The Diaspora Synagogue:
Jewish Architecture and the Inter-Communal Networks
of the 17th and 18th Century Atlantic

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Abstract

The Jewish Atlantic world of the 17th and 18th centuries was fundamentally connected by a shared Jewish culture that developed directly out of the experience of mass conversions and expulsions of the prior centuries, most significantly those of the Iberian Inquisitions. At the start of the 17th century, a Jewish community emerged in Amsterdam that over the course of the century became a center of an extensive inter-communal network that linked newly established Jewish communities in the Netherlands, England, the Caribbean, South and North America. This network was economic, religious, and social, and provided Jewish congregations in the Dutch and English world with the material support and religious leadership required to maintain Jewish practice, build public synagogues, and strengthen their shared cultural identity.

This dissertation is focused on the 17th and 18th century Dutch and English Jewish communities in the Atlantic region and studies the synagogues constructed within this diaspora as outputs, or events, of a complex system. The scale and complexity of relationships within this system is addressed through the use of a custom-built relational database and methods in network analysis. These digital methods enable an expansive study of synagogue architecture that exposes patterns that interrogate existing arguments surrounding the impact of "mother synagogues" in Amsterdam and London on colonial synagogues and illuminates the complexities of architectural inheritance and the ways that buildings reflect communal values.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Introduction

Synagogue has been defined as the communal framework at the center of Jewish community life since antiquity. By the 2nd century C.E., synagogue had become the universal term for the physical building where communal activities occurred.[1] After centuries of persecution and displacement on the European continent, and in the wake of the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions of the 15th and 16th centuries, the concept of congregation and synagogue took on new meaning for the early modern Jewish world. On the Iberian Peninsula, and throughout Spanish and Portuguese colonial holdings, Jews were expelled or forcibly baptized, leaving those who chose to secretly maintain their Jewish identities to develop a culture of *converso*, crypto-Judaism. The Iberian expulsions resulted in a wide-spread Sephardic diaspora, with communities appearing first in Italy, North Africa, and the Ottoman Empire, then in the Netherlands, France, England, and across the Atlantic in the colonies of the New World. Members of these dispersed Jewish communities formed an intricate network that connected them to one another and to their kin in Iberia, often referred to as the *Nação Judeo Espanhola-Portuguesa*, the "Jews of the Spanish-Portuguese Nation." *La Nación* has been defined by scholars as primarily a trade network, but the connections also provided the means for diaspora communities to rely on each other for religious, cultural and economic support.

At the start of the 17th century, the Dutch city of Amsterdam witnessed a re-emergence of Jewish public life that had not been seen in Western Europe for nearly two centuries. The Sephardim, the descendants of Jews displaced by the Iberian Inquisitions, was the center of this

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[1] Lee Levine, The Ancient Synagogue (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

new Jewish community. Many arrived from Jewish centers in Venice and Salonika, communities that had developed in the wake of the first expulsions from Spain in 1492. Others migrated to Amsterdam directly from the Iberian Peninsula and the Portuguese colonies in Brazil. Once in the tolerant religious climate of Amsterdam, many returned to Judaism after living as "New Christians," the descendants of Spanish and Portuguese Jews who converted to Christianity. Congregations formed—Beth Jacob around 1602, Neveh Shalom in 1608, and Beth Israel in 1618—and synagogues were established in the form of Dutch *schuilkerken*, clandestine houses of worship, usually in existing buildings, with facades that were unassuming in the urban landscape.[2]

From Amsterdam, new Jewish communities formed in the Dutch Atlantic, first in Dutch Brazil, followed by others in the Caribbean, South and North America. In London, a small community of previous *conversos*, New Christians who practiced Judaism in secret, established congregation Sha'ar Hashamayim in 1656. Membership quickly grew from an influx of Jewish immigrants from the Netherlands, Germany, the Iberian Peninsula and the New World colonies. Jewish communities arrived in the British colonies in the Caribbean and North America, where like their coreligionists in the Dutch Atlantic, maintained ties to London and Amsterdam, and the wider *Nação*. In both Amsterdam and London, the communities' early public synagogues were remodeled spaces, with little marking their purpose from the exterior. As populations grew, further renovations were made, new buildings were acquired, and finally purpose-built spaces were constructed: the grand monument of the Esnoga in 1675 Amsterdam and London's Bevis Marks Synagogue in 1701, both of which remain extant today.

Scholars refer to the Amsterdam and London congregations as "mother synagogues" to

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[2] Barry Stiefel, *Jewish Sanctuary in the Atlantic World: A Social and Architectural History* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2014), 22.

the Jewish communities of the Dutch and British Atlantic, often in an attempt to describe and compare the architecture of colonial synagogues during the 17th and 18th centuries. The goal of this dissertation is to more fully examine what the impact of the synagogue architecture of Amsterdam and London had on the synagogues built across the Atlantic, as well as how colonial synagogues related to one another. This dissertation will provide a more complete survey of the synagogue architecture of the early modern Atlantic than previous studies. In addition to the purpose-built spaces covered in earlier scholarship, this study also includes remodeled spaces, as well as the Amsterdam and London synagogues constructed by the Ashkenazim during the period. As will be discussed in later chapters, the Sephardim and Ashkenazim in the Atlantic maintained complex relationships, often practicing their faith together, and when separate synagogues were built, they were close neighbors in a shared environment.

To study such an extensive number of sites, a new digital methodology has been employed. Using concepts in systems thinking and graph theory, a relational database was custom-built to manage the varied elements and relationships tied to the construction of early modern Atlantic synagogues. From this collected data, network visualizations have been produced as a primary means of presenting the organizational structure of this database and offer a new mode of analysis of the synagogue buildings in this study. Building off the work of many scholars in Jewish History over the past century, the study which occupies the following chapters aims to show that the synagogues built within this network were representative to their communities of the resilience and continuation of Jewish life, and a major factor in early modern Jewish identity making.

The Jewish Atlantic

As Jonathan Israel has noted, the movements and mercantile activities of the Sephardim

are distinct from other Jews within the wider diaspora.[3] This "diaspora within a diaspora" has

been a focus of scholars in recent years, especially at the intersection of the fields of Jewish and

Atlantic studies, the latter providing a framework of study on the transnational flows of contact

and exchange. The collection, *Atlantic Diasporas: Jews, Conversos, and Crypto-Jews in the Age

of Mercantilism, 1500-1800*, edited by historians Richard L. Kagan and Philip D. Morgan, is one

of the more recent publications that ties together scholarly work in Atlantic history and the

previously-conceived concept of the "Port Jew."[4] Defined by Louis Dubin in her study on the

Jews of Trieste, "Port Jews" were a distinct group of Jewish merchants who lived in port cities in

the Mediterranean and Atlantic. These Port Jews demonstrated the "restlessly fluid, border-

crossing, and culture-bridging" characteristics of life in the Atlantic.[5] Critics of the "Port Jew"

model, including scholar of Jamaican Jewry, Stanley Mirvis, argue that this lens has privileged

the mercantile profile of early modern Atlantic Jews, at the expense of scholarship on the

diversity of Jewish ventures in the Atlantic colonies, which included plantation ownership.[6]

Recent publications, including Mirvis' *The Jews of Eighteenth-Century Jamaica: A

Testamentary History of a Diaspora in Transition*, Wieke Vink's *Creole Jews: Negotiating

community in colonial Suriname*, and Aviva Ben-Ur's *Jewish Autonomy in a Slave Society* are

examples of current work in the Jewish Atlantic, focusing on single geographical locations.[7]

These texts break away from previous scholarship models that focused on Jewish congregational

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[3] Jonathan Israel, *Diasporas Within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews, and the World of Maritime Empires (1540-1740)*, Brill's Series in Jewish Studies 30 (Boston, MA: Brill, 2002).
[4] Richard L. Kagan and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Atlantic Diasporas: Jews, Conversos, and Crypto-Jews in the Age of Mercantilism, 1500-1800* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).
[5] Kagan and Morgan, viii.
[6] Stanley Mirvis, "The Gabay Dynasty: Plantation Jews of the Colonial Atlantic World," in *The Jews of Eighteenth-Century Jamaica: A Testamentary History of A Diaspora in Transition* (Yale University Press, 2019).
[7] Stanley Mirvis, *The Jews of Eighteenth-Century Jamaica: A Testamentary History of a Diaspora in Transition* (Yale University Press, 2020); Wieke Vink, *Creole Jews: Negotiating Community in Colonial Suriname* (Leiden, The Netherlands: KITLV Press, 2010); Aviva Ben-Ur, *Jewish Autonomy in a Slave Society*, Early Modern Americas, Suriname in the Atlantic World, 1651-1825 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020).

history separate from the colonial environments in which they participated.[8] In what Adam Sutcliffe describes as the "celebratory mode of Jewish historiography," earlier scholarship on the early modern Jewish Atlantic generally avoided the topic of slavery, despite the large presence of enslaved people in the Atlantic colonies.[9] There is good reason that Jewish participation in the Atlantic slave trade went unspoken: anti-Semitic scholars throughout the 20th century claimed Jews invented and financed the Atlantic slave trade, as well as accused Jews of owning more enslaved people, and exacting more cruelty than any other group, all claims that are entirely false and thoroughly discredited.[10] As Vink argues, Jews, like other communities, "have excluded and constructed their 'others' in the process of creating and maintaining a sense of connectedness;" the effects of colonization and enslaved labor were palpable within the Amsterdam synagogues and abroad.[11] Many of the locales where Jews prospered—like Brazil, Suriname, Curacao, and New York—were major centers of the Atlantic slave trade, an industry that many profited from, even if indirectly. Jews of the early modern Atlantic held connections that crossed national boundaries and helped them maintain religious, cultural, and social ties with fellow Jews in the diaspora, but they were also participants in their colonial environments. By focusing this study on Jews in the commerce centers of Amsterdam and London, and their connections to colonial possessions of the Dutch and English in the Atlantic, this dissertation can address specific relationships between the Atlantic economic networks, including that of the slave trade, and the construction of synagogues in these locales (Figure 1.1).

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[8] See for instance Judah M. Cohen, *Through the Sands of Time: A History of the Jewish Community of St. Thomas, U.S. Virgin Islands* (Lebanon, NH: Brandeis University Press, 2004); Wieke Vink makes this observation in Vink, 2010:4-5.

[9] Adam Sutcliffe, "Jewish History in an Age of Atlanticism," in *Atlantic Diasporas: Jews, Conversos, and Crypto-Jews in the Age of Mercantilism*, ed. Richard L. Kagan and Philip D. Morgan (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 26.

[10] Eli Faber, *Jews, Slaves, and the Slave Trade*, Reappraisals in Jewish Social and Intellectual History, Setting the Record Straight (New York, London: New York University Press, 1998), 6.

[11] Vink, *Creole Jews: Negotiating Community in Colonial Suriname*, 4.
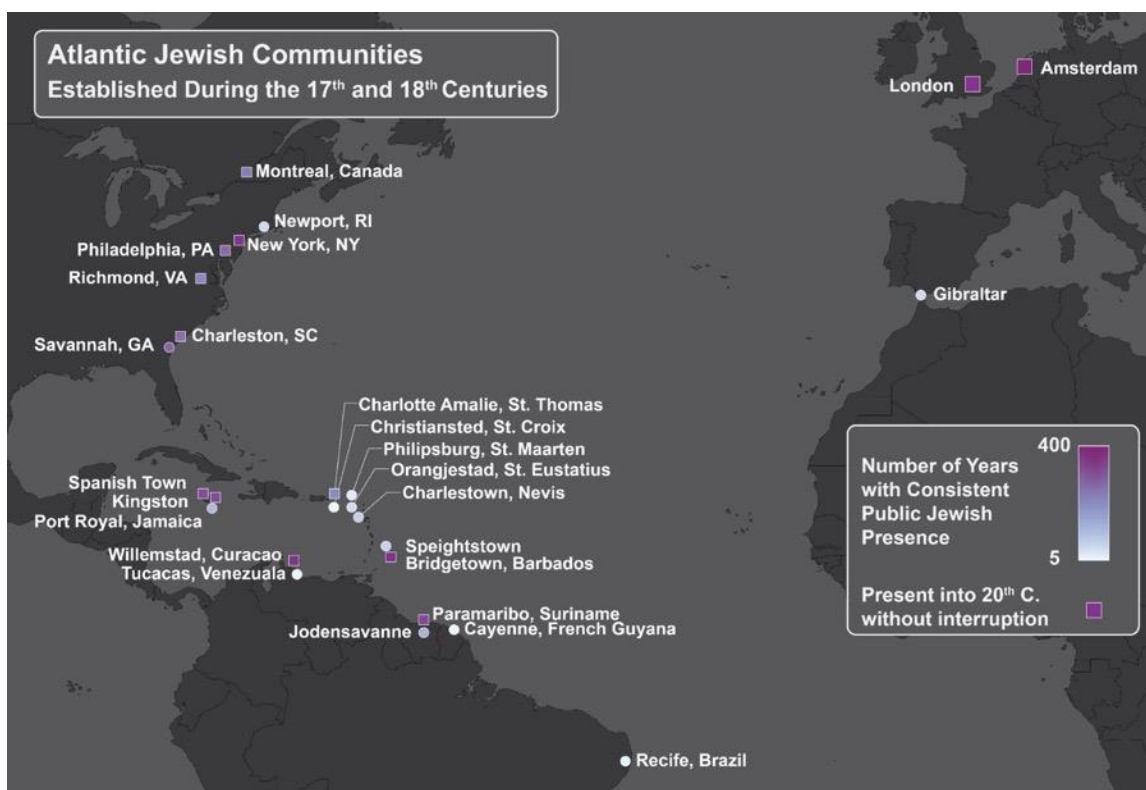
Figure 1.1: Jewish communities with evidence of public synagogues in the Atlantic during the 17th and 18th centuries

Recent years have seen an abundance of rich scholarship on Jewish life in the early modern Atlantic. These studies range in focus from specific sites like Jamaica and Suriname, wider geographic areas of the Caribbean or North America, and explore topics including Jewish funerary art.[12] As previously noted, there are several studies on the networks of Jewish merchants in these regions during the early modern period.[13] Another theme within Jewish Atlantic studies is the role of messianic belief in the lives of early modern Jews.[14] As Laura

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[12] Aviva. Ben-Ur and Rachel. Frankel, *Remnant Stones: The Jewish Cemeteries of Suriname* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 2009).

[13] Examples include Jessica Roitman, *The Same but Different? Inter-Cultural Trade and the Sephardim, 1595-1640*, Series in Jewish Studies (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, "La Nación among the Nations: Portuguese and Other Maritime Trading Diasporas in the Atlantic, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," in *Atlantic Diasporas: Jews, Conversos, and Crypto-Jews in the Age of Mercantilism*, 2009, 75–98.

[14] Jewish messianism carries a range of meaning that includes both diasporic and non-diasporic messianism. Although this dissertation does make mention of non-diasporic messianic belief, mainly in reference to followers of Shabbatai Zevi, it is primarily interested in messianism in relation to dispersion of the diaspora.

Leibman has argued, the scattered communities of Sephardic Jews in the colonies and Europe were deeply concerned with shaping a unified identity and alliances among the fractured, post-Inquisition congregations.[15] According to Leibman, what unified the Jewish Atlantic world was the belief that they were living in a Messianic Age, and as the scholar demonstrates in her work, the concepts of redemption and reunion in the Land of Israel defined the daily lives of the dispersed communities. Studies on the cultural and religious lives of early modern Jews reflect on how contemporary messianic writing, like that of Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel and the sermons of Rabbinical Emissary Rabbi Haim Isaac Carigal, influenced members of Jewish communities. The messianic beliefs of the 17th and 18th centuries in the Jewish Atlantic diaspora, and the impact of Menasseh's widely published text, *Mikveh Israel* (The Hope of Israel), is clearly observed in the naming conventions of New World congregations, which included: Nephuse Israel (the Scattered of Israel) and Yeshuat Israel (Salvation of Israel) in Newport, Rhode Island, Shearith Israel (the Remnant of Israel) in New York, and Nidhe Israel (Scattered/Exiles of Israel) in Barbados.[16]

There has been some attempt at connecting the era's messianic fervor with the synagogue architecture of the period. Leibman, working against architectural history's historiographical shift away from stylistic terminology, defines a new style, "neo-Solomonic order," to describe the architecture of Atlantic synagogues. She asserts that the building style of these synagogues were meant to directly imitate the Temple of Jerusalem as described in the popular writing of 17th century Amsterdam Rabbi Jacob Judah Leon Templo, whose pamphlets, illustrations and physical models were as widely circulated as Menasseh's texts. As scholars like Leibman point

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[15] Laura Arnold Leibman, *Messianism, Secrecy, and Mysticism: A New Interpretation of Early American Jewish Life* (London; Portland OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2013).
[16] Leibman, 34.

out, the concept of the reconstruction of Solomon's Temple was highly important to both Jews and Protestants during the 17th-18th centuries, and Leon Templo's reconstruction was taken very seriously by both groups. However, the predetermined argument of the existence of this comprehensive style, and a lack of consistent formal analysis of the architecture itself, leads to a shallow, flattened interpretation of these buildings. It is clear from the existing studies on Atlantic synagogue architecture that a complex relationship existed between the religious, social, and economic lives of Jews and their places of worship, that has yet to be fully developed. This dissertation aims to further identify how these elements impacted the ways that early modern Jews financed and constructed their synagogues.

In *Jewish Sanctuary in the Atlantic World: A Social and Architectural History*, Barry Stiefel provides the most thorough survey of Atlantic synagogues to date; there are forty-six purpose-built sites included, constructed by Sephardic congregations between 1636 and 1822. Stiefel asserts that these sites followed two models: Amsterdam's Portuguese Synagogue, the Esnoga, and London's Bevis Marks Synagogue.[17] The following chapters will test this supposition and bring further clarity to the specific ways the architecture of these "mother synagogues" shaped the built form of synagogues in the colonies. Expanding from Stiefel's survey, this study also includes synagogue spaces that were remodeled for use as a prayer hall. Many of these remodeling projects were extensive and costly for the congregations, and importantly, they illustrate the architectural development of a community over time. Incorporating these spaces into a study of Atlantic synagogues is critical to understanding some of the wider patterns in the architectural choices made in purpose-built sites.

Another contribution of this present study is the further addition of Ashkenazi

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[17] Stiefel, *Jewish Sanctuary in the Atlantic World: A Social and Architectural History*, 2.

synagogues built in Amsterdam and London. During the period of study, neither term Sephardic

nor Ashkenazic were used by Jews in the Atlantic. The communities often referred to themselves

as "Hebrews of the Portuguese Jewish Nation" or "Hebrews of the High German Jewish Nation."

The High German community included Jews originating from German territories, as well as East

European Jews from Poland, the Baltic region, and Russia. Although there are some objections

to the general use of the terms 'Sephardic' and 'Ashkenazic', these are the terms I will be using

throughout this study, for the sake of both convenience and clarity.[18] Ashkenazic Jewry of

Central and Eastern Europe was culturally distinct from the Sephardim, and has a separate

history that, for the sake of scope, is not addressed in this dissertation. Ashkenazi Jews could be

found throughout the Atlantic colonies alongside the Sephardim, however, their presence was

limited and culturally their impact during the period of study is less significant than that of the

Sephardic diaspora, as will be discussed in Chapter Five. Architecturally, and relevant to this

study, they constructed synagogues in Amsterdam and London around the same period as their

Sephardic neighbors. In Amsterdam, their 17th century synagogues also shared the same Dutch

builder, Elias Bouman. These synagogues follow the same patterns of development as the

Sephardic congregations, from remodeled to purpose-built spaces, and they held similar

influence on their communities as the Esnoga and Bevis Marks. This makes them critical

components to include in this survey of Atlantic synagogue architecture.

Project Scope

To approach such a wide-spread diaspora as the Sephardim requires carefully considered

geographical and chronological boundaries. As previous scholarship shows, the early modern

Sephardic diaspora covered a vast geography. Members established communities in the

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[18] See also Daniel Swetschinki. Vink, *Creole Jews: Negotiating Community in Colonial Suriname*, 17.

Mediterranean in Italy and the Ottoman Empire, India, French ports including Bayonne and Bordeaux, the Netherlands, England, South America in Brazil, French and Dutch Guiana, Suriname and Venezuela, North America in the American colonies and Canada, and scattered throughout the Caribbean. This dissertation is primarily concerned with the relationships between the Dutch and English Sephardic economic networks and the synagogue architecture within those realms. The geographical boundaries of this study have been made with this in mind; the synagogues collected here are mainly ones built within the borders of Dutch and English territories, in Europe and across the Atlantic in the Americas and Caribbean.[19]

The history of Portuguese New Christians and their participation in the Portuguese trade network spans back to the 16th century; foundational scholarship on the Sephardim, and their mercantile pursuits often begin in this century.[20] However, among the New Christian merchants who identified with their Jewish heritage, they were not practicing Judaism publicly and did not establish congregations or build public synagogues. Stiefel began his survey on Atlantic synagogue architecture in 1636, the year Amsterdam's Talmud Torah congregation opened the Portuguese Synagogue, the first in the Dutch territories to feature an elaborate public facade.[21] For a fuller picture of synagogue architecture, this architectural study begins in 1612 with the first documented space in Amsterdam constructed for synagogue use, Neveh Shalom.[22] The end date of this dissertation's chronological bounds is a bit more fluid, but is roughly marked by the end of the 18th century and early 19th century, depending on the region. By the end of the 18th

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[19] A handful of Caribbean synagogues within Danish possessions have also been included, in order to provide a complete accounting of all the synagogues constructed in the Caribbean during the 17th and 18th centuries.
[20] See: Jonathan Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550-1750* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1985); Israel, *Diasporas Within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews, and the World of Maritime Empires (1540-1740)*; Kagan and Morgan, *Atlantic Diasporas: Jews, Conversos, and Crypto-Jews in the Age of Mercantilism, 1500-1800*.
[21] Stiefel, *Jewish Sanctuary in the Atlantic World: A Social and Architectural History*.
[22] J. F. van. Agt, *Synagogen in Amsterdam* ('s-Gravenhage : Staatsuitgeverij, 1974), 9–12.

century Jewish Emancipation had begun in Europe and in the newly formed United States. This period also saw large scale migrations of Jews from Eastern Europe and Russia. The events of the burgeoning modern era transformed the cultural landscapes of Europe and North America and shifted commercial centers away from the Caribbean. The impact of Sephardic merchant networks was significantly decreased by the end of the 18th century, and with the Ashkenazim now vastly outnumbering the Sephardim in areas of Europe and North America, a new era of synagogue construction began. This study closes at this transition near the end of the 18th century.

There are over seventy buildings that acted as synagogues between 1612 and 1818 in this study, including both remodeled and purpose-built spaces (see Appendix B). The handful of sites where construction occurred in the 19th century have been included primarily to mark new synagogues built by congregations founded during the primary period of review and are less critical to the study. It was determined during research that if a synagogue underwent renovations large enough to necessitate its own accounting within the database, it was counted as a separate building. This is the case, for example, of London's Creechurch Lane Synagogue, which was initially remodeled for synagogue use in 1656, then underwent a large-scale remodeling project in 1675 that reshaped both the interior prayer space and the exterior of the building. Smaller-scale additions are accounted for through a different mechanism in the database; a full accounting of the relational database's structure is included in the appendix.

The buildings in this study that survived into the modern era underwent various renovation and restoration projects, and of the sites, only four remain extant today in near-original form. This includes the Esnoga in Amsterdam, Bevis Marks in London, Mikveh Israel in Willemstad, Curacao, and the Touro Synagogue in Newport, Rhode Island. The Ashkenazi

synagogues in Amsterdam, the Grote Sjoel and Nieuwe Sjoel, are also somewhat extant, although their interiors now hold Amsterdam's Jewish History Museum. Rigorous research went into collecting architectural data on the synagogues' built form at the time of their initial construction, and any remodeling that occurred during the centuries that followed. Various sources were used in the course of this research, including building contracts, lease agreements, congregational records, and other contemporaneous sources. Additionally, archeological reports provided further information on sites lost to the passage of time.

Identifying the timeline of building elements is especially critical to understanding these sites and how they may have impacted one another. For example, in the late 18th century Amsterdam's Esnoga went through a significant remodel of the building's east facade, transforming the women's entrances into the prayer space, and adding brick buttresses reminiscent of Rabbi Leon Templo's mid-17th century depictions of Solomon's Temple. As a further example, although the building is extant, Mikveh Israel in Curacao also underwent significant modern renovations on both the interior and exterior, which increased its similarity to the Esnoga. These later changes are not always identified as separate from the original construction by scholars, and both of these sites demonstrate the dangers in making uninformed comparisons between the architecture of Atlantic synagogues.

A New Approach

The foundational argument of this dissertation is that the synagogues of the 17th-18th century Atlantic should be studied as outputs, or events, of a complex system. This is distinct from other work within architectural historiography, where a building has an assumed coherence that is linked to a specific site. A view of a building as a systemic output allows for a study of architecture with greater reach and potentially greater accuracy by de-centering a building and

placing it within the much wider context of its construction. Buildings take form at the convergence of many systems. Jewish life in the early modern Atlantic took place at the intersection of two systems: the flow of capital in the European colonial economic system and the system of the religious diaspora through which religious identity was formed. Their synagogues were a part of this identity formation process, as architectural outputs capturing a community's religious and cultural identity. The architectural modes of these synagogues were shaped by both local and global building conventions. Their construction was financed at the intersection of the Atlantic colonial economic system—which provided the means of individual wealth accumulation—and the diasporic system that linked dispersed congregations through religious and cultural identity—which allowed for wealth to be distributed within the Atlantic Jewish diaspora.

