariat of Amsterdam, 1900-1940*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994.
- Liagre Böhl, H. de. "Rumoer aan de Amstel: het Amsterdamse stadhuis en het muziektheater 1808-1998." *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 107 (2015).
- Matute y Luquin, G. *Coleccion de los autos generales i particulares de Fé, celebrados por el tribunal de la Inquisicion de Córdoba*. Córdoba: Canalejas, 1836.
- Michman, J., H. Beem and D. Mikhman, *Pinkas Geschiedenis van de joodse gemeenschap in Nederland*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Contact, 1999.
- Offenberg, A.K. "Jacob Jehuda Leon (1602-1675) and his Model of the Temple." In *Jewish-Christian Relations in the Seventeenth Century Studies and Documents*, edited by J. van den Berg and E.G. van der Wall, 95-115. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1988.
- Offenberg, A.K. "Jacob Jehudah Leon en zijn tempelmodel: een joods-christelijk project." *De zeventiende eeuw* 9 (1993): 35-49.
- Offenberg, A. "The Athias Cabinet." *Studia Rosenthaliana* 35 (2001): 100-102.
- Oppenheim, S. "A list of Jews made denizens in the reigns of Charles II and James II, 1661-1687." *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 20 (1911): 109-13.
- Oprechte Haarlemsche courant* 14 Dec. 1669; 25 Nov. 1670.
- Petram, L.O. The world's first stock exchange: how the Amsterdam market for Dutch East India Company shares became a modern securities market, 1602-1700. PhD thesis University of Amsterdam; Amsterdam, 2011.
- Ponte, M. "'Al de swarten die hier ter stede comen'. Een Afro-Atlantische gemeenschap in zeventiende-eeuws Amsterdam." *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 15, no. 4 (2019): 33-62.
- Reijnders, C. *Van Joodsche Natiën tot Joodse Nederlanders. Een onderzoek naar getto- en assimilatieverchijselen tussen 1600 en 1942*. PhD dissertation University of Utrecht; Amsterdam: Offsetdrukkerij Joko, 1969.
- Roest, F., and J. Scheren. *Oorlog in de stad: Amsterdam 1939-1941*. Amsterdam: Van Gennep, 1998.
- Salomon, H.P. *Traktaat betreffende de waarheid van de Wet van Mozes: eigenhandig geschreven in de Portugese taal te Amsterdam, 1659-1660*. Braga: Barbosa & Xavier, 1988.
- Sander, C.A.L. "Vloenburg (thans Vlooienburg genaamd) het terrein van het nieuwe Stadhuis." *Ons Amsterdam* 9 (1957): 53-59.
- Schama, S. *Belonging: The Story of the Jews 1492-1900*, volume 2. New York: Ecco, 2017.

- Schama, S. *Rembrandt's Eyes*. London: Penguin Books, 2014.
- Sluys D.M. *De oudste synagogen der Hoogduitsch-Joodsche gemeente te Amsterdam (1635-1671)*. Amsterdam: Joachimsthal's Stoomdrukkerij, 1921.
- Sutcliffe, A. "Identity, Space and Intercultural Contact in the Urban Entrepôt: The Sephardi Bounding of Community in Early Modern Amsterdam and London", *Jewish Culture and History* 7 (2004): 93-108.
- Swetschinski, D.M. *Reluctant Cosmopolitans. The Portuguese Jews of Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam*. London-Portland-Oregon: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2000.
- Teensma, B.N. "Abraham Idaña's beschrijving van Amsterdam." *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 83 (1991): 113-138.
- Teensma, B.N. "Fragmenten uit het Amsterdamse convoluut van Abraham Idaña, alias Gaspar Méndez del Arroyo (1623-1690)." *Studia Rosenthaliana* 11, no. 2 (1977): 127-156.
- Vaz Dias, A.M. and W.G. van der Tak. "Spinoza merchant & autodidact charters and other authentic documents relating to the philosopher's youth and his relations." *Studia Rosenthaliana* 16 (1982): 109-195.
- Wiznitzer, A. "The Exodus from Brazil and Arrival in New Amsterdam of the Jewish Pilgrim Fathers, 1654." *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 44, no. 2 (1954): 80-97.

About the author

Maarten Hell (1970) is an independent historian, writer and editor, specialized in early modern history of the Dutch Republic. Biography, maritime history, food ways, diplomatic culture and social care are some of his fields of interest. In 2017, he published his thesis on Amsterdam drinking houses (AD 1450-1800) and recently he was postdoctoral researcher in the NWO project Diaspora and identity, a combined archaeological and historical investigation into material life, ethnicity, and diet in the district of Vlooienburg (AD 1600-1800). More information: maartenhell.wordpress.com