As defined by Donella Meadows, a system is a set of things interconnected in a way that produces their own pattern of behavior over time; systems thinking provides a lens for understanding a system's output through a view of its structure and behaviors.[23] In basic terms, a system requires elements, interconnections, and a function or purpose. For this study, I have defined the system that produced the early modern Atlantic synagogues as "the Diaspora Synagogue." The Diaspora Synagogue is a system made up of elements that include people, locations, religious text and objects, congregations, and synagogue buildings. The relationships that tie these elements together, the interconnections, include Jewish ritual, national identity, the economic networks of Atlantic trade and slavery, and the social networks of congregations and population migrations. As will be explored in depth in this dissertation, some of the functions or purpose of the Diaspora Synagogue system is the maintenance of Jewish practice, the providing

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[23] Donella H. Meadows, *Thinking in Systems: A Primer* (White River Junction, Vt: Chelsea Green Pub, 2008).

of economic stability to members of this system, and in identity formation.

The fundamentals of graph theory act as a complement to systems theory in this context, by providing the means to further describe the interconnections between entities in the Diaspora Synagogue and look at synagogues as outputs of these complex relationships. Graph theory, and its application in network theory, provides a model for visualizing the structure of a network of relationships; a network graph consists of "nodes," the elements in the network, and "edges," the relationships that connect the elements. Both concepts of systems and graphs provide the theoretical underpinnings of the relational database built for this dissertation. In addition, certain methods of network analysis have been incorporated into this project, to provide further context to the constructed network graphs. These methods will be fully expanded on in Chapter Three, when the analysis becomes relevant to this study. Networks have been steadily growing in prominence as a research framework in a diverse range of disciplines, including physics, economics, biology, neuroscience, sociology, and archeology.[24] This dissertation will demonstrate an approach to the study of architecture that uses the framework of systems, graphs, and networks.

A relational database allows for information to be broken down into smaller, discrete components, then links those components back together in various ways to facilitate complex analysis, including methods in network analysis. Digital methodologies like these allow for significantly larger amounts of information to be analyzed than traditional research methods. The database designed for the Diaspora Synagogue system provides an organizational structure that makes it possible to examine more synagogue sites than previous scholarship, but also connect them to the wider context of their environment. The custom-built relational database contains

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[24] Tom Brughmans, "Thinking Through Networks: A Review of Formal Network Methods in Archaeology," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 20, no. 4 (December 2013): 624.

five general modules: architectural elements, ritual elements, biographies, geographies, and citations. Elements from these modules are linked together in various ways to produce data structures that describe buildings, congregations, and contributions. The citations module is linked to all other components as a kind of footnote, allowing the researcher the means to keep track of the large amount of source material.

A relational database is a technological advantage for scholars, in both the research and analysis stages of a project, and this dissertation demonstrates how to use one for qualitative, humanities-focused scholarship. Since the information stored within the database consists of many simplified tables linked through indexes, the best way to show its structure is visually. These organizational structures are represented in this project through network graphs. The graphs make theory visible by illustrating the relationships between elements of a system.

Research Questions

This dissertation addresses several research questions on the relationships between the construction of synagogues in Amsterdam and London, and those in the New World colonies. Previous scholars' often use the colloquial term, "mother synagogue" as a way to relate these European sites with their coreligionists' in the colonies; it is a term used broadly to describe religious, cultural, and architectural connections. This study sets out to confirm that these relationships exist, and asks, what are the specific ways that a "mother synagogue" is connected to congregations abroad? If they exert an impact, how does this impact reveal itself in the construction of Atlantic synagogues?

The social, religious, and economic networks that tied these synagogues to one another emerged out of migration, trade, marriage, and religious ritual: complex, interconnected networks that suggest the synagogues in the Americas also impacted one another, as well as back

to their mother synagogues. This leads us to ask, what specific relationships existed between colonial congregations and their synagogues? To add further clarification: unlike some church constructions that benefited from state financial assistance, all of the Jewish prayer spaces in this study were built using financial capital collected from private contributions and congregational accounts. Did the source of funding, whether capital came from local sources or abroad, impact the built form of synagogues in any way? Do any patterns emerge that can help towards understanding what congregations held stronger connections with one another? What do these connections suggest about the makeup of individual Jewish communities? This last question is especially critical to further understanding Jewish life in areas of the diaspora where limited historical evidence exists. The methods engaged in this dissertation hold potential for extracting new hypotheses where source material is lacking.

Chapter Layout

The central chapters of this dissertation have been organized with the intent of providing a straightforward approach to describing the complex systems surrounding the construction of Atlantic synagogues. First discussed is the context for why and how Amsterdam became the center of the Sephardim in the early modern period. Second will be two chapters focused on the architectural developments in Amsterdam and London and their impact on the construction of Dutch and English synagogues. Third, analysis of Dutch and English colonial synagogues, with focus on the development of new centers of Jewish life and the inter-communal religious and economic networks that tied these colonial congregations to one another and made new synagogue constructions possible.

The chapter that follows this introduction argues that Amsterdam's 17th century Jewish community existed at the intersection of two primary systems: the flow of capital in the

European colonial economic system and the system through which religious identity was formed. The output of the convergence of these systems is captured in the physical form of the synagogues built in Amsterdam, and later throughout the network of Sephardic communities in England and across the Atlantic in the New World. To support this argument, this chapter intends to provide a framework for thinking about systems and networks as tools for considering the context of the Atlantic diaspora synagogues. The two systems will be described; first, the Dutch financial system will be explored through the lens of the mercantile networks Jews and New Christians in Amsterdam took part in, leading to the development of the *Nação Judeo Portuguesa*. The latter part of the chapter is focused on the religious and cultural identity of the Dutch Sephardim, examining the impact of the Iberian expulsions and how ideas of culture and ethnicity shaped the communal identity of Amsterdam's Sephardic community. Finally, the intersection of these two systems will be illustrated through their early synagogues in Amsterdam, as places of both connection and separation from their Dutch neighbors.

Chapter Three is focused on the purpose-built synagogues built by the Amsterdam Jewish communities, both Sephardic and Ashkenazic, with particular focus on the Esnoga, the synagogue built by congregation Talmud Torah in 1675. The primary goal of this chapter is to explore the architectural lineage of the Esnoga's design, which includes the earlier Talmud Torah Synagogue and the Ashkenazi Grote Sjoel, to understand how the Jewish congregation and non-Jewish observers would have interpreted the building at the time of construction. This chapter argues that the Esnoga was a recognizably Dutch religious space, a showcase of elements of classicist modes of architecture popular within court circles and the Dutch elite, while also signaling difference from Christian society. This demonstration of a separate, Jewish identity in the form of architecture became especially clear through the ways that the following generation

of Dutch synagogues were understood directly through the design of the Esnoga. Chapter Three introduces a new approach to studying the system of architectural production, using the data organizational structure put forward by this project and methods in network analysis. These tools will help illustrate how a Dutch-Jewish architectural mode emerged from the 17th century Dutch synagogue constructions and was applied to later synagogues in the Netherlands over the course of the 18th century.

Chapter Four examines two case studies on architectural lineage in synagogue design and demonstrates the further applications of the digital tools in this project, building on the analysis of the previous chapter. The first is a study of the London Sephardim and their synagogue, Bevis Marks, opened 1701. The architecture of Bevis Marks provides an opportunity to compare the Dutch and English classicist architectural modes of religious space during the second half of the 17th century. Using the synagogue's connections to the London city churches of Christopher Wren and to the Esnoga in Amsterdam, the Sephardic communal authority of the period, this chapter's analysis reassesses the often argued position that Bevis Marks was modeled off its Dutch counterpart. As Chapter Three argues, a specifically Dutch-Jewish architecture did emerge in the Netherlands following the opening of the Esnoga, and part one of this chapter will demonstrate that this architectural mode did not necessarily impact English Sephardic spaces.

The second case study in Chapter Four is focused on the architectural outputs of the London Ashkenazic congregation of the Great Synagogue at Duke's Place. Over the course of the 18th century, this site underwent multiple renovations and provides an opportunity to apply this dissertation's methods to the study of changes within a single site over time. In Amsterdam, maintaining a cohesive community identity was a priority, and was reflected in the shared architectural form of their synagogues. The architecture of the Great Synagogue demonstrates

that this was less of a priority in England, where the Ashkenazi community experienced several schisms leading to the establishment of multiple congregations over the 18th century. Instead of reflecting a specific English Jewish identity through a shared lineage in synagogue design, the Great Synagogue was significantly impacted by the interests of the major benefactors within the congregation. The assimilation of Jews into English society has been well documented in prior scholarship, and as this chapter demonstrates, the architecture of both synagogues, Bevis Marks and the Great Synagogue, support the degree to which the elites within Jewish society in England made efforts to be viewed within the upper classes of English society.[25]

Chapter Five brings together the preceding chapters' arguments and applies them to a study of the colonial congregations and synagogues in the Dutch and British holdings in the Atlantic over the course of the 17th and 18th centuries. Split into three parts, this chapter examines the inter-communal religious, economic and architectural networks that together create the system of the Diaspora Synagogue. The first section studies the impact of Amsterdam and London educated rabbis and the cultural dominance of the Sephardim in the colonial sphere during the period of study. The second is focused on the financial system of the Atlantic colonies and the impact of the slave trade, both direct and indirect, on the construction of Atlantic synagogues. Out of these two connected inter-communal networks, religious and economic, two locations in the Americas emerged as new centers of influence in the Jewish world: the Caribbean congregation, Mikveh Israel in Curacao, and Shearith Israel in New York. The final part of this chapter is focused on the architecture of the colonial synagogues, and their relationships with the architecture of their mother synagogues in London and Amsterdam. All three parts utilize the methods put forward in this dissertation on data organizational structures

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[25] Todd Endelman, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History, 1656-1945* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990).

and network analysis, to illustrate their ability to communicate the complexities of systemic thinking and provide analysis of these systems.

Finally, Chapter Six is the conclusion of this study, reflecting on the ways that synagogues in the Atlantic during the 17th and 18th centuries reaffirmed the Jewish identity of their congregants and acted as physical representations of the continuation of Jewish practice. This discussion looks at how the early modern synagogue constructions, as outputs of a complex system, become part of the Diaspora Synagogue system after their opening and impact later outputs. This dissertation provides opportunity to reassess the previous arguments surrounding the impact of the Esnoga and Bevis Marks through the lens of systems theory. Both synagogues represent significant ruptures from the earlier, less public, synagogues of the post-expulsion era in Western Europe, and as such, hold significant meaning within Jewish Diaspora, especially in Dutch and English locales. Also included is reflection on the digital tools applied to the study of buildings as systemic outputs, and how these methods hold the ability to democratize the process of studying architectural history. This chapter closes with an inquiry into future potential directions that build off the methods and conclusions of this dissertation.

Chapter 2

Centering Amsterdam: The 17th Century Dutch Financial System and the
Religious and Cultural Identity of the Amsterdam Sephardim

Introduction

By the end of the 16th century, Amsterdam had emerged as the primary center for global commerce in Western Europe. The young Dutch republic had restructured its economy, attracting merchants of diverse backgrounds to Amsterdam looking for new investments and opportunities to expand their trade ventures. Early founders of Amsterdam's Sephardic community were among these immigrants; many were identified in records of the period as "Portuguese Merchants," even while their Jewish identities were publicly known.[1] When the Portuguese New Christian merchant Bento Osorio arrived in Amsterdam in 1610 two Jewish congregations—Beth Jacob and Neveh Shalom—were already established in the Vlooienburg quarter at the outer edge of the city's boundaries (Image 2.1). Osorio not only traded shares in the Dutch East India Company, the first company to go to the exchange in 1602, he was an initial investor in the Dutch West India Company. With a sizeable contribution of 6,000 guilders, roughly the cost of a house, Osorio became a *hooftparticipanten*, a chief shareholder, of the company.[2] From Amsterdam, he expanded his existing network, working with Dutch and Sephardic associates, to become one of the largest shippers of Baltic goods to the Iberian Peninsula.[3] Amsterdam also offered Osorio the opportunity to return openly to Judaism. He became an active member of congregation Beth Jacob and held the office of *parnas* (president)

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[1] Up until the late 17th century, Sephardic merchants in Amsterdam were referred to in notarial contracts as simply "Portuguese Merchants in Amsterdam" Roitman, *The Same but Different? Inter-Cultural Trade and the Sephardim, 1595-1640*, 51.

[2] Roitman, 138–39.

[3] Over a three year period, Osorio chartered nearly 200 ships carrying Baltic goods to Iberia. Roitman, 141.

before helping to found congregation Beth Israel in 1618. Osorio was an especially successful example of the Amsterdam Sephardim, but his behavior was not particularly unusual. Trade played a central role within the Sephardim; Jewish participation in the Dutch merchant sphere in the 17th century was so commonplace that when the *mahamad* of Amsterdam's Sephardic congregations passed rulings discouraging social contact outside of the community, they came with an explicit exception for business dealings.

This chapter argues that Amsterdam's 17th century Jewish community existed at the intersection of two primary systems: the flow of capital in the European colonial economic system and the system through which religious identity was formed. The output of the convergence of these systems is captured in the physical form of the synagogues built in Amsterdam, and later throughout the network of Sephardic communities in England and across the Atlantic in the New World. To support this argument, this chapter intends to provide a framework for thinking about systems and networks as tools for considering the context of the Atlantic diaspora synagogues. The two systems will be described; first, the Dutch financial system will be explored through the lens of the mercantile networks Jews and New Christians in Amsterdam took part in, leading to the development of the *Nação Judeo Portuguesa*. The latter part of the chapter will focus on the religious and cultural identity of the Dutch Sephardim, examining the impact of the Iberian expulsions and how ideas of culture and ethnicity shaped the communal identity of Amsterdam's Sephardic community. Finally, the intersection of these two systems will be illustrated through their public synagogues in early Amsterdam, as places of both connection and separation from their Dutch neighbors.

Systems, Networks, and Emergent Forms

To understand buildings as an output of a complex system, first the system needs to be

defined. As described in the previous chapter, the elements contained in the Diaspora Synagogue system includes people and the places they constructed synagogues, congregations and religious text and objects. Systems are complex and often are connected and embedded within other systems; the Jewish congregation is itself a system, made up of congregants connected through ritual, identity, and culture. Even though synagogues are one output of the Jewish congregational system, once constructed they can become elements of the system, impacting future systemic outputs and shaping religious and cultural identity. Much of this project's goal is interrogating the impact of two synagogues, the Esnoga in Amsterdam and Bevis Marks in London, on the formation of religious identity among the connected diaspora network and their later architectural outputs.

Systems often present themselves as a series of events.[4] Traditional approaches to architecture observe buildings in isolation, as a single event of a particular site. Architectural historiography has moved away from the primary focus on formal analysis to contextualized studies that situate architecture within a world beyond just built form. However, these studies often remain at the scale of a single site or small number of case studies provided for comparative analysis. Thomas Hubka's work on the Polish Gwoździec Synagogue demonstrates one approach within contemporary synagogue studies, and it is an effective one.[5] Using the single site approach, Hubka explores the construction and meaning of the synagogue through a highly judicious framework of interrelated arguments and historic evidence, which together offers a comprehensive understanding of the synagogue's built form and intimate knowledge of the community's social and religious traditions. Gwoździec is placed within the framework of

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[4] Meadows, *Thinking in Systems: A Primer*, 88.
[5] Thomas Hubka, *Resplendent Synagogue: Architecture and Worship in an Eighteenth-Century Polish Community* (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press published by University Press of New England, 2003).

other wooden, central planned Polish synagogues, but beyond a shared form of architecture, there is no room in this study to understand the relationships between Gwoździec and other Polish congregations and their synagogues.

Taking a "case study" approach, Saskia Coenen Snyder examines four 19th century European synagogues, in Berlin, London, Amsterdam, and Paris.[6] Snyder's comparative study provides space to explore the shared aspects of modern Jewish life while highlighting the diversity of experience. The architecture of these four sites is used as evidence against prior notions of a more homogenized nature of modern European Jewish experience. Like a contextualized approach to a single site, this is another effective strategy that places a few individual sites into a comparative narrative. However, it provides a further example of buildings existing as isolated events, tied individually to their respective sites.

What would it look like to expand the study of architecture beyond these approaches? Systems thinking and digital technologies allow for more expansive studies, an approach that looks beyond the individual events of construction to see the larger, complex system that produces these events. As Meadows argues, the output of systems—events—accumulate over time to reveal the dynamic patterns of behavior. Studying how a system behaves over time is important, because "long-term behavior provides clues to the underlying system structure. And system structure is the key to understanding not just *what* is happening, but *why*."[7] Systems theory has been especially impactful in biological and ecological studies, to name only a few, and it can be applied to architecture as well. Architectural theorist Sanford Kwinter engages with systems theory, arguing that topological theory provides means in which to plot transformations

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[6] Saskia. Coenen Snyder, *Building a Public Judaism: Synagogues and Jewish Identity in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013).
[7] Meadows, *Thinking in Systems: A Primer*, 89.

to systems, out of which form emerges: "Forms are always new and unpredictable unfoldings shaped by their adventures in time."[8] From Kwinter, the idea that multiple systems act simultaneously in continual transformation, at different scales, can be likened to the particular world systems that are continually impacting its environment and undergoing transformations as time passes.

Form, defined by Kwinter, as "any state of the system at which things are momentarily stable," is not a fixed thing, but particular events produced by a dynamic system. Applied to the built environment, it would follow that buildings exist as particular events within an evolving system, each building or reconstruction representing possible states of said system. What can be gained from this approach is the same as Meadows': "As a given system evolves through time, it carves out a precise figure in phase space [a multidimensional space whose coordinates represent possible states of said system], forming, as it were a behavior portrait."[9] To identify the behavior and structure of the system of the Diaspora Synagogue requires an understanding of individual synagogues as events, or outputs, of a complex system.

How a system made up of human and non-human elements produces built form can be further understood through Jane Bennet's agency of assemblages.[10] Similar to a system in which nothing exists or acts in isolation, Bennet's assemblages are defined by the ways that groups of diverse elements—her vibrant materials—come together to generate outcomes that are emergent properties of the assemblage, and distinct from any results produced by individual parts. Bennet reasons that these events stem from a decentered, distributed agency. The "vital materialism" of individual elements of the assemblage, both human and non-human, give them the capacity to be

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[8] Sanford Kwinter, "Landscapes of Change: Boccioni's 'Stati d'animo' as a General Theory of Models," *Assemblage* 19, no. 19 (2010): 61.
[9] Kwinter, 64.
[10] Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

"lively, affective, [and] signaling;" the emergent event is caused precisely by the "contingent coming together of a set of elements."[11] As this study will demonstrate, the synagogues in the first half of the 17th century in Amsterdam, and the ones that followed in Dutch and English territories, are a direct result of human and non-human actors that converged at a particular moment to produce material culture in the form of architecture. The synagogues, once built, became elements with their own "vital force," impacting the process of religious and cultural identity formation, and combined with other elements of the system, like people, financial capital, and religious ritual, produced new architectural outputs.

Throughout this study the term network is employed to describe specific relationships between elements of the Diaspora Synagogue system. In many ways, the terms system and network could be used interchangeably, but the following provides some clarity about their meaning in this study. The interconnections of elements of a system, as defined by Meadows, operate through flows of information.[12] This flow of information is complex and difficult to depict visually, exemplified by the fact that systems are often visualized as simple flow diagrams, with arrows representing complex interconnections between elements. Networks, on the other hand, are defined precisely in their ability to graphically illustrate specific relationships between elements. Graph theory provides network theory with a graph consisting of nodes and edges, the visual structure of elements connected by lines or arrows; a network consists of a graph with additional information placed on the edges, or links, of the graph.[13] The nodes of a network are discrete elements, representing entities like people, buildings, or organizations. These elements are linked by specific, directional or non-directional relationships, which can be

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[11] Bennett, 34.
[12] Meadows, *Thinking in Systems: A Primer*, 14.
[13] Brughmans, "Thinking Through Networks," 627–28.

visualized in what is called a node-link, or force-directed, diagram. One example of a network visualization will be seen later in this project, depicting financial contributions made towards the construction of specific synagogues. The nodes in this case are individuals, congregations, and buildings; the individuals and congregations are linked directionally to the buildings by their specific contribution. Critically, the nodes and relationships of a network can be visualized in a graph.

There are several networks defined in this project, for various purposes, and all can be considered elements of the larger system of the Diaspora Synagogue. The network example above will be seen in a later chapter to visually demonstrate how buildings emerge in one part from the ways that wealth flowed between Sephardic congregations in the Atlantic. The term network is also used to describe groups of merchants engaging in trade with one another and entities outside of the group. How these trade networks generally worked is critical to understanding how the Sephardim may be viewed as a network, especially in terms of how wealth was accumulated and dispersed by members of the group.

Trade Networks and the Flow of Capital

The New Christian merchants that migrated to Amsterdam in the early 17th century, some returning to Judaism and joining the newly founded congregations in the city, were participants in the Portuguese commercial network that dominated global trade during the 16th century. The influx of Spanish Jews into Portugal following the expulsion in 1492, and the subsequent forced conversion of all Portuguese Jews in 1497, transformed Portugal's merchant class. The mass conversions removed old divisions between Catholic and Jewish merchants but created new divisions between Old and New Christians. The boundary between these groups, however, was more porous than previous divisions, especially due to the high incidence of

intermarriage between the two groups.[14] While New Christians were blocked from participating in certain areas of Iberian society, especially government and religious appointments, the Portuguese merchant class became predominantly made up of New Christian merchants. This community of Portuguese traders created one of the most extensive and powerful economic networks of the early modern period. This network has been characterized by its de-centered nature, Daviken Studnicki-Grizbert writing:

> Portuguese merchants did not center their activities in a particular nation-state, region, or city. In this respect they distinguished themselves from most other mercantile communities of the period. Seventeenth-century European merchants generally developed trading structures that formed a hub with a series of spokes branching out to secondary markets… If other merchant communities were defined by hub-and-spokes organizational structure, the Portuguese connected many hubs and many spokes.[15]

Within this network of Portuguese New Christian merchants was a wide range of religious belief and practice. Some New Christians looked for ways to maintain their Jewish identity, and a culture of *converso,* crypto-Judaism, developed, where Jewish rituals were practiced in secret, despite the threat of Inquisitorial prosecution.[16] Others fully assimilated into the dominant Catholic culture of Counter-Reformation Portugal.

These cultural dynamics of the Portuguese New Christian merchant network were further complicated in the early 17th century, when a Sephardic community emerged in Amsterdam. The economic opportunities in Amsterdam were a major draw for Portuguese New Christian merchants, and once there, some chose to return to the public practice of Judaism. For these New Christian merchants, their trade network was no longer de-centered, but now very much focused

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[14] Studnicki-Gizbert, "La Nación among the Nations: Portuguese and Other Maritime Trading Diasporas in the Atlantic, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," 76.
[15] Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, *A Nation Upon the Ocean Sea*, Portugal's Atlantic Diaspora and the Crisis of the Spanish Empire, 1492-1640 (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 95.
[16] Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550-1750*, 24.

in the city of Amsterdam, where they also regularly engaged in trade ventures with Dutch

merchants.[17] This interconnected and trans-national trade network, that was now made up of

Jews, New Christians, Catholics, and Dutch Protestant merchants can be described as "a

collection of actors that pursued repeated, enduring exchange relations with one another."[18] This

is a broader definition than used by Braudel, who instead focused on geographic dispersion,

noting that a commercial network consisted of individuals and agents located at different points

in a circuit or group of circuits. The partnerships, connections, and communications among them

ensured trade continuity and prosperity.[19] However, it is the circulatory flows within a network

that reflect its strength, as argued by Markovits in his study on Indian merchants and the Dutch

East India Company. Markovits provides a useful definition of commercial networks, relevant to

New Christian and Sephardic merchants, writing:

> [A Network is] a structure through which goods, credit, capital and men circulate
> regularly across a given space which can vary enormously in terms of both size
> and accessibility. A network generally consists of a centre, a locality or a cluster
> of localities where capital is raised… and of dispersed colonies of merchants and
> commercial employees which keep close links with the network centre. Between
> the network centre, on the one hand, and the dispersed colonies, on the other
> hand, goods, but also men (and sometimes women), credit and information
> circulate. While goods may also circulate widely outside the network (otherwise
> there would not be any exchange), men, credit and information circulate almost
> exclusively within it. Most crucial is probably the circulation of information. It is
> the capacity of the merchants to maintain a constant flow of information within
> the network that ensures its success.[20]

With a restructured economy and new opportunities for large and small scale merchants,

Amsterdam rose to prominence as the center for global commerce in the early 17th century,

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[17] Roitman, *The Same but Different? Inter-Cultural Trade and the Sephardim, 1595-1640.*
[18] Joel M. Podolny and Karen L. Page, "Network Forms of Organization," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998): 59.
[19] Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century* (New York: Harper & Row, 1982).
[20] Claude Markovits, *The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750-1947*, Traders of Sind From Bukhara to Panama (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 25.

maintaining this status until London overtook Dutch trade primacy in the mid-18th century.[21]
The network of New Christian and Sephardic merchants became centered in the Dutch port city,
with new migrants arriving steadily.

By the end of the 16th century, the Netherlands had become the world's central store of
commodities.[22] Such a stockpile of goods required mechanisms for exchange, remittance,
commodity classification, insurance and credit. By centralizing these institutions in Amsterdam,
the Netherlands became the central commercial hub, not just in Europe, but globally. With a
wider range and larger volume of commodities, a need for greater specialization in commodities
trading arose, leading the brokers' guild to admit outsiders, including Jews, for their specialized
knowledge. By 1612 there were three hundred licensed brokers in Amsterdam, ten of whom were
members of the Dutch Sephardim, specializing in Levant silks and Iberian colonial products,
especially sugar.[23] Access to this commodities market aided cooperation, and drew merchants of
many backgrounds to Amsterdam. Already in the 1590's detailed commodity price-sheets were
printed with more regularity than elsewhere, ensuring information was freely distributed.[24]
Merchants conducted business and exchanged information on the streets of Amsterdam, under
house porches, and in the New Church, before the Exchange Building was built in 1611 (Image
2.1).[25]

The Amsterdam Exchange was a knowledge hub, so central to the exchange of
information that Amsterdam-based merchants and agents were usually the first to know about the

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[21] Jonathan Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740* (Oxford [England], New York: Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press, 1989).
[22] Israel, 73.
[23] Israel, 74.
[24] Israel, 76.
[25] Roitman, *The Same but Different? Inter-Cultural Trade and the Sephardim, 1595-1640*, 147.

latest market developments, giving them an edge over their associates elsewhere.[26] Nearly

everything concerning trade took place at the exchange, including chartering of ships, insuring

goods, extending and acquiring credit, making payments, and hiring warehouse space and

employees. The Exchange offered a network of legal services; merchants could file contracts,

register agreements, and get legal advice at the nearby notary offices.[27] The Exchange Bank was

founded in 1619, modeled after the Giro Bank in Venice, as an attempt to settle wide

discrepancies in currency rates, caused by the vast scale and complexity of the money-exchange

happening in Amsterdam.[28] It became a deposit bank, where merchants could safely and secretly

settle their accounts, inspiring confidence in its operations due to the fact it was a civic

institution backed by the Dutch state.

In one of its more impactful innovations, the Amsterdam Exchange developed into what

has been called the world's "first true stock exchange."[29] In 1602, the Dutch East India Company

(VOC) became the first joint-stock company to go to the exchange. The VOC organized

investments and balanced the interests of many players, including the Dutch merchant elite and

elements of the Dutch state. It was an innovation uniquely Dutch, based on the federal

organization of the United Provinces, structured to prevent the concentration of power at any one

center.[30] The practices of buying ahead, the large and unprecedented range of stockpiled

commodities, Dutch methods of shared ownership of ships and cargoes, and dealings in VOC

and later joint-stock company shares, all led to new forms of speculative trading. The

Amsterdam Exchange developed from a conventional commodity exchange into something new:

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[26] Inger Leemans, "The Amsterdam Stock Exchange as Affective Economy," in *Early Modern Knowledge Societies as Affective Economies* (Routledge, 2020), 303–30, https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429270222-12.
[27] Leemans, 325.
[28] Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740*, 77.
[29] Israel, 75.
[30] Israel, 69.

"a world exchange that itself became an instrument of trade control."[31]

What this meant for merchants was that even those with small-scale ventures could invest in large-scale trade. Arriving in Amsterdam with an existing network was especially valuable; a merchant didn't need to arrive with much capital, but they could leverage their existing network into new opportunities for continued wealth accumulation.[32] These economic opportunities brought many to Amsterdam, including both New Christians, arriving from the Iberian peninsula and the overseas New World colonies, and Sephardic merchants from the Ottoman Empire and Venice, where public Jewish communities had developed following the first Iberian expulsion.

From Brazil to Amsterdam

One of the critical routes that brought New Christians to Amsterdam was through the export of Brazilian sugar to Portugal and Northern Europe. Beginning in the mid-16th century, Portugal's trade with its colonies in Brazil surged, with Portuguese New Christian merchants as the most powerful players in a network that by the end of the century tied together Amsterdam, Brazil, and Portugal.[33] This network became central to the early Dutch commercial empire and brought some of the earliest New Christian migrants to Amsterdam to engage in trade, where many then joined Amsterdam's Sephardic community. During the 1590's, notable New Christian merchant Manoel Rodrigues Vega arrived from Antwerp, and Sephardic merchant Garcia Pimentel from Venice. These merchants had extensive commercial investments in Portugal, Brazil, North Africa, Spain, England, and beyond. Exemplifying the social ties engaged in these commercial networks, Manoel's brother, Pedro Rodrigues Vega, relocated to Brazil and bought a

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[31] Israel, 75.

[32] Roitman, *The Same but Different? Inter-Cultural Trade and the Sephardim, 1595-1640*, 151.

[33] Wim Klooster, "Communities of Port Jews and Their Contacts in the Dutch Atlantic World," *Jewish History* 20, no. 2 (2006): 131, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10835-005-9001-0.

sugar plantation, from where he shipped cargo to his brother in Amsterdam.[34] Another early New

Christian settler in Amsterdam, Paulo de Pina, took a circuitous settlement route from Lisbon, to

Pernambuco, back to Lisbon before arriving in Holland where he openly practiced Judaism and

is listed among early documents related to the first Amsterdam congregation. During the Twelve-

Year Truce between the Dutch United Provinces and Spain, the Spanish embargo on Dutch

commerce and shipping lifted, opening Spanish ports in Iberia and its colonies to Dutch

merchants, and provided new opportunities for Portuguese New Christian and Sephardic

merchants. Over this period thousands of crates of sugar, Brazil wood, tobacco and other goods

shipped from Brazil to Amsterdam annually.[35] In one example, Pina is documented in 1618 as

having imported cargo from Brazil to Amsterdam on five different ships, both Dutch and

Portuguese.[36]

This rise in activity in the Dutch port did not go unnoticed by Iberian authorities, and in

that same year, the Portuguese Inquisition began an offensive specifically aimed at New

Christian merchants. The crown union between Spain and Portugal in 1580 had placed the

entirety of the Iberian Peninsula and Portuguese possessions overseas under Spanish control, and

they feared the expansion of Dutch colonial trade. In response to the Dutch truce, a Spanish

secretary wrote to the state council in 1618:

> The truce was very favorable to the Dutch and that since it was signed, they find
> themselves unhindered, with excessive wealth, while these realms [Spain,
> Portugal, Flanders, Naples, and Sicily] are much diminished, since the Dutch have
> taken their commerce, and that this damage, if not remedied, will become daily
> worse.[37]

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[34] Roitman, *The Same but Different? Inter-Cultural Trade and the Sephardim, 1595-1640.*
[35] Vink, *Creole Jews: Negotiating Community in Colonial Suriname*, 22.
[36] Klooster, "Communities of Port Jews and Their Contacts in the Dutch Atlantic World," 133.
[37] Translated from Spanish in Jonathan Israel, "Spain and the Dutch Sephardim, 1609-1660," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 12, no. 1/2 (1978): 3.

Spanish authorities believed that the Portuguese New Christians, and more specifically the

conversos who lived secretly as Jews in Iberia and openly in Amsterdam, were undermining

Spain's religious as well as commercial ambitions. During the second Spanish-Dutch war,

Spanish priest Diego de Cisneros wrote in a widely-circulated 1637 memorial:

> With the help of the Jews [of Amsterdam] the Dutch rebels have raised their head
> and increased their power, the Jews assisting them in their wars, conquests,
> negotiations and other pretensions and becoming in the lands of your Majesty,
> spies of the said rebels, penetrating the centres of trade, administration of the
> armadas, convoys and revenues of Your Majesty…sucking out the core of wealth
> [from Spain and Portugal] and sapping the resolutions of the state.[38]

Spanish authorities blamed the Portuguese *conversos* for Dutch prosperity and colonial

expansion, despite their relatively small number among Dutch merchants. In fact, Dutch

merchants had it out for Spain, one of the directors of the Dutch West India Company (WIC)

even stating that the company had been founded to "cut off the nerves and veins of the King of

Spain's annual revenues."[39] Encouraged by the WIC, Iberian ships were targeted by Dutch

pirates in the Atlantic route between Portugal and Brazil. Jewish residents of Amsterdam and

their New Christian associates abroad suffered from these attacks, unable to keep their goods

from being confiscated. The Dutch conquest of Recife in 1630 would lead to more favorable

economic circumstances for the Sephardim, but until then, Amsterdam became a primary

destination for many New Christian merchants. Especially for those who had relocated to the

South American colony, Amsterdam was a place where they could openly practice Judaism

while maintaining their existing trade network between Holland, Brazil, and Portugal.

By the mid-17th century, the Portuguese merchant network that dominated world trade

during the previous century had fractured. This network, known as *la Nación Portuguesa*,

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[38] Israel, "Spain and the Dutch Sephardim, 1609-1660."
[39] Klooster, "Communities of Port Jews and Their Contacts in the Dutch Atlantic World," 134.

splintered into several branches: Iberian branches operating within the sanctioned routes between Iberian cities and their colonies, and the "Jews of the Portuguese Nation", or *la Nação Judeo Portuguesa.* The latter branch, *la Nação,* was centered in Amsterdam and made up of Sephardic Jews and Portuguese New Christian merchants, both those who maintained their Catholic public aliases in order to travel safely to the Iberian Peninsula and those who had no intention of returning to Judaism. *La Nação* was a trade network, but it demonstrates some of the changes occurring within Jewish cultural and religious identity. What tied these merchants together was not religion, but a shared communal ethnic identity. Iberian lineage carried more weight towards membership than one's commitment to Judaism, exemplified by the fact that Amsterdam's German and Polish, Ashkenazi Jews, who often prayed among the Sephardim in the early 17th century, were prohibited from joining.

Religious and Cultural Identity in the Dutch Sephardim

For European Jews, the late 16th century marked a period of unprecedented changes in how collective identity was formed. Jonathan Israel describes these changes as "one of the most fundamental and remarkable phenomena distinguishing post-Temple Jewish history."[40] While Jewish intellectual life during the medieval period remained Talmudic, essentially focused on ritual and legal matters, the early modern period saw changes that produced a more coherent "Jewish society, indeed Jewish nationhood, as something distinct from Jewish religion."[41] The development of a "Jewish nationhood," a Jewish cultural identity separated from religious identity, stemmed directly out of the Jewish experiences of mass conversions and expulsions of the Iberian Inquisitions of the 15th century. Western European Jews had experienced

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[40] Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550-1750,* 58.
[41] Israel, 56.

persecutions, forced baptisms, and expulsions in the centuries prior, however, the Iberian expulsions had a profound impact on the collective memory of the Jewish people of Europe. This experience became a central factor in the evolution of European Judaism and was directly responsible for the early modern reorientation of Jewish communal identity.

Jews in medieval Spain and Portugal had enjoyed exceptionally favorable conditions, living within one of the largest Jewish populations in Europe of around 200,000 Jewish men, women, and children.[42] Circumstances took a turn for the worse in 1391, when a massive outbreak of the plague caused violent hysteria against dozens of large Jewish communities, including those in Toledo, Burgos, Sevilla, and Valencia.[43] Thousands of Jews were killed as a result, and tens of thousands were forcibly baptized.[44] In 1492, Spain's Inquisitorial forces expelled all Jews who refused conversion from the country, causing tens of thousands of Jews to migrate to Portugal. When mass forced baptisms in Portugal began in 1497, some 70,000 Jews converted to Roman Catholicism and were labeled, *cristãos-novas*, New Christians, a legal designation that carried over into later generations, separating them from *cristãos-velhos*, Old Christians, due to their Jewish heritage. New Christians integrated into Catholic society, however, they faced social discrimination and intimidation by the authorities of the Inquisition. The exiles of the Iberian Inquisitions migrated in large numbers to Jewish centers that had been established in Islamic territories during the European expulsions of previous centuries, primarily in North Africa and the Ottoman Empire.[45] Sephardic congregations maintained Jewish ritual

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[42] Israel, 19.

[43] Between the years 1350-1450, the epidemic known as the Black Death caused catastrophic loss of population and constricted economic activity in European communities and resulted in high levels of violence against Jews. In one example, during the years of 1348-9 in Germany, Jews were accused of poisoning wells, and entire Jewish communities were slaughtered in what is known as the Black Death massacres.

[44] Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550-1750*, 6.

[45] Certain Islamic territories, and the Ottoman Empire in particular, were highly tolerant of Jews during the medieval and early modern periods. Kaplan, Yosef. "Bom Judesmo: The Western Sephardic Diaspora." In *Cultures of the Jews: A New History*, edited by David Biale, 638–69. 1st ed. New York: Schocken Books, 2002. p. 642

and built synagogues in Salonika and Constantinople, as well as in Syria, Lebanon and in the Holy Land. During the 15th century, Sephardic communities were also established in Italy, including Venice and Livorno, where charters granted privileges to Jews to engage in commercial activities, although they were required to live within ghettos.[46]

The Spanish Inquisition, and those that followed in Portugal and Rome, represented the Roman Catholic world of the 15th and 16th centuries. Papal attitudes towards Jews and Judaism were hostile in the 16th century; Catholic authorities believed Judaism to be a force capable of 'seducing' the minds of Christians, and more importantly, the recently converted New Christians.[47] The policy against Jews of Pope Paul IV involved two major goals: to pressure Jews toward conversion and to keep the Christian world safe from Jewish influence. In 1555, Paul IV issued a papal bull which required Jews living in the Papal States to be segregated into ghettos, often overcrowded, walled off areas, which further minimized interactions between Jews and Christians.[48] His successor, Pius V, took these edicts further by expelling Jews from all Papal states, with the exception of the major port city of Ancona and Rome itself. The Inquisitions, controlled by the monarch of the given territory, were designed to root out all forms of heresy and enforce orthodox Catholicism within the borders of their realm. The trials, forced conversions, expulsions and executions by the authorities of the Inquisition enforced more than just the religious orthodoxy of the church, but also the political ideology of these Roman Catholic states.

Spain in particular pushed forward this political ideology, in which, as a Christian state, it was the nation's responsibility to do all within their power to embody Christian religious values.

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[46] For more, see: Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009).
[47] Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550-1750.*
[48] Israel.

In response to the Reformation, Spanish monarchs viewed their own country as the heir of the chosen people of Israel and protectors of Catholic Christianity.[49] This ideology led to the intense missionary practices, as well as Inquisitorial forces, throughout Spanish and Portuguese colonies. Major Spanish political thinkers of the 17th century, including Saavedra Fajardo and Fernández de Navarrete, further promoted the importance of the Spanish monarch, as the key for the conservation of orthodox Roman Catholicism.[50] As a result of this view, and the mass forced baptisms of the Inquisition, early modern Spain was consumed with ideas related to purity of Christian blood. Traditional religious law defined converts and their descendants as Christian in every respect, however, regulations of *limpiezas de sangre* were imposed in Spain and Portugal, stating that it was not one's faith which determined their rights, but their lineage.[51] Only those with uncontaminated Old Christian backgrounds were considered to have 'pure blood.' New Christians, and their descendants, were blocked from participating in certain areas of Iberian society. By the mid-16th century, laws related to blood purity reached almost every public institution. Anyone wanting a government appointment, a religious order, military ranking, university positions, and the like, had to receive certification from the Inquisition testifying to their pure Old Christian bloodline. Into the 17th century, blood purity as central to determining one's social position was a major characteristic of Spanish and Portuguese society.

Elsewhere in Europe, the Protestant Reformation had begun a larger process of reconsidering religious identity as separate from national identity or loyalty. New Christians took part in this process by challenging prevailing notions of religious identity, as they often defined

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[49] Yosef Kaplan, "Political Concepts in the World of Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam During the Seventeenth Century: The Problem of Exclusion and the Boundaries of Self-Identity," in *Menasseh Ben Israel and His World*, ed. Yosef Kaplan, Henry Mechoulan, and Richard Popkin (Leiden, 1989), 53.

[50] Kaplan, 52.

[51] Kaplan, "Political Concepts in the World of Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam During the Seventeenth Century: The Problem of Exclusion and the Boundaries of Self-Identity."

their identity in ethnic rather than religious terms. As David Graizbord writes, "For New Christians, Jewish ethnicity did not necessarily imply a "Jewish" religion and "Jewish" religious practice… "religion" and "ethnicity" address different if overlapping realms of experience."[52] New Christians identified themselves as "Spanish" or "Portuguese," and in 17th century Amsterdam, even notarial records listed openly practicing members of the Sephardim as "Portuguese Merchants in Amsterdam," usually without the mention of their religious affiliation.[53] Throughout the Sephardic diaspora, Sephardic Jewish ethnicity was derived from the perception of a shared Iberian cultural heritage. In 17th century Amsterdam, there was an incredibly strong sense of solidarity within the Sephardic community. For example, members of the Sephardic congregations regularly supported charitable organizations for poorer New Christians, regardless of whether they practiced Judaism.[54] Although they recognized some connection to the Ashkenazi immigrants in Amsterdam, allowing them to pray within their synagogues before their community had large enough numbers to maintain their own institutions, full membership in the community was restricted to those of Iberian descent. By comparison, Old Christians who married into Sephardic families did not face such barriers, and were welcomed into *la Nação*, and into the synagogue if they observed Jewish law.[55]

This Sephardic communal ethnic identity came with a sense of superiority over Jews of different backgrounds. It has been argued by scholars that Sephardic culture inherited the Iberian notions of blood purity and racial superiority, but David Graizbord and others have made a

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[52] David Graizbord, "Religion and Ethnicity Among 'Men of the Nation': Toward a Realistic Interpretation," *Jewish Social Studies* 15, no. 1 (2008): 43.

[53] Roitman, *The Same but Different? Inter-Cultural Trade and the Sephardim, 1595-1640*, 51.

[54] For more see: Yosef Kaplan, "The Self-Definition of the Sephardi Jews of Western Europe and Their Relation to the Alien and the Stranger," in *An Alternate Path to Modernity*, n.d., 51–77; Miriam Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997).

[55] Yosef Kaplan, "Wayward New Christians and Stubborn New Jews: The Shaping of a Jewish Identity," *Jewish History* 8, no. 1/2 (1994): 29.

strong case that these characteristics of Sephardic identity can be traced to self-perceptions of Iberian Jews dating back to the 10th century.[56] The first Iberian Jews to refer to themselves as "Sephardim" were the Andalusian Jewish exiles of the 12th century persecutions under the Almohad regime, including the scholars Abraham Ibn-Ezra and Maimonides. Graizbord reasons that their use of the term "Sephardi" not only conveyed their place of origin, but also an embodiment of a "specifically Ibero-Jewish culture of learning, leisure, artistic creativity, politics, and piety."[57] The concept of Sephardic identity in its early form was tied to particular character traits considered unique to Iberian Jewish culture. These idealized notions of their origins were a possible response to their exile and their awareness of having lost a connection to a homeland and previous way of life.

Following the mass conversion of 1391, and even more so after the expulsion of 1492, Sephardic Jews began the practice of self-identifying through family descent, noting themselves as being "of a family of believers" or "of a good family," adding genealogical factors to their Sephardic identity. New Christians on the Iberian Peninsula, although considered fully Catholic by conversion, remained legally and socially defined by their Jewish lineage. By the 17th century, New Christians had been separated from living Judaism for over a century, so instead "relied heavily on genealogical essentialism to define and articulate their sense of difference."[58] These notions fed directly into the prejudices that Iberian-descended Sephardic Jews in Amsterdam felt towards Ashkenazi Jews from Central and Eastern Europe. Well into the 18th century, the Dutch Sephardic writer and economist, Isaac de Pinto, put these prejudices plainly in his letter to Voltaire in 1762:

> Portuguese and Spanish Jews . . . are scrupulous not to intermingle . . . with the

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[56] Graizbord, "Religion and Ethnicity Among 'Men of the Nation': Toward a Realistic Interpretation," 47–52.
[57] Graizbord, 48.
[58] Graizbord, 50.

> Jews of other nations. . . . [The Iberian Jews] are of the opinion that they are
> derived from the tribe of Judah, whose honorable families were exiled to the land
> of Spain at the time of the Babylonian Exile, and this opinion leads them to
> separatism and develops feelings of superiority. . . for everyone has [a high]
> regard for them.[59]

De Pinto, and other writers of the Sephardim, promoted the idea that the genealogical differences between the Sephardim and Ashkenazim were identifiable in their behavior, tastes, and professional and intellectual pursuits. Wrote de Pinto, "A Portuguese Jew from Bordeaux and a German Jew from Metz . . . appear to be two entirely different beings."[60] The German, Polish, and Ukrainian Jews that made up the Ashkenazim in Amsterdam were seen by their Sephardic neighbors as both socially and intellectually inferior. Western Sephardic identity became tied not only to Iberian lineage but also to an ideal of *Bom Judesmo*, translated from Portuguese as "Good [or Proper] Judaism." As Yosef Kaplan has explained, *Bom Judesmo* revered qualities of restraint, courtesy, dignified piety, deference to religious authority, and was especially conscious of the judgment and values of the Dutch gentiles who tolerated the presence of Amsterdam's Jewish community.[61]

Amsterdam's Schuilkerken Synagogues

For much of the 16th century, the Low Countries—present-day Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg—was ruled by Habsburg Spain. In 1568, the Dutch overthrew the Catholic monarch, beginning the Eighty Years' War (or Dutch War for Independence). The Spanish Habsburgs had expelled the small number of Jews from the Netherlands in 1549, but when the Union of Utrecht was signed in 1579, founding the United Provinces, it included an edict of

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[59] Graizbord, 50.
[60] Graizbord, 50.
[61] Yosef Kaplan, "Bom Judesmo: The Western Sephardic Diaspora," in *Cultures of the Jews: A New History*, ed. David Biale, 1st ed. (New York: Schocken Books, 2002), 638–69.

religious toleration. Intended to provide opportunity for further cities and provinces to join the union, the law granting personal freedom of religion was considered by Sephardic immigrants as permission from the Dutch authorities to practice Judaism.[62]

In Amsterdam's Vlooienburg quarter at the start of the 17th century, a small Sephardic community of recently arrived Portuguese New Christian merchants began holding prayer services within private homes. The island had been constructed between 1592-96 at the edge of the city's boundaries and had quickly developed into a residential neighborhood inhabited mainly by Portuguese and other foreigners (Image 2.1). On Yom Kippur, September 15th, 1602, Dutch authorities raided a Jewish prayer service being held discreetly in a house near Montelbaan Tower, mistaking the gathering for an illicit Catholic service. Several were detained and the rabbi, Uri ben Joseph Halevi, when questioned stated he had arrived in Amsterdam eighteen months prior from Emden at the request of several Portuguese merchants, and since "[he had] practiced religion in the Jewish manner in this city… in his house, as required by the Law, by reading on the Sabbaths and at Passover, Pentecost, and the Festival of Tabernacles."[63] This documentation is the earliest confirming an organized Jewish community in Amsterdam. This first congregation was Beth Jacob (House of Jacob), named possibly in honor of the wealthy merchant, Jacob Tirado, whose home on the Houghtgracht was used for services in 1607.[64]

According to testimony from 1608, members of congregation Beth Jacob had attempted

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[62] Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806*, Oxford History of Early Modern Europe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

[63] David P. Cohen Paraira, "A Jewel in the City," in *The Esnoga: A Monument to Portuguese-Jewish Culture*, ed. Martine Stroo and Ernest Kurpershoek (Amsterdam: D'ARTS, 1991), 41.

[64] The identity of Jacob Tirado remains mysterious, despite scholars' attempts to identify him among early Sephardi merchants in Amsterdam. (See Roitman, The Same but Different? Intercultural Trade and the Sephardim, 1595-1640, pg 42). On Tirado's home used as synagogue, see: David Cohen Paraira and Jos Smith, "The Portuguese Jewish Community in Amsterdam," in *The Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: WBooks, 2013), 19.

to obtain permission to build a public synagogue but were denied.[65] A second attempt was made in 1612 by members of Neveh Shalom (Dwelling of Peace), the second Sephardic congregation in Amsterdam, established around 1608. The initiative was again unsuccessful after vigorous opposition from the Calvinist Church. Despite the principle of freedom of religion written in the Dutch republic's constitution, the early Jewish community in Amsterdam were forced to practice Judaism under restrictive conditions that required services to be held discreetly, in private homes, and out of public view so as to not disturb Dutch Calvinists. Congregation Neveh Shalom did however complete their synagogue building project in 1612, after registering the property under the name of a Christian collaborator and leasing it from them as a private house.[66] The form of this synagogue was that of a *schuilkerk*, a Dutch term for a vernacular prayer hall that translates as "hidden church" in English.[67] *Schuilkerken* were defined by their unassuming facades and were often pre-existing buildings that had been modified for religious use. During the early modern period this building type was used by Catholics, dissenting Protestant denominations, and Jews living in the Dutch province.

A building contract was signed on January 31st, 1612, by three members of the Neveh Shalom congregation and a Dutch carpenter, Hans Gerritsz, for the construction of a synagogue. The Neveh Shalom Synagogue was sited "on the 'Houtburgwal' behind the Breestraat," adjacent to the current day Moses and Aaron Church on the Houtgracht, on a piece of land "90 foot long and 30 foot wide" (Image 2.2).[68] The building stood back from the street, with a wall and

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[65] Yosef Kaplan, "Between Calvinists and Jews in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam," in *Conflict and Religious Conversation in Latin Christendom*, ed. Israel Yuval and Ram Ben-Shalom, vol. 17, Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2014), 278, https://doi.org/10.1484/M.CELAMA-EB.1.102018.

[66] Kaplan, 279.

[67] Barry Stiefel, "The Architectural Origins of the Great Early Modern Urban Synagogue," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 56, no. 1 (2011): 105–34.

[68] E. M. Koen, "Notarial Records Relating To The Portuguese Jews In Amsterdam Up To 1639," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 5, no. 2 (1971): 240–42, https://doi.org/10.2307/41481053.

forecourt separating it from the public thoroughfare. Similar to other Dutch *schuilkerken*, the Neveh Shalom Synagogue was an unassuming three storied building, 30 feet wide and 60 feet long, with Dutch stepped gables marking the front and back rooflines.[69] From the front entrance, stairs led men up to the prayer hall in the double height upper level, with a women's gallery along the back wall. Inside, the prayer space was more ornate than the exterior. Carpentry detailing included "oak beams with 'swan's neck' corbels and posts on 'pillars.'"[70] Panels with Hebrew inscriptions, painted motifs of plants and flowers hung on the interior walls, and the *heichal* (ark) sat within a niche on the front wall.[71]

In 1614, the Beth Jacob congregation began renting a house on the Houtgracht known as "Antwerpen" for use as a synagogue (Image 2.2). A series of notarial records from 1618-1625 record the lease, payments, and disputes on the property while congregation Beth Jacob were tenants.[72] The property owner, the Dutch widow Ibel Hendrickx, appears aware that the property was being used for Jewish prayer services, but also required the house to be inhabited, with congregant Jose Pinto listed as the tenant. The rent was paid not by Pinto, but by members of the Beth Jacob congregation: wealthy Amsterdam merchants Paulo de Pina, Diogo da Silva, Antonio Gomes d'Alcobaca and Manuel Lopes de Leao. One record notes that Hendrickx received 1,000 guilders from Paulo de Pina for alterations to the house at the start of the lease.[73] Presumably this was to cover the cost of converting the upper story into the synagogue space, where large

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[69] H.J. Zantkuyl, "Reconstructie van Een Vroeg 17e Eeuwse Synagoge," *Genootschap Amstelodamum* 57e, no. 9 (1970): 199–207.

[70] Koen, "Notarial Records Relating To The Portuguese Jews In Amsterdam Up To 1639," 242.

[71] Cohen Paraira, "A Jewel in the City," 42.

[72] "Notarial Records Relating To The Portuguese Jews In Amsterdam Up To 1639," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 13, no. 1 (1979): 101–14, https://doi.org/10.2307/41481298; "Notarial Records Relating To The Portuguese Jews In Amsterdam Up To 1639," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 14, no. 1 (1980): 79–102, https://doi.org/10.2307/41481329; "Notarial Records Relating To The Portuguese Jews In Amsterdam Up To 1639," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 28, no. 2 (1994): 204–15.

[73] "Notarial Records Relating To The Portuguese Jews In Amsterdam Up To 1639," 1979, 112.

sections of the floors and joists were removed to create galleries.[74] The Antwerpen house had a forecourt, somewhat recessed from the street, which was entered through a narrow lane on the side of the building.

There would have been little denoting that this was a Jewish house of worship, other than the presence of congregants. Inside were painted decorations and a gallery held by columns. The *heichal* was made of Brazilian rosewood, an import that was likely brought to Amsterdam through the congregants' commercial ties to Brazil.[75] The torah scroll housed inside was presumably the one brought to Amsterdam by Rabbi Uri Halevi, covered by the silver torah shield gifted by Jacob Tirado and his wife Rachel, both still possessed by the Amsterdam Portuguese congregation today.[76] Two back annexes and the front stable were also rented out to the Jewish congregation, one of the former used for the Talmud Torah seminary beginning in 1620.[77]

Conflict arose within congregation Beth Jacob in 1618, causing a schism that separated the young congregation in two. A leading member of the community, the physician David Farar challenged the religious leadership of Rabbi Joseph Pardo for his literal interpretations of midrash and other texts. Farar was supported by another prominent rabbi in the community, Saul Levi Morteira, as well as a majority of the congregants. The congregation looked to the Jewish leadership in Venice, the preeminent community of the period, for help arbitrating the dispute. Under threat of excommunication, Venice leadership demanded the parties find a compromise. With the intervention of Amsterdam's municipal judiciary committee, it was decided that ownership of the Beth Jacob Synagogue and a majority of its assets would go to the group of

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[74] Cohen Paraira and Smith, "The Portuguese Jewish Community in Amsterdam," 18.
[75] Cohen Paraira and Smith, 18.
[76] Cohen Paraira and Smith, 18.
[77] "Notarial Deeds Relating to Portuguese Jews," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 29, no. 2 (1995): 223.

congregants supporting Farar. Followers of Rabbi Pardo moved to another building on

Vlooienburg, where they established congregation Beth Israel (House of Israel) (Image 2.2). The

former warehouse was let by the confectioner Jan Thivart to Beth Israel congregant, Joseph

Pinto,[78] "to be used as a synagogue" for 225 guilders a year.[79] Other signatories from the

congregation were listed as "Portuguese merchants in Amsterdam," Bento Osorio, Duarte

Pereira, Jeronimo Rodrigues Mendes, Manuel Thomas and Steven Cardoso.[80] Little is known

about the interior of this synagogue beyond some initial renovation removing part of an upper

floor to create galleries.[81]

Establishing a Separate Community: The Amsterdam Ashkenazim

The few dozen German and Polish Jews in Amsterdam during the early 17th century

prayed within the Sephardic synagogues and buried their dead in the Sephardic cemetery in

Ouderkerk. However, they were not considered members of *la Nación* and rarely interacted

socially with the Sephardic elite. During this period, the Ashkenazim depended on the Sephardic

community economically, and were often employed as servants in wealthy Sephardic

households, worked in factories owned by members of *la Nación*, or acted as caretakers for the

synagogues. As more Ashkenazi Jews settled in Amsterdam, including some wealthier lower-

middle class households, a separate religious community began to take form. During the High

Holy days of 1635, services were held separately for the Ashkenazim in a private home in

Vlooienburg, with Ansel Rood acting as *hazan* (cantor). By 1639 a fully independent 'High

German' congregation had been founded, and a second *hazan* had been appointed. The precise

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[78] J.F. van Agt claims this to be the same Joseph Pinto tenant of the Antwerpen House rented by Beth Jacob, see: Agt, *Synagogen in Amsterdam*, 13.
[79] "Notarial Records Relating To The Portuguese Jews In Amsterdam Up To 1639," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 13, no. 2 (1979): 220, https://doi.org/10.2307/41481311.
[80] "Notarial Records Relating To The Portuguese Jews In Amsterdam Up To 1639," 1979.
[81] Cohen Paraira and Smith, "The Portuguese Jewish Community in Amsterdam," 19.

location of their synagogue in this year is unknown, but documents show that both an upper and

lower floor were used during holiday services.[82] The Ashkenazim were quickly contending with

a lack of space, as by 1640 the congregation already had 120 members. In 1642, additional space

was rented from the Portuguese merchant, David Preto, for use as a prayer hall. Sited somewhere

on what is now Niewe Amstelstraat, the congregation made use of the building's ground floor,

pulling down the interior walls and making other renovations to create a large prayer space,

paying carpenter Jan Willem for the work.[83] Both buildings were used for prayer services until

the High German *schuilkerk* synagogue was constructed in 1648.

By 1642, the Amsterdam Ashkenazim founded their own cemetery in Muiderberg.[84] The

community was rapidly growing, and in 1648 a property on the Houghtgracht was purchased by

Isaac van Duits, Eliasarus Moises, Marcus Abrahams, and Abraham Isaac on behalf of the High

German congregation (Image 2.2).[85] A building contract was also registered for the construction

of a synagogue, with Gijsbert Cornelis Cruyff, master carpenter, and Willem Jacobsen van de

Gaffel, master mason. The synagogue was constructed as a *schuilkerk*, and was sited off the main

street, accessed via a corridor between the synagogue and the adjacent property.[86] The prayer

hall was a double height space, built on the second floor of the building, with a gallery along one

length. In a third level above this, further galleries wrapped around all four sides of the space.

When Prince Cosimo de Medici visited both the Portuguese Talmud Torah and the High German

synagogues in 1669, he remarked, "The Jews have two beautiful synagogues [in Amsterdam],

one for the Portuguese Jews and the other for the German."[87]

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[82] Agt, *Synagogen in Amsterdam*, 18.
[83] Agt, 19.
[84] Agt, 18.
[85] Agt, 19.
[86] Agt, 20.
[87] Quoted in Agt, 1974, 21.

Amsterdam's Ashkenazi community developed alongside the Sephardim, but not in parallel. Unlike the early Amsterdam Sephardic congregation, many of whom were living openly as Jews for the first time, the founders of the Ashkenazi congregation had brought their traditions with them from Germany. The Ashkenazim predominantly spoke West-Yiddish, which remained the primary language of the growing community through the 18th century. In the wake of the Chmielnicki pogroms of 1648-49 in Poland and the Russian invasion of Lithuania in 1655-56, a second wave of Ashkenazi migrants arrived in Amsterdam, bringing their Polish minhag. In 1660 the Polish Jewish community formed a separate congregation and cemetery; however, they were forced by the Amsterdam authorities to reunite with the High German congregation in 1673.[88] Migration from Eastern Europe continued steadily throughout the 17th century and into the next. In 1674 there were 5,000 Ashkenazim, roughly double the size of the Amsterdam Sephardim at that time, with this number quadrupled by the end of the 18th century.[89]

Consolidation of the Amsterdam Sephardim and Authority of the Mahamad

Perhaps in response to the organization of the Ashkenazim, or in a desire to consolidate authority, the Amsterdam Sephardim merged into a single congregation in 1639 under the name Talmud Torah. Taking the name Talmud Torah put the Amsterdam congregation in direct dialogue with the established Sephardic communities in Venice and Salonika. The chief Sephardic communal organization in Venice was named Talmud Torah, as was the 16th century synagogue in Salonika. These two communities were founded in tandem following the Iberian expulsion in the late 15th century, and their influence on the early modern Sephardim was substantial. Rabbi Joseph Pardo, of the early Amsterdam community, was originally from

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[88] Yosef Kaplan, "The Jews in the Republic until about 1750: Religious, Cultural, and Social Life," 2002, 126.
[89] Bart Wallet et al., "Amsterdam Ashkenazim until 1795," in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, n.d., 107.

Salonika, and had arrived in Amsterdam from Venice, bringing with him the conservative

religious orthodoxy of Venice and the Islamic Jewish center. The *haham* (chief rabbi) of the

newly united Amsterdam congregation, Rabbi Saul Levi Morteira, had come from the

Ashkenazic community in Venice, which had taken on Sephardic customs due to the large

number of Iberian immigrants. These Jewish centers would continue to provide religious

leadership in the Atlantic world, until Amsterdam's Sephardic congregation took preeminence in

the mid-17th century. Venice served as a direct model for the Amsterdam Talmud Torah's

communal organization and by-laws, the *ascamot*, which stated that their procedures were to be

"according to the practice in Venice." The Beth Israel Synagogue was selected as the primary

place of worship for the Talmud Torah congregation, and the adjacent buildings were purchased

to allow for an expansive remodel. The official inauguration of the new Talmud Torah

Synagogue took place on Rosh Hashanah 1639.[90]

Authority within the Sephardic congregation lay in the hands of the *mahamad*, a board of

governors composed of three to seven officials known as *parnassim*; Amsterdam's congregation

had seven *parnassim*, based on the large size of the community. According to Talmud Torah's

ascamot, the *mahamad* had "supreme authority over everyone, and no one may act against the

decisions the *Mahamad* passes and publishes."[91] This authority extended to the *hahamin* (rabbis)

as well. Punishment for violating this regulation was excommunication from the community.

Members of the *mahamad* were elected twice annually by the preceding members, so in practice,

control of the congregation was conferred to the wealthiest, most influential families. In the eyes

of Amsterdam's municipal government, the Jewish community was treated in many ways as

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[90] Cohen Paraira and Smith, "The Portuguese Jewish Community in Amsterdam," 21.
[91] Yosef Kaplan, "Discipline, Dissent, and Communal Authority in the Western Sephardic Diaspora," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, ed. Jonathan Karp and Adam Sutcliffe (Cambridge University Press, 2017), 384.

separate from other Dutch residents. Amsterdam's *mahamad* was tasked with representing their

community before Dutch authorities, who expected the Sephardic leaders to preside over

disputes within their community and prevent any kind of offense to public order. In particular,

the *mahamad* was required by municipal authorities to keep any vagrants and unwanted refugees

from entering the community.

The Amsterdam *mahamad* did all within their authority to maintain the high status the

Amsterdam Sephardim had gained within Dutch society. By 1620, there were an estimated 900-

1,000 Sephardic Jews living in Amsterdam, and the city had grown a reputation within Protestant

intellectual circles as a place where Christians could witness the return of Jewish life to the

continent.[92] Visitors to the Dutch synagogues became a common occurrence in the 17th and 18th

centuries. A notary record from 1624 provides one early example of visitors to the Beth Israel

Synagogue. A statement documented on February 29th, 1624, made by five persons, either of

Amsterdam or visiting from elsewhere (it is unclear), states:

> This morning they were, out of curiosity, in one of the three Jewish synagogues
> on Vlooienburg, where the words 'Casa d'Israel Bendesida' are inscribed in big
> letters above the door. In the synagogue they saw Duarte and Jeronimo Rodrigues
> Mendes who wore a white veil over their clothes and were uttering loud
> lamentations in a high voice and were performing their ceremonies with a great
> number of other Jews. In Amsterdam it is public knowledge that these brothers
> and the other Jews do not come to the exchange on Saturday when they do not
> work.[93]

The intention of recording these observations is unclear, however, it is evident that the Jewish

synagogues were already points of interest, and congregants were known figures within

Amsterdam's merchant class. It was the wealthy members of the Dutch Sephardim who stood

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[92] The population range from the different estimates by authors: Pieter Vlaardingerbroek, ed., *The Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam* (Zwolle: WBooks, 2013); Jonathan Israel, "The Economic Contribution of Dutch Sephardi Jewry to Holland's Golden Age, 1595-1713," *Tijdschrift Voor Geschiendenis* 96 (1983): 505–35.
[93] "Notarial Records Relating To The Portuguese Jews In Amsterdam Up To 1639," 1994, 207–8.

out to European Protestants, or it was more that these Portuguese *conversos*, who had been immersed in Christian society for generations, did not appear distinctly "alien" or "other." Christian observers were impressed with the wealth and success of the Portuguese Jews, who had proven themselves in global trade, were highly educated—often from Iberian universities—and involved in the current wave of intellectual and theological debate. Judaism was also the focus of intellectual curiosity, especially among Dutch and English Protestants whose interests included the ancient origins of the Christian church and the Hebrew Bible.

Amsterdam's Sephardic leadership was well aware that the richest and most elite among them were responsible for the high reputation their community had gained in Christian circles. However, their community's growing numbers gave the *mahamad* serious concern around maintaining this status. In addition to the steady stream of New Christian immigrants arriving from Iberia, France and Brazil, the Thirty Years War (1618-48) brought an increasing number of impoverished Ashkenazi refugees to Amsterdam from Central Europe.[94] To provide more charity to the increasing number of Jewish paupers in Amsterdam, and to keep them from publicly begging in the streets, the three Sephardic congregations formed an organization in 1622 that collected an *imposta*, a tax on imports and exports. The revenue from the *imposta* was used to provide financial assistance to destitute Sephardi, and while Ashkenazi were also provided aid, they received significantly less. Additionally, the charity organization sent paupers, known as *despachados*, to other countries where the practice of Judaism was legally allowed. To discourage return to Amsterdam, the *despachados* were sent as far as the Ottoman Empire and the Holy Land, and later in the 17th-18th centuries to the Caribbean and South America.

Especially after the consolidation of the Sephardic community, the Amsterdam *mahamad*

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[94] Kaplan, "THE JEWS IN THE REPUBLIC UNTIL ABOUT 1750," 120.

attempted to exercise strict control over their congregants, especially in the difficult task of bringing religious orthodoxy to a congregation with a very mixed background in Judaism. The members of the congregation were descendants of Iberian New Christians, whose Jewish customs had been forced into isolation for generations under the strict glare of the Inquisition, and many who returned to Judaism in Amsterdam were unfamiliar with the orthodoxy of the religion. There were also many instances of New Christians choosing to retain their Christian public identity, as well as those who returned to Judaism only to maintain commercial connections within *la Nación*. Additionally, due to their New Christian identities, many had accessed university education in Spain and Portugal and were highly influenced by the trends of radical skepticism; these intellectuals re-conceptualized orthodox Judaism in terms of these ideas and their own experience as *conversos*, where their crypto-Judaism had been an inner, intimate religious experience, not an all-encompassing way of life.

To enforce their religious and moral authority over their congregants, Talmud Torah's *mahamad* punished transgressions far more severely than most other Jewish communities of the period. Excommunication was used in cases where members challenged the power of the *parnassim*, or made attacks on rabbis, as well as for moral offensives like extramarital affairs. Often these excommunications were not permanent, but typically reversed under humiliating public acts of repentance. Excommunication was so commonly used as a method of wielding authority over their congregants, that Amsterdam's civil courts recommended that the *parnassim* stop making excessive use of this form of communal punishment.[95] Unconventional writing deemed heretical was also punished with excommunication, as was the case famously for Baruch Spinoza in 1656 and Juan de Prado in 1658, both of which were permanent. These ideological

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[95] Kaplan, 123.

disputes around religious orthodoxy and authority show that the Jewish community as a whole was experiencing similar internal disputes as those that had emerged in the Christian world.

The strict policies of Amsterdam's *mahamad* were guided by the views and aspirations of the social elites of the *Nação*. They tasked themselves with leading a highly comprehensive process of cultural socialization within the Sephardic Diaspora, intended to provide the whole community with a Jewish culture based on obedience to Jewish law and cultural refinement and courtesy. The *bom Judesmo*, "worthy Judaism," the *mahamad* wished to reinforce, was a combination of Jewish tradition with the principles of high European culture.[96] As the philosophies of the Enlightenment led more European Jews away from the strict religious framework of their community, Sephardic leadership issued more rigid regulations and sermons within the synagogue became further focused on religious orthodoxy. Amsterdam's Talmud Torah seminary remained one of the primary religious institutions within the Sephardim, sending rabbis to lead congregations throughout the diaspora into the 18th century. Amsterdam's Jewish print culture, also under the watchful eye of the *mahamad*, provided additional opportunities to spread the views of the Dutch Sephardic institutions. Rabbinical figures educated in Amsterdam, including Menasseh ben Israel, Isaac Aboab da Fonseca, and Moses Raphael D'Aguilar, whose texts were widely read through the Sephardic diaspora, had lasting impacts on Jewish communities in Europe and across the Atlantic during the 17th-18th centuries. By the mid-17th century, Amsterdam was both a leading hub of commerce as well as Jewish life in Europe, and as the Sephardic Diaspora expanded across the Atlantic, the influence of the Amsterdam Jewish community became far reaching.

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[96] Kaplan, "Bom Judesmo: The Western Sephardic Diaspora."

Images: Chapter Two
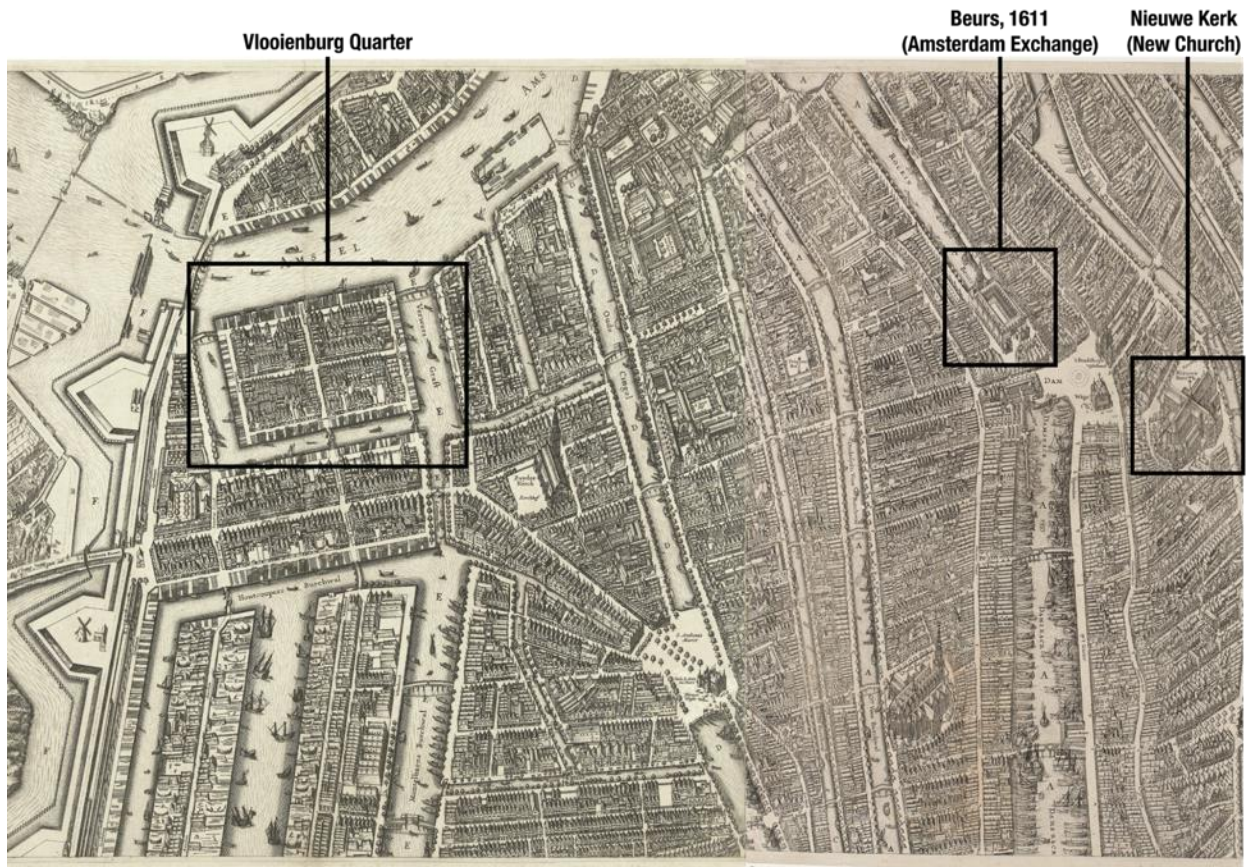
Image 2.1: Map of Amsterdam with Vlooienburg area and the Amsterdam Exchange buildings highlighted. Map panels from: Plattegrond Van Amsterdam (Blad Middenlinks), 1625, Balthasar Florisz. Van Berckenrode, 1625. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-1892-A-17491C.
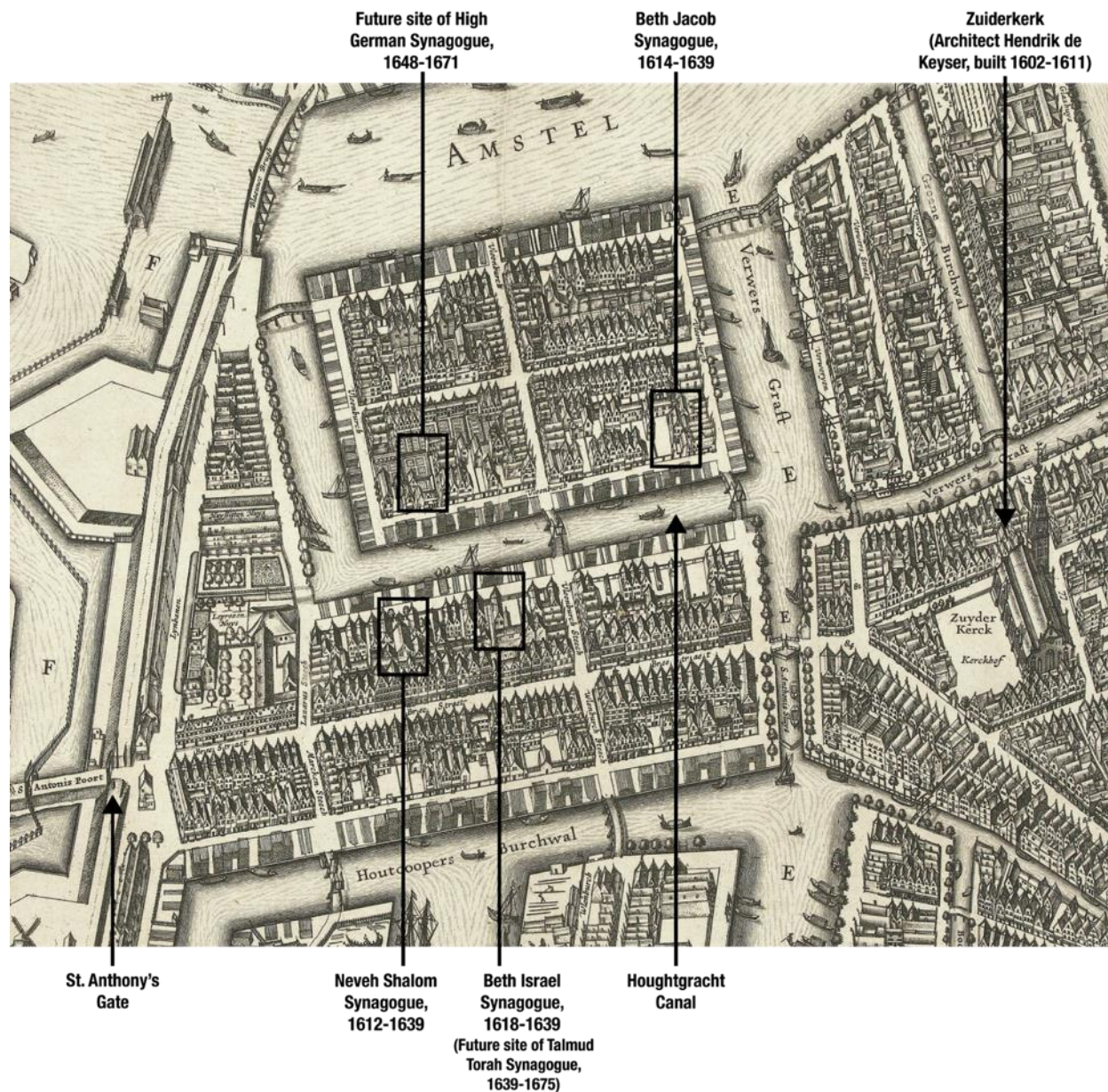
Image 2.2: Detail of the Vlooienburg area with schuilkerken synagogue and landmarks highlighted. Map detail from: Plattegrond Van Amsterdam (Blad Middenlinks), 1625, Balthasar Florisz. Van Berckenrode, 1625. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-1892-A-17491C.

Chapter 3

Synagogue Architecture in the Netherlands: The Esnoga and the Formation of a
Dutch-Jewish Mode of Architecture

Introduction

In August 1675 the Sephardic congregation of Amsterdam, Kahal Kadosh Talmud Torah,
celebrated the opening of their newly constructed synagogue, the Esnoga, with an elaborate
eight-day dedication ceremony. The ceremonies were documented in a commemorative
pamphlet, commissioned by the congregation, to mark the architectural and social achievement
of the Dutch Sephardim represented by the Esnoga.[1] Romeyn de Hooghe was employed to
produce seven illustrations marking the occasion (Image 3.1). In the drawings, the synagogue
and the ritual within are shown in great detail; Christian bystanders are graciously welcomed and
figures symbolizing the Dutch Republic and Judaism appear unified, sitting side-by-side over an
inscription glorifying the Republic's founding principle of religious freedom (Image 3.2).[2] The
illustrations celebrate the integration of the Dutch Sephardim into Dutch society and their
importance to the nation.

The Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam, known as the Esnoga, was not the first public
synagogue constructed by the Talmud Torah congregation, nor was it the first architecturally-
significant early modern Dutch synagogue. After the three Amsterdam Sephardic congregations
merged to form Talmud Torah, the new congregation built a large public synagogue with a
prominent facade in 1639, the first in the city that cannot be described as a *schuilkerk*. In 1671

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[1] David de Castro Tartas, *Sermoes que pregarao os doctos ingenios do K.K. de Talmud Torah, desta cidade de
Amsterdam ...* (Amsterdam: Em caza & a custa de David de Castro Tartaz, 1675).David de Castro Tartas, *Sermoes
que pregarao os doctos ingenios do K.K. de Talmud Torah, desta cidade de Amsterdam ...* (Amsterdam: Em caza &
a custa de David de Castro Tartaz, 1675).
[2] The inscription says "libertas conscientia incrementum republicae"

the High German congregation opened the doors of the Great Synagogue, the Grote Sjoel, the first stand-alone synagogue in Amsterdam designed under the direction of city architect Daniël Stalpaert. However, neither of these synagogues received the same reception as the Esnoga, which was celebrated for its architecture at the time of its construction and is widely considered a revolutionary moment in synagogue design.

The reason for this response to the Esnoga's architecture becomes clear when viewed through the lens of the many artistic productions of the period centered on the Portuguese Synagogue. In comparison to the congregation's previous space and the Ashkenazim's Grote Sjoel, the Esnoga carried a monumentality, both in its exterior and interior, that surpassed even many churches of the period. This monumentality is clearly depicted in the painting by Dutch artist Gerrit Berckheyde, showing the synagogues of Amsterdam along the canal, with the Portuguese Jewish Synagogue, the Esnoga, on the right and the Ashkenazi Synagogue, Grote Sjoel, on the left (Image 3.3). In the image, the Esnoga is significantly taller than nearby buildings; the only other building with noticeable height in the skyline is the spire of Zuiderkerk in the background. The synagogue's interior mirrored the grandness of the exterior, with its colossal Ionic columns, massive barrel vaults, and an intricately carved ark spanning the width of the nave. The prayer space was featured in several paintings of the period by Emanuel de Witte, who showed not only the grand scale of the architecture, but the finery of the Jewish congregants within (Image 3.4). The Jewish presence in Amsterdam was public knowledge to both locals and visitors to the city since the beginning of the 17th century, but the construction of the grand Esnoga, with its massive footprint and towering height, marked the neighborhood as that of a flourishing Dutch Jewish community—a community that was indispensable to prosperity of the Dutch Republic.

The primary goal of this chapter is to place the Esnoga within the context of the setting in which it was built, to understand how the Jewish congregation and non-Jewish Dutch observers would have understood the building at the time of its construction. This chapter argues that the Esnoga was a recognizably Dutch religious space, a showcase of elements of classicist modes of architecture popular within court circles and the Dutch elite, while also signaling difference from Christian society. This demonstration of a separate, Jewish identity in the form of architecture became especially clear through the ways that the following generation of Dutch synagogues were understood directly through the design of the Esnoga. To support this argument, this chapter will interrogate the architecture of the Esnoga as an output of the systems impacting the Dutch Sephardim. Two of these systems were described in the previous chapter: the flow of capital that brought wealth and social status to the Amsterdam Sephardim and the processes of the formation of a Dutch-Sephardic Jewish identity centered around *Bom Judesmo*, the proper combination of restraint, piety and the affects of European high society. Architectural productions involve additional systems related to how people build, interact with and understand space. This dissertation is specifically interested in the systems that produce recognizable modes of design that distinguish buildings from one another and signal membership within a group. Interpreting the impact of the Esnoga requires an understanding of this system of architectural production. Through this lens we can examine the relationship between the architecture of the Esnoga and both the wider context of religious architecture in the Netherlands and the earlier purpose-built synagogues constructed in Amsterdam.

This dissertation presents a new approach to the study of the system of architectural production, using the custom relational database and methods in network analysis. The first part of this chapter follows a traditional approach to the scholarship on the Amsterdam synagogues,

with the purpose of introducing the background needed for the analysis in the chapter's concluding sections. The sections following this introduction are focused on the wider context of architecture in the Netherlands during the 17th century. They will look at the impact of the architectural treatises of the period, and the process through which their classicist principals entered the mainstream architectural landscape through learned scholar-architects like Jacob van Campen. This provides the necessary context for understanding the architecture of the first Talmud Torah Synagogue built in 1639, the Ashkenazim's Grote Sjoel built 1699-1671, the Portuguese Synagogue, the Esnoga, opened 1675, and the legacy of the Esnoga in the 18th century in the Netherlands. Interpreting the impact of the Esnoga requires a full understanding of the system of architectural production through which it emerged. The second part of the chapter introduces a new digital method that provides a means for interrogating this complex system. Built off the context of part one, a series of network diagrams and analysis will be presented as a way to understand Dutch religious architecture in the 17th century.

Part I: Architectural Lineage of the Esnoga: Classicism in 17th Century Dutch Religious Architecture

Congregation, Synagogue and Architectural Form

In the context of ancient religion, the synagogue was revolutionary. Prior to the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem, Jewish religious life primarily took place within the hierarchical priest structure and ritual sacrifice that occurred strictly within the walls of the temple precinct. With the destruction of Solomon's Temple in 586 B.C.E and Herod's reconstruction in 70 C.E, the Jewish people continually lost their center of sacrificial worship and were forced into exile, leading the religion to develop as primarily congregational rather than

hierarchical and centralized.[3] The synagogue strengthened as an institution that enabled Jews to

organize their communal life, where location became universal, allowing Jews to worship

anywhere. Leadership shifted away from ordained or consecrated priests and became, in theory

at least, open and democratic; anyone could lead prayer, as all that was needed to found a

congregation was a *minyan*, defined as any ten Jewish men over the age of thirteen. As opposed

to the rituals that occurred behind the walls of the Temple precinct, participation within the

synagogue was open to all: the entire congregation, including non-Jews, were directly involved

in the religious rituals. Practices of worship shifted towards communal prayer, reading,

translation, and exposition of sacred texts. This centrality of communal reading and study of

religious texts was markedly different from earlier frameworks of ancient Judaism.

Congregation takes physical form in the establishment of a synagogue. The Hebrew word

associated with congregation and synagogue, *kahal*, holds two meanings, both "spiritual

congregation" and "community of people." A synagogue named Kahal is usually modified by the

adjective "kadosh," or "holy," so Kahal Kadosh Talmud Torah means Holy Congregation of the

Study of the Torah and is both the name of the congregation and the official Hebrew name of the

community's synagogue. In Hebrew, the synagogue building is called *bet ha-tefillah*, *bet ha-*

knesset, or *bet ha-midrash*, translated respectively as the house of prayer, meeting, and study.

The notion of congregation is so central to the formation of a synagogue, and the prayers and

rituals done within, that any location where a *minyan* gather for prayer acts by definition as a

synagogue; in fact, if such a quorum exists in a town, it is required by Jewish law to establish a

synagogue.[4] Following these practices, where Jews settled in enough numbers throughout the

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[3] Carol Herselle Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History, Meaning* (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1985), 6–7.
[4] Babylonian Talmud

Atlantic during the colonial period, they formed congregations and established synagogue spaces. Jonathan Sarna defines these settlements as "synagogue-communities," places where the synagogue and the organized Jewish community became one in the same.[5] Sometimes these communities did not hold large enough Jewish populations to sustain multiple congregations in a single location. In other instances, the single synagogue-community model helped to consolidate authority and maintain Jewish self-governance, as became the case for the Amsterdam Sephardim.

Where a *minyan* gathered to perform certain prayers converted any building or private home into a synagogue for congregational use. The first synagogues to appear in early modern Amsterdam, London and the New World colonies were established in private homes, causing confusion between the boundaries of public and private; Jews assembled publicly, that is, in large enough numbers to be noticeable, but they did so in private spaces. In Recife, Brazil before the Zur Israel Synagogue was constructed, congregants met in the home of Duarte Saraiva, a Portuguese-born Jewish merchant from Amsterdam also known as David Senior Colonel. In 1638, representatives of the Calvinist clergy made a complaint against Jewish freedoms of worship, noting in their minutes that Jews met publicly in two places in Recife, in houses acquired for this purpose.[6] The second location mentioned was also not a public synagogue, instead, the home of Jeoshua Jesurum de Haro where the Zur Israel's satellite community, Magean Abraham, met in nearby Mauritius.[7] For many of the sites in this study, in Amsterdam and London, and in the Dutch and British colonies across the Atlantic, the earliest form of the

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[5] For Sarna, "synagogue-community" refers to congregants, not the physical building. Jonathan D. Sarna, *American Judaism: A History* (New Haven : Yale University Press, 2004), 12.

[6] From the minutes in portuguese: "a ponto de se reunirem publicamente em dois lugares no Recife, em casas alugadas por eles para esse fim," in Breda, "Vicus Judæorum: Os Judeus e o Espaço Urbano Do Recife Neerlandês, 1630–1654," 171

[7] Daniel Oliveira Breda, "Vicus Judæorum: Os Judeus e o Espaço Urbano Do Recife Neerlandês, 1630–1654" (Thesis, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Norte, 2007), 170.

synagogue is documented as being within the home of a prominent member of the community. Where the practice of Judaism was technically allowed, but not fully sanctioned or publicly accepted by the Christian majority, as in Amsterdam in the early 17th century, congregations transitioned from meeting within homes to clandestine houses of worship. These non-assuming buildings were specifically used for congregational purposes, often rented or bought through congregational funds and modified for religious use. However, they were not the fully public declarations of a Jewish community of a purpose-built synagogue.

Growing archeological research shows that purpose-built synagogues have taken on a diversity of built form since their ancient origins. These early synagogues integrated non-Jewish models into their framework, making them a synthesis of both Jewish and non-Jewish elements.[8] Early Christian church forms also developed in parallel with the contemporaneous influences of Jewish and Roman constructions, and demonstrate the inherent shared composition of Judeo-Christian sacred space. This back-and-forth nature of liturgy and form can be identified throughout the history of both religions and is apparent during the 17th and 18th centuries in the Dutch and English Atlantic. Architecture is naturally a reflection of the place and time of its construction, and it is clear that both Christian and Jewish spaces were impacted by the modes of architecture of their locales. The architecture of the early modern Dutch and English did not operate in isolation, both taking cues from the classical and baroque modes that swept western European design.

It is useful here to discuss the ways that works of architecture have been categorized, often through concepts of style. In a general sense, style is used to characterize relationships among works that were made at the same time and/or place, or by the same person or group.

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[8] Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*.

These stylistic categories have provided a structure for the study of the history of art and architecture.[9] In a productive sense, definitions of style make it possible to study change; style allows us to note differences in the use of conventions, materials, and techniques over time. However, stylistic classifications are often based on assumptions of stable factors that do not reflect the fluidity and complexity of the historical process. Traditional stylistic language can reinforce boundaries that do not exist. The reality is that the history of architecture is porous, and ideas and use of architectural conventions flow across these traditional stylistic boundaries.

This dissertation makes use of the term "mode" instead of style when describing general categories of architecture. In some ways, this is an attempt to avoid the usual pitfalls in using stylistic terminology, but it also provides the necessary means for discussing general patterns in architectural form. Dell Upton defines "mode" as a term based on the user's viewpoint— how they respond to the setting in which a building is found—as opposed to the maker's intent.[10] This is especially critical to the present study of synagogue architecture, where the intentions of neither patrons nor builders in regard to design is well documented. Visual modes allow for those within a group to identify with one another and distinguish themselves from the larger society.[11] In the context of this dissertation, instead of using capital-S stylistic terms like Dutch Classicism or Dutch Palladianism, I will instead use terms like "classical modes," that suggest a broader definition. Generally, "classicism" is defined here as a mode of architectural design with prominent use of elements that evoke classical architecture—including symmetry, columns, pilasters and pediments—whether directly or indirectly inspired by the widely-read treatises on

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[9] James S Ackerman, "Style," in *Distance Points: Essays in Theory and Renaissance Arts and Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 3–19.

[10] Dell Upton, "Form and User: Style, Mode, Fashion, and the Artifact," in *Living in a Material World: Canadian and American Approaches to Material Culture*, ed. Gerald L. Pocius (St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1991).

[11] Upton, 161.

classical architecture of the period.

Architectura Moderna: Antique and Modern Architecture in the Netherlands

When the newly merged Talmud Torah congregation constructed a synagogue in 1639, the most prominent religious architecture in Amsterdam was the relatively recent work of architect Hendrik de Keyser, which included the city churches of Zuiderkerk (1602-1611), Westerkerk (1620-1631), and Noorderkerk (1620-1623). De Keyser had been appointed "master sculptor and stonecutter for the works of [Amsterdam]" in 1595, a time of enormous expansion for the Dutch city.[12] Together with his colleague Cornelis Danckertsz, "master mason and master builder," De Keyser was responsible for numerous building projects, including the three new city churches and the Amsterdam Exchange building constructed in 1611. As the sculptor, Hendrik de Keyser would have been largely responsible for the architectural design of these buildings.[13] De Keyser was considered an expert in classical forms—in one example, he is described as "the city's master for antique design"—but his work was praised not for imitation of ancient architecture, but for his innovative and "modern" applications of classical elements.[14] In the late-16th and early-17th century in the Netherlands, where facades were typically tall, narrow, and featured gables, the ideals of "modern" architecture was in a designer's ability to create new inventions on the system of the classical Orders.[15]

In 1631, roughly ten years after the architect's death, a book celebrating the work of Hendrik de Keyser was published in Amsterdam, titled *Architectura Moderna*.[16] The book was

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[12] Krista de Jonge and Koen Ottenheym, *Unity and Discontinuity: Architectural Relations Between the Southern and Northern Low Countries 1530-1700* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 114.

[13] Jonge and Ottenheym, 111.

[14] Jonge and Ottenheym, 114.

[15] Jonge and Ottenheym, *Unity and Discontinuity: Architectural Relations Between the Southern and Northern Low Countries 1530-1700*.

[16] Salomon de Bray, Hendrik de Keyser, and Cornelis Danckerts, *Architectura Moderna, Ofte, Bouwinge van Onsen Tyt* ... (Tot Amstelredam : By Cornelis Dankertsz van Seevenhovẽ ..., 1631).

published by Cornelis Danckertsz, a nephew of master mason Danckertsz, and included an introduction written by Haarlem architect and painter Salomon de Bray. It contained forty-four engravings of the buildings deemed most important of the previous decades in Amsterdam and surrounding areas, including churches, towers, gates, and the facades of numerous private estates, which according to the title page, had been designed by Hendrik de Keyser and the elder Danckertsz. The text accompanying the engravings praised De Keyser for his ingenuity. Facades were described as "decorative and rare finds full of unusual interpretations" with "rare, decorative interruptions" that were laudable because "the eye [is] ever keen on new things."[17] Despite these descriptions, the introduction by De Bray aligned *Architectura Moderna* more with the architectural developments of the 1630's, than the work of the previous generation represented by De Keyser.

De Bray and his colleague Jacob Van Campen were at that time studying the treatises on classical architecture, including those by Palladio and Scamozzi, and applying the principles to Dutch architecture. In his introduction, De Bray described the "modern architect" as one that could produce "true, classical architecture" through "the application of mathematical laws" that elevated architecture to a science.[18] He claimed De Keyser's work as precursors to this "true" classicism, and part of a movement towards a pure and ancient architecture, that had its roots in the construction of Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem. The ideals of "modern" architecture in the Netherlands were shifting away from the innovations on classical elements of the previous generation to precise application of the Vitruvian system of the classical Orders. *Architectura Moderna* named Jacob van Campen as part of this new, "modern" movement in architecture. The

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[17] Architectura Moderna 1631, text from engravings XVII, XXIII, and XXIX. Translations from the original Dutch in: Jonge and Ottenheym, 112

[18] Bray, Keyser, and Danckerts, Architectura Moderna, Ofte, Bouwinge van Onsen Tyt ...

text featured the facade of Van Campen's Coymanshuis, a mansion house built in Amsterdam in 1625 exhibiting the architect's classical, Vitruvian based designs (Image 3.5).

A trained painter, Van Campen was immersed in classical architectural theories of the period, so much so that letters to friends, including the poet and secretary to Prince Frederik Henry, Constantijn Huygens, and botanist Johan van Brosterhuysen, referenced work towards a publication of his own theoretical writing on architecture.[19] With Huygens, Van Campen made close studies of various editions of Vitruvius, as well as tracts by Alberti and the well-known 16th century reconstruction of the Temple of Jerusalem by Spanish Jesuit Villalpando. His own treatise does not appear to have been completed, but his work demonstrates clear attention to contemporary tracts on classical architecture, especially that of Palladio's *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura* first published in 1570 and the 1615 work of Vincenzo Scamozzi, *L'Idea dell'Architettura Universale*. The facade of Coymanshuis was revered in *Architecture Moderna* for the classical detailing that followed the classifications of Scamozzi, with pilasters in the Ionic order on the first level followed by the Composite, or Roman, order on the second, instead of the Corinthian order as defined by other writers. The use of brick pilasters in facade compositions was not unusual in Dutch architecture in 1625, in fact, they had been present in De Keyser's work and had become practically indispensable in Amsterdam's architecture in the early 17th century.[20] Van Campen's precise execution of the classical Orders, however, was one to be celebrated.

In 1633 Jacob van Campen designed the Mauritshuis in The Hague, a grand palace built for Johan Maurits van Nassau (Image 3.6). The estate was considered one of the finest residences

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[19] Koen Ottenheym, "Architectuur," in *Jacob van Campen: Het Klassieke Ideaal in de Gouden Eeuw*, ed. Gary Schwartz, Jacobine Huisken, and Koen Ottenheym (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura Pers, Stichting Koninklijk Paleis te Amsterdam, 1995), 156.
[20] Ottenheym, 159.

in the Netherlands, and one of the earliest introductions of the north Italian classicism of Palladio

and Scamozzi to the Dutch Republic. Van Campen used Scamozzi's treatise in particular as a

guideline for his architectural projects, and in doing so, trained his many assistants in Italian

classicism. Architects including Pieter Post and Philips Vingboons continued to adhere to

Scamozzi even after leaving Van Campen's employ, and in turn, the stonecutters and contractors

carrying out various projects were also required to master Scamozzi's proportions.[21] Van

Campen has been attributed to the prevalence of classicism and, in particular, the popularity of

Scamozzi's text, in the Netherlands during the mid-17th century. In 1640 the Amsterdam

publisher responsible for *Architecture Moderna*, Cornelis Danckertsz, printed a Dutch translation

of Scamozzi's Book VI on the Orders. Scamozzi's text was so well-read in the Netherlands that

excerpts were published beginning in 1657 in a Dutch pocket edition, stripped of philosophical

theory, making the classical Orders accessible to any builder or master carpenter.[22]

As patrons of Van Campen's architecture, Johan Maurits van Nassau and Constantijn

Huygens were vocal promoters of Van Campen and his colleagues' classical designs, playing a

significant role in the popularity of classicism in the Netherlands. The classicism as prescribed

by the architectural theorists popular during the period was regarded as a way to express high

standards of civility and prosperity; Scamozzi's text even specifically addressed the house of the

dignified citizen.[23] After Mauritshuis was constructed, the estate became the model for

architectural commissions of nobles, class-conscious regents, wealthy merchants, and

government institutions.[24] For the Amsterdam Sephardic congregation, and their emphasis on

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[21] Jonge and Ottenheym, *Unity and Discontinuity: Architectural Relations Between the Southern and Northern Low Countries 1530-1700*, 152.

[22] Ottenheym, "Architectuur," 237.

[23] Ottenheym, 237.

[24] Konrad A. Ottenheym, "Dutch Contributions to the Classicist Tradition in Northern Europe in the Seventeenth Century: Patrons, Architects and Books," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 28, no. 3–4 (December 2003): 227–42.

Bom Judesmo, it was critical to be perceived alongside the wealthy intellectuals of the Dutch upper class. The architecture of their purpose-built synagogue of 1639 demonstrates this clearly, in its shared elements of the classical architectural modes of period.

The Talmud Torah Synagogue Facade: Classical Ideals of the Dutch Urban Mansion

Between 1636 and 1639 the three Sephardic congregations of Amsterdam—Beth Jacob, Neveh Shalom, and Beth Israel—merged to form Kahal Kadosh Talmud Torah. A new synagogue was built for the unified congregation on the site of the Beth Israel *schuilkerk* on the Houtgracht, now Waterlooplein. The *parnas* of Beth Israel, Abraham Aboab, aka Denijs Gennis, had purchased the synagogue's neighboring plots for a planned expansion in 1638.[25] According to Timothy De Paepe and Paul D. Meijer, who recently developed a digital reconstruction of the Talmud Torah Synagogue, the regularity of the floor plan of the new synagogue suggests that the building was newly erected, and not a result of a renovation combining several houses.[26] The architecture of the purpose-built Talmud Torah Synagogue provides an important connection between the first *schuilkerken* synagogues of the Amsterdam Sephardim and the monumental architecture of the later Esnoga.

The new synagogue was inaugurated on Rosh Hashanah, October 1639, marking the unification of the Sephardic community and establishing their presence in Amsterdam's public space. Unlike the community's previous prayer spaces, the front facade of Talmud Torah distinguished it from the adjacent buildings. The synagogue had a broad elevation, decorated by pilasters reaching the full height of the building and capped by Corinthian capitals. A classical cornice and simple parapet sat along the roofline, as a final distinguishing flourish. The facade of

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[25] Timothy De Paepe and Paul D. Meijer, "De Talmoed Tora-Synagoge (1639-1675): Een Reconstructie van de Directe Voorganger van de Nog Bestaande Portugese Synagoge in Amsterdam," *Jaarboek van Het Genootschap Amstelodamum*, 2014, 46.
[26] De Paepe and Meijer, 47.

the Talmud Torah Synagogue was famously depicted in an etching by Romeyn de Hooghe, dated

to around 1695, well after the building's use as an active synagogue (Image 3.7).[27] As De Paepe

and Meijer argue, a new reconstruction of the synagogue was required, in part due to the reliance

on this print by previous scholars of the site. After the Esnoga opened in 1675, the previous

synagogue was altered into an event space, and some of the facade details seen in de Hooghe's

depiction, including the ornamental festoons and balcony, likely date to the building's later use.[28]

Even without these decorative details, the Talmud Torah Synagogue's facade, with the

use of monumental pilasters and symmetrical design, placed it in direct conversation with the

classical modes of Dutch architecture of the period. However, instead of borrowing from Dutch

church forms, like those of De Keyser, the synagogue shares exterior features with the lavish

mansions of the Dutch elite during the 1630's. Talmud Torah's facade can be compared to the

designs of Jacob van Campen due to the broad, pilastered facade and classical details. The

synagogue was simpler, and not designed with the precision of the classical treatises, but the

facade arrangement shares the form of the Dutch estates of the elite. On the exterior, the Talmud

Torah Synagogue displayed the values the congregation was interested in associating with: the

intellectual, wealthy class. This included Johan Maurits van Nassau, who was held in high regard

by the Dutch Jewry, as his policy of religious tolerance during his governorship of Dutch Brazil

from 1636 to 1644 had directly benefited Sephardic merchants. The governor was an emphatic

advocate of Dutch classicism, who like Huygens, was greatly admired in court circles for his

architectural knowledge. By the second half of the 1630's, Prince Frederik Hendrik, whom

Huygens worked as a secretary, had been converted to the new, "modern" classicist architecture.

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[27] A.K Offenberg provides evidence for the date of the depiction of the Talmud Torah facade in "Romeijn de Hooghe and the Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam," as noted in a footnote in De Paepe and Meijer

[28] De Paepe and Meijer, "De Talmoed Tora-Synagoge (1639-1675): Een Reconstructie van de Directe Voorganger van de Nog Bestaande Portugese Synagoge in Amsterdam," 52.

Up until that time, his palaces had always been based on French models, but now commissioned Van Campen and his colleague Pieter Post to design classicist facades.[29] These tastes within the court and the elite class would have certainly traveled to groups like the Dutch Sephardim, who aligned themselves with such circles.

The Talmud Torah Synagogue Interior: Jewish Ritual in the Dutch Non-Conformist Prayer Hall

A short description of the Talmud Torah Synagogue can be found in the 1662 publication *Beschrijvinge der wijdt-vermaarde koop-stadt Amstelredam* (Description of the Widely Renowned Merchant City of Amsterdam).[30] In the passage, the synagogue of "the Portuguese Jews" is described as the largest of the two synagogues in Amsterdam, the second being that of "the Polish Jews," a *schuilkerk* described as "only a large room, or rooms, suitable for the purpose." The front facade of the Talmud Torah Synagogue was recognized as a notable shift from the previous *schuilkerken* sites towards monumentality. It is clear the author had visited the space and witnessed the Jewish ritual in practice. The author remarks on an important ritual that occurred as one transitioned from the public space into the prayer hall. Jewish men entered the synagogue from a front entrance that led downstairs into a large front room in the lower level of the building; here they washed their hands at a water basin as was required before entering the sanctuary.[31] Hand washing, generally known as *netilat yadayim*, was prescribed by Jewish law as a practice required before certain activities, one being prayer or study. The space in which it took place was often outside the synagogue, or in this case, the room through which one entered the

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[29] Jonge and Ottenheym, *Unity and Discontinuity: Architectural Relations Between the Southern and Northern Low Countries 1530-1700*, 191–92.

[30] M. Fokkens, Beschrijvinge der wijdt-vermaarde koop-stadt Amstelredam, Van hare eerste beginselen, oude Voor-rechten en verscheyde Vergrootingen; haar oude en nieuwe Gebouwen, heerlijken aanwas, in 400 Jaren en haar tegenwoordigen standt [...], Amsterdam, 1662, p. 237-238. The relevant passages are quoted in the original Dutch in De Paepe and Meijer, 2014.

[31] "…beneden komt men in een voor-huys of groote leege plaats daar een Water-vat is, dat met een Kraan omgedraayt wordt, hier by een handtdoek, want de Jooden wasschen eerst haar handen eerze in de Kerk gaan…"

prayer hall. This was a symbolic act of transition that occurred at the threshold between profane and sacred space; the ritual at the threshold was meant to "unite oneself with a new world."[32]

The transition into the Talmud Torah Synagogue for Jewish men was completed upon climbing one of two stairs into the main prayer hall. As depicted in an engraving of the synagogue's interior attributed to Jan Veenhuysen from around 1664, the space was arranged around an ark, or *heichal*, a cabinet which contained the Torah scrolls, and a reader's platform, known as the *tebah* by Sephardic Jews, and later the *bimah* by the Ashkenazim (Image 3.8). The tradition of storing the Torah scroll within a container began in the ancient synagogues, suggesting the Ark of the Covenant, which had enclosed the tablets of the Ten Commandments in the First Temple's Holy of Holies, the most sacred room within the Temple complex.[33] Similar to the hierarchy of sacred space within the Temple of Jerusalem, the *heichal* is listed in the Mishnah's enumeration of the degrees of sanctity within the synagogue as holier than the synagogue building but less so than the Torah scroll's coverings; the Torah scroll itself is ranked as the most sacred object of all.[34] The ark developed from portable containers to permanent pieces of furniture placed along the wall facing Jerusalem, and was the ritual focal point of the synagogue. The ark of the Talmud Torah Synagogue sat along the eastern wall was a stately construction, decorated with pillars and baroque detailing, and topped by a dome. The *tebah* sat within the central nave, closer to the wall opposite the *heichal* in an arrangement common in Sephardic synagogues. The *tebah* was traditionally raised on a platform with a railing enclosing it, as is seen in Veenhuysen's illustration. From here, the officiant read from the Torah as the men of the congregation sat facing the *tebah*, in seats running parallel to the length of the

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[32] Arnold Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, 1909.
[33] Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*.
[34] Levine, 328.

building. The worshipper's attention then moved from east to west, between the *heichal* and the *tebah*, while seated facing each other and reading from their prayer books. This arrangement of seats was typical, the exchange of glances and gestures across the room, and division of attention created a sense of unity—placing importance on all parts of the space, all men, and all activities within.[35]

Unlike the synagogue's mansion-like facade, the interior space was clearly marked for religious congregational use. The wide nave, at the end of which sat the *heichal*, was covered by two barrel vaults supported by wooden trusses. The side aisles were each marked by a row of Tuscan columns, supporting galleries and the trusses above. Above the galleries were barrel vaults sitting parallel to those of the central nave. The interior has been compared to churches of the period, including the Remonstrant Church, known as the 'Rode Hoed' ('Red Hat') on the Keizersgracht (1629-1630), the Old Lutheran Church on the Spui (1632-1633), and the Mennonite Church on the Singel (1639). These Amsterdam *schuilkerk*en all had high central naves and galleries on three sides; the Remonstrant Church also shared the barrel vaulted ceiling with Talmud Torah (Image 3.9).[36] The form of these nonconformist churches has been compared to the earlier work of Salomon de Brosse, who based his designs for the Temple at Charenton near Paris, built in 1623, on Vitruvius' description of the basilica in the forum at Fano (Image 3.10). The Charenton Temple displays another way in which the classicist treatises and interest in the ancients was translated into northern European architecture, in this case, nonconformist Protestant church design.

The galleries that provided separate seating for women is one feature of the Dutch synagogue that was distinctly Jewish, as Christian churches of the period did not require

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[35] Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History, Meaning*, 22.
[36] Vlaardingerbroek, *The Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam*, 56.

separation between genders.[37] According to Fokkens' description of the interior, "the Women of the congregation sat in the gallery above, separate from the Men and unseen by them."[38] We can see these spaces for women—the rear portion of the galleries sectioned behind full-height latticed screens—in the 1665 etching by Veenhuysen (Image 3.5). The women's section of the galleries was likely accessed via separate staircases in the rear of the building, where they would have moved in spaces separate from the ritual spaces of the men of the congregation. It is unclear whether portions of the gallery were sectioned off for men's use when the synagogue opened in 1639, or if the steady growth of the congregation required this adjustment sometime before 1665.[39]

Though the Talmud Torah Synagogue's built form resembles Dutch modes of architecture, both on the facade and in the interior, there is evidence that the Amsterdam Sephardic community expressed their Iberian identity through the material culture of the synagogue's decorative and ritual objects. The inventory taken in 1640 of the ceremonial objects from the three earlier congregations, now belonging to Talmud Torah, reveals possible Spanish influence and continuation of medieval Sephardic traditions.[40] Silver gilt Torah crowns and the silver and brass ornamental objects shaped like apples and pine cones that decorated Talmud Torah's *tebah* are reminiscent of the objects seen in the medieval Spanish synagogues depicted in illuminated manuscripts.[41] Further, Veenhuysen's etching shows four-column oil lamps hanging from the gallery balustrades, similar to the glass and metal lamps depicted in the 14th

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[37] Vlaardingerbroek, 55.

[38] "boven op de Galdery zitten de Vrouwen, die van de Mans zijn afgezondert, en niet van haar gezien worden"

[39] De Paepe and Meijer, "De Talmoed Tora-Synagoge (1639-1675): Een Reconstructie van de Directe Voorganger van de Nog Bestaande Portugese Synagoge in Amsterdam," 57.

[40] Julie-Marthe Cohen, "The Inventory of Ceremonial Objects of the Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam of 1640," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 37 (2004): 238.

[41] Examples of medieval illuminated manuscripts include the Sarajevo Haggadah, North Spain, c. 1350, and the Sister of the Golden Haggadah, Spain, 1325-1350, and further discussed in Cohen, 2004.

century Spanish illuminated manuscript, the Sister of the Golden Haggadah. The 1640 inventory

list shows that all three Amsterdam congregations owned several examples of these lamps.[42]

Their presence was discontinued at some point in the 17th century, as they were not hung within

the Esnoga when it opened in 1675.

The material culture of the Iberian peninsula was also present within the homes of the

Dutch Sephardim, as documented in wills and inventories of the 17th and early 18th centuries.[43]

Members of the Amsterdam Sephardim brought objects with them when emigrating from

Portugal, and once arrived, ordered items to be sent from the Iberian peninsula. There was also a

market for Iberian goods in Amsterdam, especially by the internationally oriented Dutch elite;

Portuguese and Spanish products were imported by merchants, and some styles of Spanish

furniture were reproduced by Dutch craftsmen.[44] In many ways the Dutch Sephardim decorated

their homes with items also fashionable in European high society. However, they did so at a

higher degree than other Dutch elite households, likely due to the fact that they continued to

identify themselves through their Iberian heritage. In all, their material culture was a reflection of

their multifaceted Dutch, Iberian and Jewish identity.

The New Dutch Church: Classicism and the Ideal of Solomon's Temple

The central goal of this chapter is to understand the architecture of the Esnoga in relation

to the trends of Dutch religious architecture of the period. One critical facet of this is an

investigation into the impact of the popular depictions of the "ideal" image of the Temple of

Solomon in Jerusalem. The interest in classical architecture of the period was tied directly to this

ancient biblical site, as the "ideal" architecture of the Temple gave legitimacy to the rules of

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[42] Cohen, "The Inventory of Ceremonial Objects of the Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam of 1640," 242.
[43] Tirtsah Levie Bernfeld, "Matters Matter: Material Culture of Dutch Sephardim (1600-1750)," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 44 (2012): 191–216.
[44] Bernfeld, 198.

Vitruvius and the pagan architecture of the Greeks and Romans. It is nearly impossible to read scholarship on the Esnoga without reference to the imagery of Solomon's Temple.[45] Many scholars argue that the architecture of the Amsterdam synagogue was designed purposefully as reference to the ancient Temple in Jerusalem, mainly due to the curved buttresses on the exterior and the building's rectangular form. This approach, however, undervalues the significance of the depictions of the Temple in Jerusalem within classicist architecture and more broadly within popular culture during the mid-17th century. The possible reference to Solomon's Temple in the Esnoga's design, then, must be understood through the classicist church architecture of the period, and the Grote Sjoel, built by the Amsterdam High German congregation between 1669 and 1671.

To support the claim that the Esnoga's design was a direct reference to Solomon's Temple, scholars often point to the presence of Rabbi Jacob Judah Leon Templo within the Amsterdam Talmud Torah congregation during the years of the Esnoga's construction. From the 1640's on, the rabbi was well known for his depictions of Solomon's Temple, so much so that he added "Templo" to his surname. From his home in the Vlooienburg, Templo offered both Jewish and Christian visitors the opportunity to marvel at a number of reconstructed ancient Jewish ceremonial objects, from altars and priestly garments to a large-scale copper menorah.[46] The main attractions however, were large, wooden models of the Temple of Solomon and the Tabernacle of Moses, from the famed biblical site of ancient Jerusalem.[47] Little is known regarding the details of Templo's life (1602-1675); scholars say he was of Spanish ancestry, born

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[45] The first academic comparison between the Esnoga and reconstructions of the Temple of Jerusalem, specifically that of Villapando, seems to be J. Zwarts, *Hoofdstukken uit de geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland*, Zutphen, 1929. The comparison is discussed in passing or in detail in nearly, if not all, discussions of the Esnoga from that point on.

[46] Adri Offenberg, "Dirk van Santen and the Keur Bible: New Insights into Jacob Judah (Arye) Leon Templo's Model Temple," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 37 (2004): 401–22.

[47] In the preface of his pamphlet, Retrato Retrato del Templo de Selomoh, Leon Templo states the dimensions of the model to be 20ft x 10ft x 7ft

in Hamburg, emigrated to Middleburg, and then finally to Amsterdam, where he was a rabbi for the Dutch Sephardic synagogue, as well as a writer, with an avid interest in biblical architecture.[48] His model of the Temple of Solomon was so popular that his exhibit travelled throughout the Netherlands, was presented to the Dutch and British courts, and continued to be displayed well after the rabbi's death in 1675.[49] In parallel with the exhibits, Templo published a number of pamphlets describing the models, which were translated into several languages and included a range of different artists' illustrations based on his reconstruction.[50]

Templo's reconstruction of Solomon's Temple was a new interpretation of the highly prominent study by Spanish Jesuit Fathers, J.B. Villalpando and H. Prado, whose large volumes of *In Exechielem Explanationes et Apparatus Urbis ac Templi Hierosolymitani*, were published with the support of Philip II in 1596 and 1605. Since its publication, *In Exechielem* became a highly influential text within classical architectural theory. Villalpando claimed the Temple in Jerusalem had been the original source of classical architecture by employing the classical Orders in his design of the site. By providing biblical origins for the ancient architecture of the non-Christian, "heathen" classical period, Villalpando made these classical elements acceptable for use in Christian architecture. *In Exechielem* was studied alongside the treatises on classical architecture by Vitruvius, Palladio, and Scamozzi, as was done by Huygens and Van Campen, as well as in England by Christopher Wren and Robert Hooke. Rabbi Leon Templo's interpretation of the Temple was considered an improvement on Villalpando, made more accurate by closely

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[48] Offenberg, "Dirk van Santen and the Keur Bible: New Insights into Jacob Judah (Arye) Leon Templo's Model Temple"; Helen Rosenau, "Jacob Judah Leon Templo's Contribution to Architectural Imagery," *Journal of Jewish Studies* XXIII, no. 1 (1972): 72–81.

[49] The model was put on display again during the late 18th century, along with Templo's pamphlets being republished. Offenberg, 1988

[50] Pamphlets include: *Afbeelding van den Tempel Salomonis*, Amsterdam, 1644; *Retrato del tabernaculo de Moseh*, Amsterdam, 1654; *De templo Hierosolymitan*, Helmstadt, 1665; *Retrato Del Templo de Selomoh* republished in 1778 by M.P. Decastro, London.

following Jewish sources, including the work of first-century Roman-Jewish scholar Josephus

and the medieval rabbi, Maimonides. However, though Leon Templo organized the Temple

complex differently than Villalpando, much of the architectural details remained the same. One

of the most referenced features of Templo's reconstruction of Solomon's Temple in relation to

the Esnoga is the enormous hill that the Temple sat atop—the Temple Mount—which featured

huge curving buttresses and arched niches (Image 3.11). The Temple Mount as illustrated by

Templo in 1643 is practically identical to Villalpando's Temple Mount (Image 3.12).

The imagery of Solomon's Temple by Villalpando was well-known in predominantly

Protestant Northern Europe, and the popularity of Leon Templo's model of the site and

corresponding pamphlet further demonstrates the widespread interest in the topic. It was more

than just curiosity that drove this preoccupation, but a wave of messianic fervor that swept both

Jewish and Christian circles during the 17th century. Leon Templo's *Retrato del Templo de

Selomoh* was a deeply messianic text representative of the interests in Amsterdam at that

moment; the project itself was financed by Templo's close associate, the Christian Hebraist

Adam Boreel.[51] Templo and Boreel's shared interest in reconstructing the Temple of Solomon

was directly related to the messianic belief that the restoration of Israel was imminent. Boreel

was far from alone—many Protestant intellectuals were eager for a renewed understanding of the

Hebrew bible, and it was not uncommon for Amsterdam's rabbis to provide them with private

tutoring. Leon Templo himself was the Hebrew tutor of Jacob Van Campen's close associate

Constantijn Huygens; in a letter of introduction to Christopher Wren in 1674 regarding the

display of Templo's model in London, Huygens presented the rabbi as the one who had taught

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[51] Kaplan, "Bom Judesmo: The Western Sephardic Diaspora," 663.

him Hebrew literature.[52]

In regard to architecture, Villalpando's work was closely studied by intellectuals and architects during the 17th century, primarily for its argument that the Temple in Jerusalem was the original source of the classical Orders described by Vitruvius. Dutch architect Jacob van Campen is known to have studied Villalpando's reconstruction with Huygens at least sometime after 1634, when Huygens requested use of the text from a colleague for himself and Van Campen.[53] It is also possible that Huygens shared with Van Campen a copy of an earlier depiction of the Temple in Jerusalem by Hebraist François Vatable from 1540, reprinted many times before Villalpando's work took prominence.[54] It was Van Campen who seems to have first introduced the sloped buttress feature at the base of classical pilasters to Dutch religious architecture in his churches in Hooge Zwaluwe and Renswoude in 1639 (Image 3.13). Given Van Campen's documented academic interest in the classical treatises and Villalpando's illustrations of Solomon's Temple, it is not illogical that he could have borrowed the forms of the sloped buttress from the Temple reconstruction.[55] There is some evidence that the architect specifically had the Temple in mind when designing the Nieuwe Kerk in Haarlem in 1645 (Image 3.14).[56] The features that defined Van Campen's churches, specifically the sloped buttresses and round-arched windows on otherwise austere brick facades, are also on display in the later work of Daniel Stalpaert, including the church in Oudshoorn and the Oosterkerk in

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[52] C. J. R. van der Linden, "De Symboliek van de Nieuwe Kerk van Jacob van Campen Te Haarlem," *Oud Holland* 104, no. 1 (1990): 9.

[53] A correspondence from Huygens to diplomat Jacob van Wicqufort in December 1634 asks the diplomat to lend his copy of Villalpando's work on behalf of Van Campen and himself. Referenced in Linden, C. J. R. van der. "De Symboliek van de Nieuwe Kerk van Jacob van Campen Te Haarlem." Oud Holland 104, no. 1 (1990): 1–31.

[54] van der Linden, "De Symboliek van de Nieuwe Kerk van Jacob van Campen Te Haarlem."

[55] That Van Campen took the sloping buttress forms from Villalpando's reconstruction of the Temple in Jerusalem was first argued in Linden, C. J. R. van der. "De Symboliek van de Nieuwe Kerk van Jacob van Campen Te Haarlem." Oud Holland 104, no. 1 (1990): 1–31.

[56] van der Linden, "De Symboliek van de Nieuwe Kerk van Jacob van Campen Te Haarlem."

Amsterdam (Image 3.15). In further examples, Dutch architect Pieter Post also used these

elements on the facades of the churches of Woubrugge (1652) and Moerkapelle (c. 1661).[57] Due

to the prominence of both Villalpando's illustrations of the Temple and Leon Templo's

pamphlets and travelling model of the site, the sloped buttress and austere round-headed

windows similar to the depictions of the Temple Mount, were features of church facades that

people in the Netherlands during the mid-17th century likely understood as referring to

Solomon's Temple.[58] By the 1670's, they were certainly features associated with the Dutch

church.

The Grote Sjoel: A Dutch Synagogue in the Classical Mode

The Grote Sjoel, synagogue of the Amsterdam High German congregation constructed

between 1669 and 1671, was built within this context and represents a significant departure from

both the earlier *schuilkerken* sites and the first Talmud Torah synagogue of 1639. The building

was the first stand-alone synagogue built in early modern Amsterdam and its design was

associated with a prominent architect of the period, Daniël Stalpaert. Stalpaert had worked with

Jacob van Campen, supervising the construction of Van Campen's Town Hall in Amsterdam,

built between 1648 and 1665, and was responsible for several churches that featured the austere

classicism of the period, including the Oosterkerk in Amsterdam (1669-71).

With the growing size of Amsterdam's Ashkenazim, the 1648 High German Synagogue

could no longer function for the community, the congregation leaders determining that "prayer

could not be properly performed… and the congregation might be hindered in its growth and

development."[59] In December 1669 they asked Amsterdam's city council for permission to

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[57] Jonge and Ottenheym, *Unity and Discontinuity: Architectural Relations Between the Southern and Northern Low Countries 1530-1700*, 278.

[58] van der Linden, "De Symboliek van de Nieuwe Kerk van Jacob van Campen Te Haarlem," 9.

[59] Agt, *Synagogen in Amsterdam*, 24.

purchase land to build a new synagogue and were granted several lots near the former St. Anthony's Gate (Image 3.16). The congregation purchased four lots for 3,824 guilders in February 1670, and the following month commissioned Elias Bouman, master mason, and Gillis van der Veen, master carpenter, to build the Grote Sjoel.[60] The land was available to the congregation due to an urban expansion project under the direction of city architect Daniël Stalpaert. Stalpaert was closely involved in the city's expansion and was specifically named in the synagogue's building contract as being involved with the project.[61] Elias Bouman had worked as a master mason on the foundations of the Oosterkerk in 1669, designed by Stalpaert and completed under the supervision of the architect Adriaen Dortsman; Bouman was also paid for the regular upkeep of the church's masonry.[62] The master carpenter, Gillis van der Veen, was also experienced with religious architecture, having been involved in building the dome of the Lutheran Church on the Singel, designed by Dortsman.[63]

In its plan and facades, the Grote Sjoel is similar in character to Stalpaert's centrally planned Protestant churches including the Oosterkerk in Amsterdam (1669-71) and the church in Oudshoorn, South Holland (1663-65). The synagogue and the churches have square, Greek Cross plans, with four central supports. On their exteriors, the austere brick facades are pieced by unadorned round-headed and rectangular windows and delineated by brick pilasters with sloping buttresses at their base. Stalpaert's work is directly comparable to Jacob van Campen's earlier churches in Hooge Zwaluwe (1639-41), Renswoude (1639-41), and Haarlem (1645), which were centrally planned spaces featuring significantly pared down exteriors compared to De Keyser's

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[60] Agt, 24.
[61] Agt, 24.
[62] Pieter Vlaardingerbroek, "Elias Bouman (1635-1686), the Architect of the Snoge," in *The Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam* (Zwolle: WBooks, 2013), 52.
[63] Vlaardingerbroek, 53.

Amsterdam churches of the decades prior. The Grote Sjoel became the first Dutch synagogue to feature these particular classical elements as employed by Van Campen, Stalpaert, and other Dutch architects that defined Calvinist church facade designs of the mid-17th century (Image 3.17).

On the interior, the Grote Sjoel presents as noticeably different from the Calvinist church spaces. The Ashkenazi synagogue and the comparable churches share a square footprint in plan, but the Grote Sjoel has a distinctly longitudinal orientation. An engraving made from a drawing by L.F. du Bourg for the work *Ceremonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, published in 1737 provides a view of the synagogue's interior somewhat near the time of construction (Image 3.18). The engraving shows two of the synagogue's four central columns supporting the three barrel vaults, as well as two of the three galleries. The *bimah* has been omitted, in favor of centering the image's subject, however, the building contract specified carpentry work for a square *bimah* in the center of the space.[64] This layout makes it a distinctly Jewish space compared to the Protestant examples. The visual focal point was the ark along the open wall, with the *bimah* placed in the central nave and galleries provided for women's prayer space.

The Esnoga: Monumental Synagogue Architecture

On the heels of the construction of the Ashkenazi congregation's Grote Sjoel, the Amsterdam Sephardim began planning their own new synagogue in 1669 or 1670. Two options were considered to address the lack of space in their synagogue on the Houtgracht: a new building on the existing synagogue's site, or an entirely new site and building. On November 16th, 1670, the chief haham, Rabbi Isaac Aboab da Fonseca, brought a petition to the *parnassim*

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[64] Agt, *Synagogen in Amsterdam*, 27.

calling for the congregational leaders to move forward with plans for a new site and larger synagogue. A few days later a building committee was formed, led by Isaac de Pinto with members Samuel Vaz, David Salom de Azevedo, Abraham da Veoga, Jacob Aboab Ozorio, Jacob Israel Pereyra and Isaac Henriques Coutino.[65] Rabbi Aboab da Fonseca continued to appeal for a new synagogue through a sermon given on November 23rd, in which he asked congregants to contribute directly to the costs of a new building; this led to roughly 40,000 guilders to be donated towards the project.[66] Three days later the building committee concluded that building a new synagogue on a different site would be more practical and cost effective.

A large plot of land was purchased for the new synagogue in December 1670 for 33,993 guilders, directly opposite the Grote Sjoel, which was under construction at the time (Image 3.16). The site was slightly irregular in shape, and 418 by 151 feet in area, with the advantage of an east-southeast orientation, towards Jerusalem.[67] For the architecture of the new synagogue, and the complex of classrooms and residences that would accompany the main structure, the building committee reviewed designs submitted by several architects and master masons, the latter who could both design the buildings and lead the construction. The submission by Elias Bouman, the master mason of the Grote Sjoel, was selected for the project; the other potential designs did not survive, although one note refers to a design with a dome.[68]

Bouman's design consisted of a large volume of one-storied front buildings, with the main passageway into an inner courtyard in the center. A site plan by Romeyn de Hooghe from illustrations produced for the building's inauguration in 1675 shows the layout (Image 3.1). Along two sides of the courtyard were colonnaded, covered walkways, with brick walls along the

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[65] Cohen Paraira, "A Jewel in the City," 45.
[66] Cohen Paraira, 45.
[67] Vlaardingerbroek, *The Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam*, 58.
[68] Vlaardingerbroek, "Elias Bouman (1635-1686), the Architect of the Snoge," 53.

street sides maintaining the courtyard's privacy. Within this U-shaped volume sat the Esnoga, a large, rectangular basilica, whose height was made more imposing by the low-storied buildings surrounding it. At 130 feet long and 100 feet wide, the synagogue sat snuggly within the complex. This complex was important to the congregation for several reasons. First, it allowed for the site to act as a kind of community center with classrooms for the *bet midrash* (Torah school), a library, a meeting room for the *mahamad*, and residences for the congregation's *samasim* and *hazanim* (sextons and cantors). There was a basin for washing in the northern breezeway for use before entering the synagogue. Across the street at the Grote Sjoel, a building outside of the synagogue had been constructed for a *mikveh* ritual bath for women, but at the Esnoga complex, there is no mention of this in the building specifications or any other existing source documents on the site's 17th century layout.

Having a protected courtyard space was also beneficial to the community as a social gathering place. The building committee had voiced a strong desire for the site to have a place where the congregants could stroll and children could play.[69] This space can also be seen as assisting in the symbolic transition that occurred when entering the Jewish house of prayer and study, in addition to the hand washing ritual. A text about Jewish practices written by member of the London Sephardic congregation, Isaac Abendana, in 1695, is also relevant to the Amsterdam congregation. In one passage the author writes on the behaviors required within the synagogue:

> He must be duly prepared and disposed in mind and affection before he presume
> to appear in the presence of God, and that such previous dispositions are to be
> procured by a serious meditation on the great solemnity of the action he is going
> about. (To which purpose 'tis observable, that some of our pious ancients did use
> to tarry some short space in the synagogue before prayers begun, the better to
> settle and compose their thoughts.) At his entrance into the places of publick
> worship he must behave himself with all agreeable reverence, as being sensible of

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[69] Vlaardingerbroek, *The Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam*, 59.

the great holiness and sanctity therof.[70]

What Abendana is describing is the use of the exterior space, often a courtyard or porch, to collect oneself and talk with other congregants casually, before entering the synagogue for serious contemplation and prayer. The Amsterdam *mahamad* was especially interested in maintaining this order within the synagogue itself, as the regular presence of Christian visitors made services within the synagogue a kind of performance where optics of *Bom Judesmo* was seen as especially important. Visitors unfamiliar with Jewish worship often remarked on the chaotic nature of the services, so Amsterdam's congregational leadership regularly enacted laws attempting to bring more order during prayer. Side conversations were forbidden within the synagogue, and traditional rituals involving spitting and yelling during the reading of the book of Esther during Purim were declared uncouth.[71] Having a designated space for social interaction like the courtyard may have been seen by the *mahamad* as critical to preserving the image of the Jewish congregation as cultured and dignified.

The synagogue itself was a grand proclamation of the Sephardic congregation's presence within Amsterdam. The building's facades featured architectural details that had become well-identified with Dutch religious space, thanks to the prominence of the austere classicism of the churches of Van Campen and Stalpaert. The main entrance from the courtyard sat in the center of the synagogue's symmetrical west facade, the four monumental pilasters creating a visual reference to the division of space inside. The entrance features a classical entablature and Tuscan columns, with a Hebrew inscription in the frieze from Psalm 5:8, "But as for me, I will come into Thy house in the multitude of Thy mercy."[72] The facades' pilasters have the same small, slanted

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[70] Isaac Abendana, "An Account of Our Public Liturgy," in *The Jewish Kalendar, Containing an Account of Their Feasts and Fasts...* (Oxford: Printed at the Theater, 1695).

[71] Kaplan, "Bom Judesmo: The Western Sephardic Diaspora," 638–69.

[72] Cohen Paraira, "A Jewel in the City," 49.

buttresses at their base as was used in Van Campen's churches, Stalpaert's Oosterkerk in Amsterdam, and the Grote Sjoel. A classical cornice sits atop the brick pilasters, and above that a parapet with a central circular window flanked by balustrades and ornamental vases, details that commonly ornamented rooflines in Amsterdam at the time. The Esnoga also features the large, round-headed and rectangular windows framed by only the brick soldier course that matched the rest of the facade, details seen also on the Oosterkerk and the Grote Sjoel. There is no question that on the synagogue's opening in 1675, that it's architecture would be read alongside the most prestigious religious sites of the Dutch Republic.

On the interior, the synagogue was considered no less grand, and was featured in several paintings by Emanuel de Witte (Image 3.4). The building committee had specifically requested a vaulted space, to help improve the acoustics for the some 1,200 men and 440 women that could be seated within the space.[73] Bouman's interior features three large barrel vaults. Four monumental columns, capped with Ionic capitals reach the entire height of the space, holding the barrel vault over the central nave, in similar fashion as in the Grote Sjoel but at a grander scale. A *heichal* spanning the full width of the nave sits along the east end, made of Brazilian jacaranda wood gifted by Moses Curiel. Designed by Bouman, it was elaborately decorated with festoons and columns and entablatures in the Ionic and Corinthian orders; the central section crowned with a segmental pediment over the Tablets of Law, which featured the Ten Commandments written in gilt lettering. Near the west end of the central nave sits the *tebah*, brought into the Esnoga from the previous Talmud Torah Synagogue, along with several large chandeliers that hang under the central barrel vault. The side aisles are set apart by single-story Ionic columns supporting two women's galleries, each with a barrel vault overhead. Bouman appears to have

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[73] Cohen Paraira, 50.

been at least generally familiar with the classical Orders as described by Scamozzi. The master

mason used the simple Tuscan order for the colonnades surrounding the exterior courtyard,

followed by simplified Doric cornices on the exterior. Inside the synagogue, Bouman used the

more elaborate Ionic order except for the uppermost part of the *heichal*, where the Corinthian

order is seen surrounding the Tablet of Laws. The precision of Van Campen is not present here,

the full classical entablature is missing in many places, but the hierarchy and proportions of the

Orders seem to have been attempted.

Inauguration ceremonies for the Esnoga began on Friday August 2nd, 1675, *Shabbat*

Nachamu, the Sabbath of "comfort/ing" that follows Tish'a B'Av, a mournful holiday on the

Jewish calendar marking the end of a three week period mourning the destruction of the Temple

of Jerusalem. The celebration of the Esnoga's dedication lasted eight days, in reference to the

dedication under the Maccabees of the Temple of Jerusalem, and the sermons preached during

the week were published in a booklet by Amsterdam printer David de Castro Tartas.[74] As

previously mentioned, the pamphlet included various illustrations by Romeyn de Hooghe,

featuring the site plan, exterior, interior, and details of the *heichal* (Image 3.1). De Hooghe's

etchings lauded Bouman's work and included a poem making a pun on his name, "This, the

school of law, the Jews' house of prayer/Bouman's masterpiece, the honour of the new work."[75]

One illustration of the synagogue's interior also provides a list of the names of members who

contributed to the building and the inauguration ceremonies, including David van Isaac de Pinto,

Moses Curiel aka Jeronimo Nunes da Costa, Joseph Israel Nunes aka Antonio Alvares, and

Imanuel de Pinto, who had each paid for the ceremonial honor of laying one of the four corner

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[74] Tartas, *Sermoes que pregarao os doctos ingenios do K.K. de Talmud Torah, desta cidade de Amsterdam ...*
[75] The pun seems to be lost in translation. Cohen Paraira, "A Jewel in the City," 47.

foundation stones when construction began in 1671 (Image 3.2).[76]

At both the Grote Sjoel and Esnoga in Amsterdam, Elias Bouman employed the sloping buttress and round-headed windows in the same context as was used in other examples of Dutch religious architecture of the period. That is, their use on a Jewish building does not appear to give the features any different meaning than their use on the earlier Christian churches. The sloped buttresses and arched windows likely were not meant to reference the Temple of Solomon in a direct way, but instead were featured because they were elements identified with prominent Dutch religious architecture of the period. Many authors propose that the Jewish congregation specifically wanted references of Solomon's Temple in the physical construction of the Esnoga, even going as far as suggesting that they were out to build a new Temple. However, this does not align with Jewish practices: the relationship between the Temple and the synagogue was expressed in words more than in architecture, because the two were fundamentally different.[77] The eight days of ceremony upon the opening of the Esnoga in 1675 is one example of how Jewish services made reference to the Temple of Jerusalem. The associations were created through ritual and the symbolic hierarchies of sanctity within the space and of the Torah scrolls, not necessarily in the physical form of the synagogue itself. Christian observers, however, did seem keen to make the comparison between the Portuguese Synagogue and the Temple in Jerusalem. A map of Amsterdam printed by publisher Frederik de Wit in 1688 depicts the Esnoga with oversized buttresses and balustrade, creating a strikingly similar image to depictions of the Temple, while the Oosterkerk on that same map shows no buttress detailing at all (Image 3.19). The heightened interest by Protestants in Hebrew and Jewish ritual during the 17th century, due to the perceived notions of their connection to the ancient foundations of the

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[76] Cohen Paraira, "A Jewel in the City," 47.
[77] Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History, Meaning*, 8.

Christian church, led Christians to directly connect the physical form of the synagogue of the prominent Amsterdam Sephardim to the Temple in Jerusalem.

Legacy of the Esnoga and Grote Sjoel in the Netherlands

Outside of Amsterdam, Jewish settlements in the Netherlands took longer to establish lasting roots due continued bans against Jews in towns and rural areas in the Dutch Republic, that were not lifted until the late 17th century and some well into the 18th century.[78] By the 1670's there were smaller Sephardic communities in Middleburg, Rotterdam, Amersfoort, Maarssen, Nijkerk, and The Hague, and as well as German Ashkenazic communities in Rotterdam, Amersfoort, and Leeuwarden.[79] The largest Sephardic community in the Netherlands to develop outside of Amsterdam during the period of study was in The Hague. Congregation Beth Jacob was established in 1692 by Jacob Pereira, a former student of the Pinto Yeshiva, established in Rotterdam and moved to Amsterdam. The congregants, both Sephardic and Ashkenazic, met in a home owned by Pereira in Korte Voorhout, which was rebuilt as a synagogue in 1706-1707.[80] In 1698 a second Sephardic congregation was founded by another student of the Pinto Yeshiva, Jacob Abenacar Viega; in 1709 the congregation took the name Honen Dal. Viega's congregation moved in 1711 from his guest home on the Bierkade to a rented house on Lange Voorhout in the area of The Hague where the wealthier Sephardic Jews lived.[81]

The Honen Dal congregation built a stately synagogue along the Prinsessegracht between 1725 and 1726. The construction was completed by Felix du Sart following designs by the architect Daniel Marot. A rectangular basilica smaller in scale than the Esnoga, the Honen Dal

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[78] Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806*, 658.
[79] Israel, 658.
[80] J. F. van. Agt, *Portugese Synagogen in Den Haag* (Den Haag: Monumentenzorg, n.d.), 15–16.
[81] Agt, 16.

Synagogue also sat within an enclosed courtyard and featured large round-headed windows and pilasters on a brick facade (Image 3.20). A frontispiece framed the large central window and entrance in smooth-faced stone block rustication, and above the classical cornice along the roofline sat a large arched pediment. Along the exterior in the back of the building, two staircases led women into the galleries. Inside, two galleries ran along the length of the space under a large, coved ceiling (Image 3.21). Four Ionic columns held the galleries but did not extend the full height of the building. The interior walls were decorated by paneled pilasters meeting a classical crown molding at the ceiling. The prayer space was organized following Sephardic tradition, as in Amsterdam, with a large decorative *heichal* on the eastern wall and a raised, railed *tebah* on the side opposite. As early as 1730 the architecture of the Honen Dal Synagogue was compared to the Esnoga: Jacob de Riemer suggested the similarity in his "Description of The Hague" (*Beschryving van 's Graven-Hage*, 1730), as did Abraham George Luïscuis who described it as "built on the model of the one in Amsterdam" (*Algemeen historisch, geografisch en genealogisch woordenboek 5*, 1730).[82] The synagogue's sculptural elements on its facade and in the interior give an impression somewhat more aligned with buildings more contemporary to its construction, but the perception of the Esnoga as the model for Dutch brick synagogue, with round-headed windows and pilasters, was imprinted in the minds of observers.

The Rotterdam Jewish community, a combined congregation of Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews, also built a synagogue in 1725 on the Boompjes canal (Image 3.22). The Swiss Protestant architect Titus Favre, who at that time was living in Rotterdam, was commissioned to design the synagogue.[83] The building was rectangular in footprint but oriented towards the transverse axis,

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[82] Agt, 32.

[83] Timothy De Paepe, "'Among the Most Beautiful Synagogues of Western Europe': A Virtual Reconstruction of the Rotterdam Synagogue of the Boompjes (1725–1940)," *Digital Applications in Archaeology and Cultural Heritage* 1, no. 1 (January 1, 2014): 23–31.

since the eastern wall was on the longer length of the building. The interior prayer space featured

three galleries, full-height pilasters, and a vaulted roof with a central skylight and bell tower,

unique for a synagogue in the Netherlands.[84] On the brick exterior, the synagogue shared a

facade layout with Honen Dal, with corner pilasters, and a frontispiece centering the entrance

and a large round-headed window. The Rotterdam synagogue stood for over 200 years with very

little changes in its appearance until the building was destroyed in the bombings of 1940 and was

never reconstructed.[85] Favre was also responsible for designing the Wolfshoekkerk in 1739, a

church in Rotterdam also destroyed in 1940. The church exhibited similar features to the

synagogue on the Boompjes, including three large arched windows, a classical roofline cornice

and pilasters on an otherwise plain brick facade; this further demonstrates the commonality of

these architectural elements in Dutch religious architecture into the 18th century.

When the Sephardic congregation Talmud Torah built the Esnoga in 1675, the Dutch

republic was experiencing its "Golden Age," and the Sephardic trade network of *la Nação* was

recognized as playing a major role in the commerce between Amsterdam and the Dutch colonies

in the Caribbean and South America. Congregation Talmud Torah and its *mahamad* were in

many ways at the center of this network, strictly enforcing the religious, ethnic, and cultural

characteristics of *Bom Judesmo* throughout the Sephardic diaspora. Over the course of the 18th

century, the position of the Amsterdam Sephardic congregation, and the role of the Sephardic

commerce network, was greatly impacted by several trends and events of the modern period. The

ascendancy of the British in global trade, and the shift of the Atlantic trade economy from the

Caribbean to the ports of British North America significantly impacted the wealth of the Dutch

Sephardim. At the same time, the London Sephardic congregation, and those in British North

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[84] J. F. van. Agt, *Nederlandse Synagogen* (Amsterdam: Joods Historisch Museum: De Haan, 1984), 26.
[85] De Paepe, "'Among the Most Beautiful Synagogues of Western Europe.'"

America, largely based in New York City and Newport, Rhode Island, became more distant and

independent—religiously, culturally, and economically—from Amsterdam.[86] Between 1763 and

1773, an economic crisis bankrupted numerous Dutch banks, and with the liquidation of the WIC

in 1792 and the VOC in 1799, much of the Amsterdam Sephardim lost substantial wealth, with

over half relying on communal charity by the end of the century.[87] Although Talmud Torah, and

the Esnoga, remained symbolically central to the western Sephardim, the congregation no longer

retained their authority over a diaspora that had become weakened in unity and cohesion. In

Europe and across the Atlantic, increasing numbers of the Sephardim moved towards

assimilation, and even converting to Christianity.[88] In an attempt to counteract the philosophies

of the Enlightenment era that were leading more of their congregants away from the

congregation, the Amsterdam *mahamad* became increasingly strict and further focused on

religious orthodoxy. Just as the commercial success of the Amsterdam Sephardim in the 17th

century had been directly tied to a particularly flexible cultural identity, their economic decline

in the 18th century was intertwined with the cultural decline of the community.[89]

When Talmud Torah took on a major renovation project in 1773 to extend the east end of

the Esnoga, their actions suggest an interest in reminding the community of their former glory.

With a budget of 30,000 guilders, the construction involved an updated access to the women's

galleries, with two staircases leading to an interior landing with entrances to the galleries and a

corridor running between the two stairwells.[90] Under the corridor on the exterior of the east wall,

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[86] Jonathan Israel, "Jews and Crypto-Jews in the Atlantic World Systems, 1500-1800," in *Atlantic Diasporas: Jews, Conversos, and Crypto-Jews in the Age of Mercantilism*, 2009, 16.

[87] Cohen Paraira and Smith, "The Portuguese Jewish Community in Amsterdam," 28.

[88] For more see: Israel, *Diasporas Within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews, and the World of Maritime Empires (1540-1740)*, 567–84; Endelman, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History, 1656-1945*.

[89] Sutcliffe, "Jewish History in an Age of Atlanticism," 29.

[90] Coert Peter Krabbe and Dik de Room, "Construction and Maintenance (1671-2000)," in *The Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: WBooks, 2013), 91.

large, curved buttresses were built that appear directly based on Leon Templo's model of the Temple of Jerusalem (Image 3.23). This marks the first explicit reference to Solomon's Temple in the Esnoga's built form. Leon Templo's model had resurfaced in 1771; an advertisement in 's Gravenhage Courant dated May 10th, 1771 reads "Here is arrived the Truly Remarkable and Ingenious TEMPLE OF SOLOMON… which has not been displayed for eighty Years, made after the architecture of the late learned teacher JACOB JUDA LEON."[91] During his tenure at Talmud Torah in the mid-17th century Rabbi Leon Templo was not held in high esteem by the congregational leaders, who did not sanction collaborations with Christians, despite their frequency. Templo had been demoted from his teaching position at the Ets Haim seminary in 1665, after previously being threatened with full dismissal by the *mahamad* for opening his home on the Sabbath to visitors of his model.[92] Given this, it seems unlikely he would have held a key role in the design of the Esnoga, as argued by some scholars. Now, more than a century later, after the congregation had experienced a significant decline in status, the famous 17th century rabbi was a figure to be celebrated and even commemorated in the architecture of the synagogue.

The Amsterdam Ashkenazim had not been so closely entwined with the Dutch trade economy, so did not suffer the same economic fate as their Sephardic neighbors. Over the course of the 18th century, the Amsterdam Ashkenazi congregation rose to become the world's largest, with some 20,000 members by the end of the century. The High German congregation was already facing a lack of space due to their growing population soon after the Grote Sjoel opened in 1671. Two smaller synagogues were built on the south-west side of Grote Sjoel: the Obbene Sjoel, opened in 1685, and the Dritt Sjoel in 1700. Services in these two synagogues were

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[91] Cohen Paraira and Smith, "The Portuguese Jewish Community in Amsterdam," 58.
[92] Cohen Paraira and Smith, 58.

attended by congregants from lower social and economic classes, while the more wealthy and prominent members attended the Grote Sjoel. Both were narrow, galleried spaces, intended for men only; the Obbene Sjoel had a single barrel vault over the three-storied high space and can be seen in a 1725 illustration by Bernard Picart (Image 3.24). The Dritt Sjoel was completely rebuilt in 1778, with a low galleried prayer space in the first level, and upper floors used for the Torah school founded in 1740.[93]

In 1729, the site to the south-east of the Grote Sjoel on the Deventer Houtmarkt (now Joans Daniel Meijerplein) was purchased by the High German congregation for a new synagogue, the first Nieuwe Sjoel (New Synagogue). The length of the building spanned the width of the Grote Sjoel, roughly sixty-six feet, but its width was only twenty-one feet.[94] It may have been a transverse-oriented space, with the long, south-east wall holding the ark, with two galleries for women on the shorter sides. In 1750, the High German congregational leaders purchased the neighboring buildings, so that the Nieuwe Sjoel could be expanded to nearly sixty feet in width. This Nieuwe Sjoel opened in 1756 and still remains today with the rest of the 17th-18th century Ashkenazi synagogues as part of Amsterdam's Jewish History Museum. The designer is believed to have been Gerard Frederik Maybaum, the city architect beginning in 1746.[95] The architect's design for the Nieuwe Sjoel seems directly inspired by the Grote Sjoel, just merely an updated version. Its square plan features four full-height Ionic columns, supporting a central barrel vault over the nave (Image 3.25). Two additional barrel vaults cover the women's galleries in the side aisles. Like the Grote Sjoel and the Esnoga across the street, the space is oriented east, despite the building's south street-facing primary facade. Seen in a

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[93] Agt, *Synagogen in Amsterdam*, 57.
[94] Agt, 58.
[95] Agt, 58.

drawing from 1777, the synagogue had a frontispiece in the center of the south facade, with an entrance featuring columns, entablature and sculpted ornament (Image 3.26). The round-headed arch windows parallel those of the neighboring Grote Sjoel and Esnoga, while the lower level of segmental windows suggest an update from the rectangular windows of the earlier synagogues. The Nieuwe Sjoel facade flourishes more ornamental details, like the roofline balustrade with scrolled pediment and sculptural details. It also has much in common with the Esnoga across the street, both interior prayer spaces had two galleries and their massive columns were topped with Ionic capitals, unlike the Doric of the Grote Sjoel's interior. The roofline balustrade was common in Amsterdam during the 17th and 18th centuries and was used on both the Esnoga and Nieuwe Sjoel. The latter featured a domed skylight over the central nave, that gave its exterior a distinct, updated look from the other two synagogues. Overall, the Nieuwe Sjoel's architecture pointed to a Dutch Ashkenazim that had significantly grown in stature and wealth since the construction of their 17th century synagogues.

Part II: A New Approach: Data Organizational Structures, Network Analysis and Systems of Architectural Production

Recombinant Architecture: Buildings as Compositions of Discrete Elements

The first part of this chapter provides an approach to the synagogues and churches of the 17th and 18th centuries in the Netherlands that mirrors traditional scholarship on these sites. While the attention to the development of classicism in Dutch religious architecture is a needed contribution to the study of the Amsterdam synagogues, the availability of new, digital methods provides further opportunities for the study of architecture. Using the custom-built relational database and network graphs as a new framework of analysis, we can gain a refreshed perspective on traditional architectural comparisons and identify more precise interpretations.

Critically, this use of digital tools is readily expandable beyond the relative handful of architectural examples seen in this project.

The method of analysis, which I have termed "Recombinant Architecture," draws from the mechanism of recombination in the field of genetics. Recombination is a process that occurs randomly in nature when DNA molecules combine to produce new genetic combinations; it is the primary means through which variation is introduced into populations. A building is not a genome, but it can be broken down into discrete elements—elements that have already been defined within the fields of architecture and construction.[96] Architectural elements, like a round arch or Corinthian capital, are not unique to a single building, but reused repeatedly, in new combinations with other building elements and materials. These elements are not applied at random but are often used according to established conventions and in combinations recognizable to a particular time, place and/or architect or collective. Because a relational database allows information to be broken down into smaller, discrete components, it is the ideal tool for this project.

After thorough research of a building site, the process used in this dissertation begins with the breakdown of a building into its component parts, following certain considerations of traditional formal analysis within architectural history and conventions used in design drawing. A building is first described through four topological spaces: facade, plan, section, and interior elevation. Each of these spaces can contain compositions, or assemblages of architectural elements, that enable comparisons of specific building features. For example, the facades of the buildings in this study include four architectural compositions: windows, entrances, rooflines,

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[96] This dissertation primarily relied on definitions from: James Stevens Curl and Susan Wilson, *The Oxford Dictionary of Architecture*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 2015); John Fleming, Hugh Honour, and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture*, 5th ed. (London: Penguin, 1999); Francis D. K. Ching, *A Visual Dictionary of Architecture* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1995).

and additional facade elements not part of the other three compositions. Individual architectural elements range from specific built entities like "column shaft" to more descriptive characteristics like "axis of symmetry," which describes the general interior orientation of a prayer hall, or "bay types" that give a sense of how compositions are repeated within a space.

This process is demonstrated using the west facade of the Esnoga, built in Amsterdam by the Sephardic congregation Talmud Torah in 1675, seen in the diagram below (Figure 3.1). The front facade of the Esnoga contains one entrance composition, two primary window compositions, a roofline composition, and additional facade elements; the compositions are assemblages of discrete architectural elements:
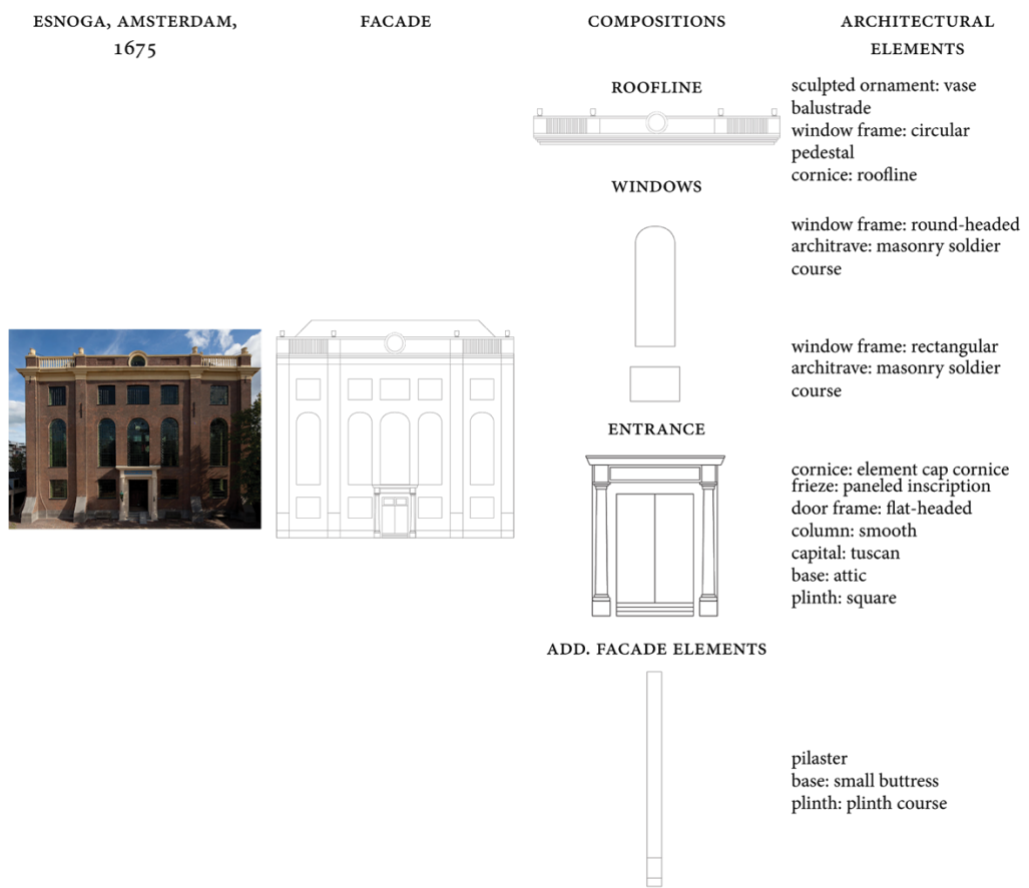
Figure 3.1: Esnoga broken down into compositions and discrete architectural elements

A building's compositions and architectural elements are inputted into tables within the

relational database, the structure of which is further discussed in Appendix A. Once in the

database, these components can be linked back together in various ways to facilitate analysis.

One of the ways this can be done is through a network data structure that links together the

buildings in the study with their shared architectural elements—the recombinations of the

discrete parts. In the below diagram (Figure 3.2), the architectural compositions and elements of

two buildings, the Oosterkerk (1669-71) and the Grote Sjoel (1669-71), are visualized as a tree

diagram to show the breakdown of the buildings into their component parts. The tree structure

parallels the way that building components and elements were diagrammed in Figure 3.1, now

with nodes and edges added to create a type of graph:
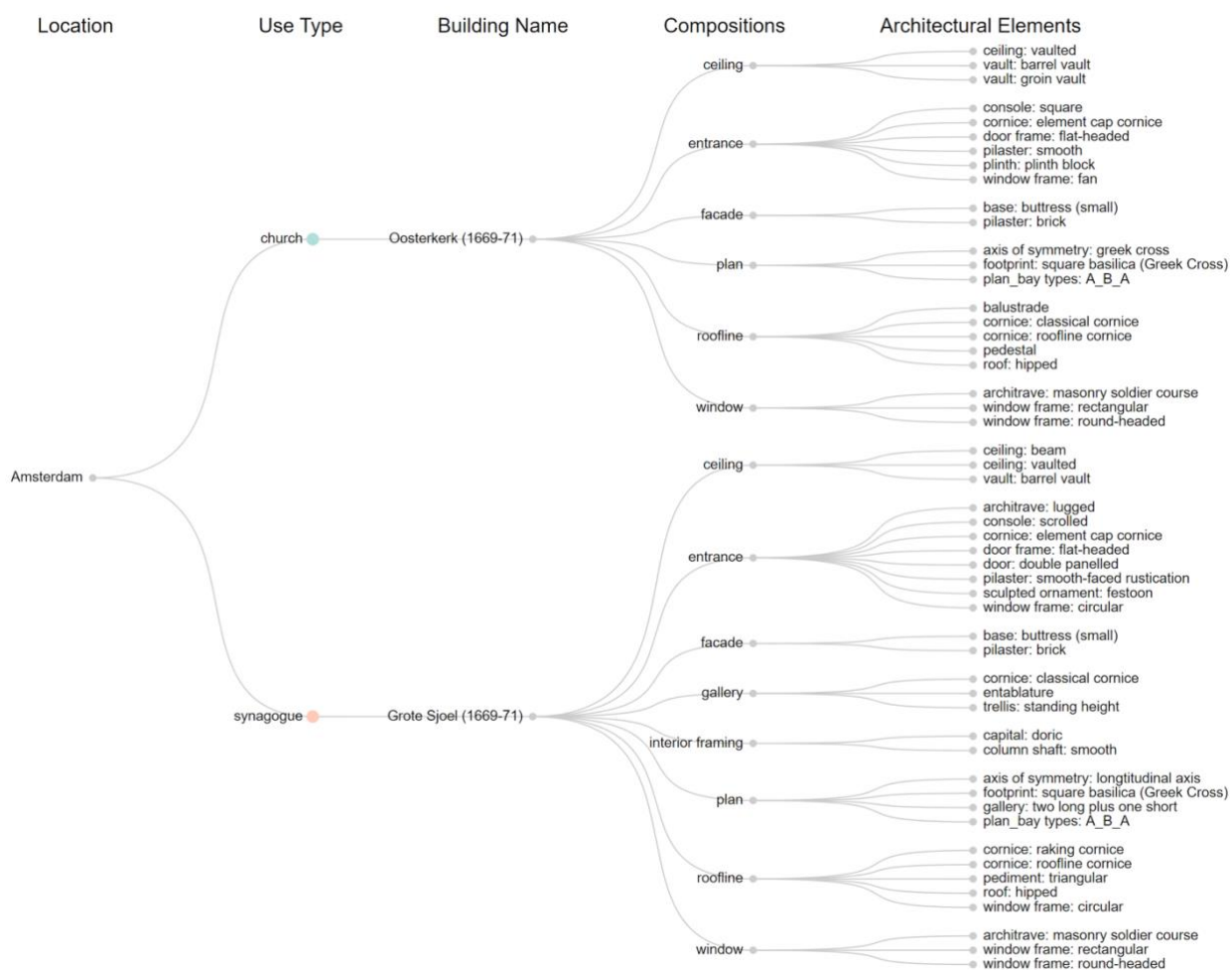
Figure 3.2: Tree diagram of the breakdown of buildings into architectural compositions and
elements, using the Grote Sjoel and Oosterkerk

This diagram (Figure 3.2) was quickly built by querying the relational database for the elements of these two buildings, demonstrating one example of how data can be extracted from the database in various formats. The problem with the above diagram is that although it shows all the component parts, it is difficult to identify the relationships between the two buildings' architectural compositions. These Dutch buildings share many architectural features, but we need a different way to visualize the data to further see these relationships.

Using a network graph, these relationships become easier to identify. Following the example in Figure 3.2, the below diagram shows the same data as the previous example but visualized as a network graph (Figure 3.3). The building nodes, colored by their use type (church, synagogue), are linked to the grey architectural element nodes if they are featured in that particular building. Architectural elements shared by both buildings provide direct visual links:
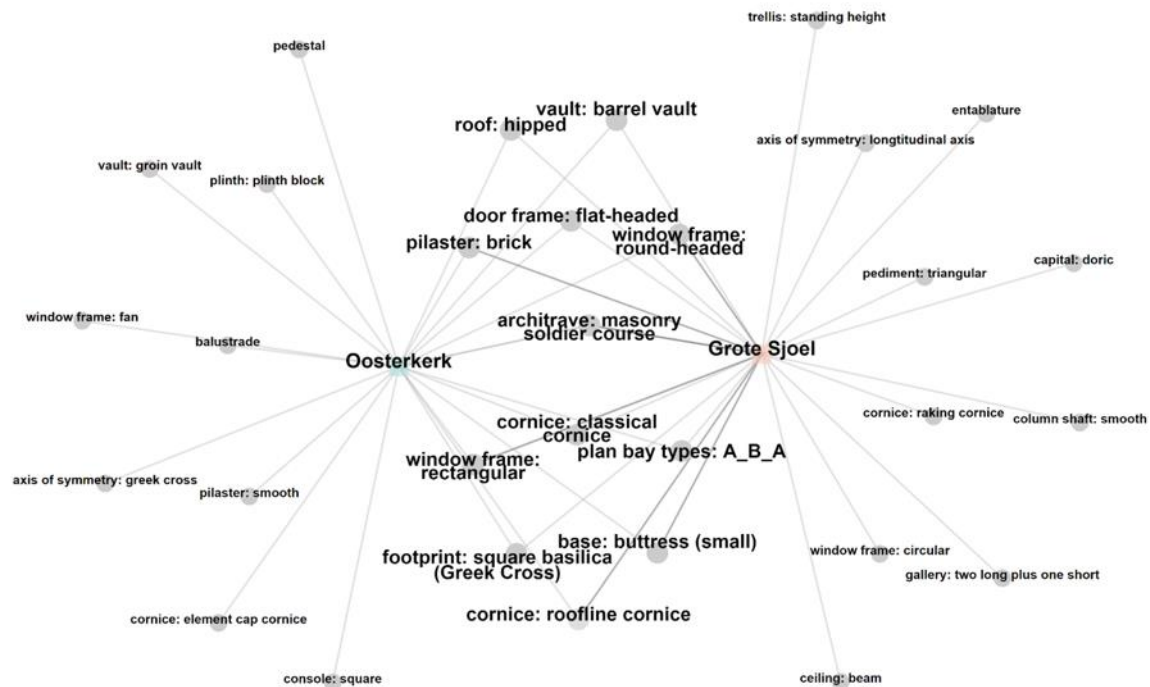
Figure 3.3: All Architectural Elements of the Grote Sjoel and Oosterkerk transformed from tree layout in Figure 3.2 into a network graph

Network graphs are algorithmically generated, so that the position of the nodes and the length of the links, or edges, are derived from calculations based on graph theory, often determined by how many neighbors, or nodes with shared edges, are in common. The above example using the Grote Sjoel and the Oosterkerk is very simple and does not necessarily provide new insight into these buildings. However, as this approach is expanded upon, networks provide opportunities to not only see similarities between buildings, but more importantly, can be targeted towards investigating difference.

Network Analysis and the Systems of Architectural Production

Like the framework of systems theory, the analytic outcomes of networks are based on chosen boundaries; as boundaries change, so too does the output. In this way, the bounds of the network graph—that is, the elements that are added or removed from the network—are an inherent part of their structure. If more buildings were added to the network graph in Figure 3.3, a different image would naturally take shape, changing the analysis. In this dissertation, network methods have been applied to architectural works specifically selected due to their appearance in traditional comparative analysis. Placing the Grote Sjoel and the Esnoga in dialogue with the selected Dutch churches and estates of the period stems out of the research done on these sites. Plainly, this is not a complete representation of all buildings that have the potential for inclusion, and as is the case when working with historic data, there are many sites that have not endured. If other works were to be included, some conclusions reached by this project would certainly shift. This is the nature of network analysis.

In applying a network framework to established research, we can gain new insight in these relationships, but it also provides a kind of test for this new analytic method. Results gained from using methods in network analysis can be compared to traditional scholarship on

these sites: there are certain outcomes that might be expected based on established research. For example, we can come to certain conclusions about the works designed by a single architect through the use of formal analysis, like that of De Keyser and Van Campen, and we should expect to see this reflected in the network analysis. Traditional modes of research act as a way to confirm the validity of the results derived from these digital tools. Significant research and testing went into the application of the network analysis used in this dissertation to ensure that the determined conclusions are both credible and relevant to the study of architecture.

There are two types of network graphs that will be explored in this dissertation in relation to the system of architectural production. The first type is a two-mode network, which is made up of two kinds of nodes; one example of this network type is seen in Figure 3.3.[97] A typical example of a two-mode network is an affiliation network, in which one set of nodes represent actors (like academics) and the second set represents the entities the actors are affiliated with (like universities). In this project, the two-mode networks contain nodes that represent architectural elements (like the round-headed window) and nodes that represent buildings (like the Grote Sjoel and Oosterkerk). In this network type, which will be referred to as "building-element" networks, the links connect architectural element nodes to building nodes when the element is featured in that specific building. The network graphs are then algorithmically generated using the open-source network tool, Gephi, a popular open-source software for scholarship involving networks.[98]

Using Gephi allows for network analysis to be run over the produced networks. There are an ever growing number of algorithms used in network analysis, for a wide variety of applications. For the two-mode building-element networks in this dissertation, the Leiden

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[97] Brughmans, "Thinking Through Networks," 627.
[98] https://gephi.org/

community detection algorithm was used to identify partitions, or community structures, that exist within the network. As the most recent development in the field of community detection, the Leiden algorithm is generally preferred, as it resolves issues found in clustering algorithms of past decades and guarantees that found communities are well connected.[99] It is a complex algorithm that moves a network's nodes through a series of refinements and aggregations into communities that are more densely interconnected compared to the rest of the graph.[100] When running the Leiden algorithm over a network in Gephi, a user has two options for the quality, or objective, function: modularity or CPM (constant Potts model). These functions provide a way to evaluate the quality of partitions found in a graph, and both are commonly used with community detection algorithms. This dissertation used modularity as the quality function, due to the relatively small size of the graphs; CPM works to keep community sizes small, and when applied here, resulted in dozens of found partitions, which in the case of this project was not useful or relevant to the data.

In addition to choice in quality function, the algorithm requires the user to set the resolution. With modularity, researchers commonly use resolutions set around 1.0; in this dissertation the resolution of the presented networks was set between 0.85-1.0 depending on certain criteria, to be described shortly. The higher the resolution is set, the more communities or partitions are isolated in the graph; a lower resolution identifies fewer partitions. Adjusting these settings is one example of how the application of network analysis is an exploratory method, and not an approach that generates a definitive answer. In order to make these decisions and interpret results, it is critical that the researcher fully understands their data, knows its source, and has a

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[99] V. A. Traag, L. Waltman, and N. J. van Eck, "From Louvain to Leiden: Guaranteeing Well-Connected Communities," *Scientific Reports* 9, no. 1 (December 2019): 4.

[100] See Figure 3 in V. A. Traag, L. Waltman, and N. J. van Eck, 2019, for a description of the process of community detection implemented by the Leiden algorithm

solid understanding of their chosen method in network analysis. When community detection was applied to the network graphs in this dissertation, it was done as consistently as possible. A wider range of resolutions between 0.7 and 1.0 were run on a network, to test if identified partitions held up at different resolutions. During the iterative exploration process, if significantly different partitions were found after slight variations in resolution, it was determined that these networks were unreliable, and at this stage, were not interpreted for further analysis. The network partitions presented in this dissertation were determined to have reliable partitions that remained consistent with changes to the resolution. In these cases, the exact resolution selected for presentation was the one that provided the clearest view of the partitions, based on the author's experience in data visualization and familiarity with the dataset. Chapter Five does include several building-network graphs with partitions that shifted with changes to resolution; as will be discussed, these did not give clear enough results for any conclusions to be drawn but were included for illustrative purposes.

It must be noted that identifying networks with consistently reliable partitions was a step in the exploratory research done for this dissertation. A significant number of networks were made over the course of this project, and through a highly iterative process, were narrowed down to those presented here. This process shaped the analysis and the overall structure of this dissertation, and numerous networks created in the process were either inconclusive or irrelevant. These did not play a role in this study's final form and, accordingly, are not included here.

What community detection provides in the context of the building-element network graph is a visualization that groups buildings into communities based on their shared edges with architectural elements, i.e. groups of similar buildings. Figure 3.4 demonstrates the potential value of community detection in a two-mode, building-element graph. In this case, the selected

buildings are the churches of Hendrik de Keyser and those of Jacob van Campen. These sites

share many architectural features but are distinct enough for the community detection algorithm

to create a partition. In the below graph, the Leiden algorithm identified two clusters, which are

illustrated by red and blue nodes; the two clusters or communities clearly divide the network by

the works of Hendrik de Keyser and Jacob van Campen:
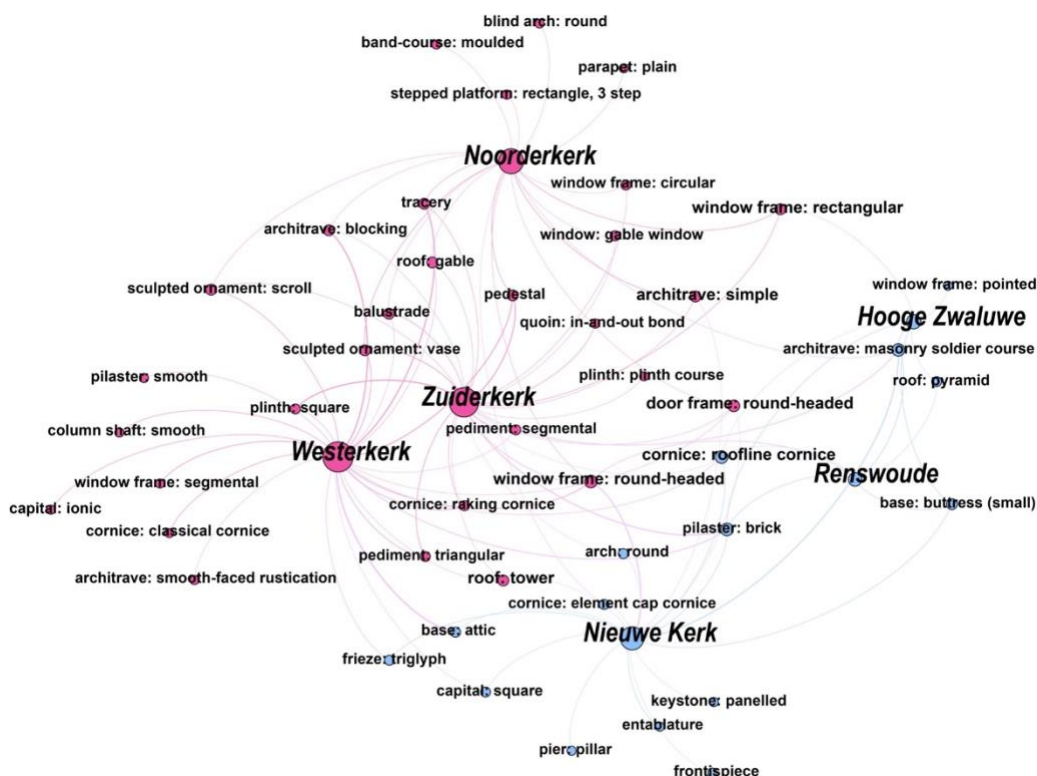
Figure 3.4: Two-Mode Building-Element Network using the facade elements of churches
designed by Hendrik de Keyser (red) and Jacob van Campen (blue) with community detection

The second type of network graph used in this project is a one-mode graph visualization.

These are networks made up of only one node type and are the most common network structures

found in scholarship applying network analysis. One of the most well-known examples of a one-

mode network is that used in social network analysis (SNA). Social network analysis is

concerned with identifying relationships within groups of people; each node in the network

represents a person, and their connections are defined by the transfer or "flow" of resources

(material or nonmaterial) between them.[101] In the context of architectural production, the one-mode networks built in this dissertation relate architectural elements directly to one another, without the building providing the interconnection. Based on the building-element networks described above, these "element-element" networks are formed by linking together architectural elements based on their use in the same building composition. If two architectural elements have an edge linking them with the same building composition, they now have a direct edge between them, and the building node is removed completely from the graph.

For the one-mode element-element graphs, this dissertation applies centrality algorithms, which are the most common and well-established tools used in network analysis. Centrality measures the relative importance of nodes in the network. In social network analysis, centrality is used to identify the key people in the communication network of an organization.[102] One of the most basic measures of centrality is *degree centrality*, which simply measures the number of connections, or edges, a node has to other nodes in the network. In Figure 3.4, the nodes representing Westerkerk, Zuiderkerk, Noorderkerk, and Nieuwe Kerk have the highest measures of *degree centrality* in the network because these nodes have the most connections, i.e., their facades feature the most elements. Other relevant centrality measures are *closeness centrality* and *betweenness centrality*. *Closeness centrality* describes how close a node is to all other nodes in the network; the measure is calculated by finding the average distance from a node to every other node in the network.[103] In testing the use of *closeness centrality* in the case of the one-mode element-element graphs in this study, this measure was found to overly emphasize the architectural elements used in more complex compositions, i.e., facades with a large amount of

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[101] Brughmans, "Thinking Through Networks," 633.
[102] Brughmans, 636.
[103] Distance here refers to the shortest path length, measured as the least number of edges that must be traversed to get from one node to another.

ornamentation, over more austere buildings. The same issue arises when using *degree centrality* in these element-element graphs: when an element is unique to one facade in the network, but that facade is heavily ornamented, the element becomes highly connected. In this case, the elements' "popularity" in the network is not representative of its application within the whole network. Instead, it was determined that the measure of *betweenness centrality* provides a better mode of analysis for these network graphs. *Betweenness centrality* calculates the number of times a node acts as an intermediary between two others and helps to identify nodes that play a more significant role in connecting one part of the graph to another.[104] What matters is not how many immediate neighbors the node has, but how often it appears on the shortest path between any two nodes. In the case of the element-element graphs, architectural elements with higher *betweenness centrality* carry more relative significance to the network; they provide the links between element sets from different buildings and help to illustrate which elements are most representative of the dataset.

This became clear through example: Figure 3.5 illustrates a one-mode, element-element network graph with betweenness centrality measures applied. This network is derived directly from the building-element network in Figure 3.4, using the architectural elements featured in the facades of De Keyser and Van Campen churches. Applying betweenness centrality measures to the node sizes in this graph highlights the architectural elements that connect the two sets of church facades:

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[104] Betweenness centrality measures the number of times a node acts as a bridge along the shortest path between two other nodes.

Facade Element	Betweenness Centrality
window frame: round-headed	34.284339
pilaster: brick	32.303387
cornice: roofline cornice	32.303387
architrave: masonry soldier course	31.311971
door frame: round-headed	25.717673
window frame: rectangular	17.126557
architrave: simple	16.078638
roof: tower	15.403387
window frame: pointed	0
blind arch: round	0
architrave: smooth-faced rustication	0
band course: molded	0

Figure 3.5: One-Mode Element-Element Network using the facade elements of churches designed by Hendrik de Keyser and Jacob van Campen with community detection and betweenness centrality measure

For the sake of example, the highest and lowest *betweenness centrality* measures in the network are included in a table in Figure 3.5. These correlate with the elements with the largest and smallest text in the network graph. This graph is focused on the similarities between buildings, so elements used in only one building, or by one architect, have much lower centrality measures compared to the shared elements. The network framework, however, becomes more interesting when targeted at investigating differences. One approach to this involves using the communities identified in the two-mode building-element networks and separating them into distinct one-mode networks based on those communities. Figure 3.6 shows two networks: the top illustrates the work of Hendrik de Keyser and below, the work of Jacob van Campen. These two networks make a visual argument for the shift in 17th century Dutch architecture from one generation, represented by De Keyser to the next, represented by the work of Van Campen:

Element-Element Network of Hendrik de Keyser Amsterdam Churches		
Facade Element	Betweenness Centrality	
window frame: round-headed	13.071429	
door frame: round-headed	13.071429	
architrave: blocking	13.071429	
sculpted ornament: vase	13.071429	
sculpted ornament: scroll	13.071429	
balustrade	13.071429	
roof: gable	13.071429	
pedestal	13.071429	
tracery	13.071429	
pilaster: brick	4.5	
pediment: triangular	4.5	
pediment: segmental	4.5	
cornice: roofline cornice	4.5	
cornice: raking cornice	4.5	
plinth: square	4.5	
roof: tower	4.5	
window frame: rectangular	3.571429	
window frame: circular	3.571429	
architrave: masonry soldier course	3.571429	
architrave: simple	3.571429	
window: gable window	3.571429	

Element-Element Network of Jacob van Campen Dutch Churches		
Facade Element	Betweenness Centrality	
pilaster: brick	8.8	
cornice: roofline cornice	8.8	
architrave: masonry soldier course	8.8	
base: buttress (small)	8.8	
window frame: round-headed	2.4	

Figure 3.6: Comparison of elements in De Keyser churches (top) and those of Van Campen (below)

From the two networks, the different approaches to classicism of the two architects is

immediately identifiable. De Keyser's use of a wider variety of elements is apparent, compared

to Van Campen's more pared-down and restricted architectural vocabulary. Comparing separate

networks can provide more insight than a single graph.

This dissertation aims to demonstrate the use of data organizational structures and network analysis as tools for exploration, not means to provide definitive answers or classifications of architecture. As stated earlier, it is the nature of systems and networks to shift when boundaries change. Because of this aspect of networks, no single network representation stands as the "true" state of the network.[105] Networks are a useful tool for framing qualitative inquiry, and should not be seen, in this case, as producing quantitative expressions of some kind of "truth" about data collected from historic architecture. As a tool, networks have the capacity to provoke new hypotheses but should not be taken as concrete representations of past relationships. Networks have been steadily growing in prominence as a research framework in a diverse range of disciplines, including physics, economics, biology, neuroscience, sociology, and archeology.[106] This project proposes novel use of network analysis in scholarship on the history of architecture, taking advantage of advances in digital technologies, and opening up the field to new methods and the new inquiries that result.

Conclusions: The Esnoga and the Development of a Dutch-Jewish Architectural Mode

Using methods in network analysis, enabled by the data organizational structures implemented in the custom-built relational database, we can explore the Dutch architecture of the 17th and 18th centuries through a new lens. Beginning with the simple network of relationships between the architecture of the 1639 Talmud Torah Synagogue and prominent forms of Dutch architecture of the early-17th century, we can further test the validity of the community detection algorithm. Figure 3.7 below places that facade of Talmud Torah in relation to the relevant

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[105] P. Östborn and Henrik Gerding, "Network Analysis of Archaeological Data: A Systematic Approach," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 46 (June 2014): 83.
[106] Brughmans, "Thinking Through Networks," 624.

buildings of the early 17th century. Running the community detection algorithm over this

network brings the same results as the earlier formal analysis: Talmud Torah shares more

elements in common with the front facades of private estates like Coymanshuis and Mauritshuis

than with the mainstream church designs of the period by De Keyser.
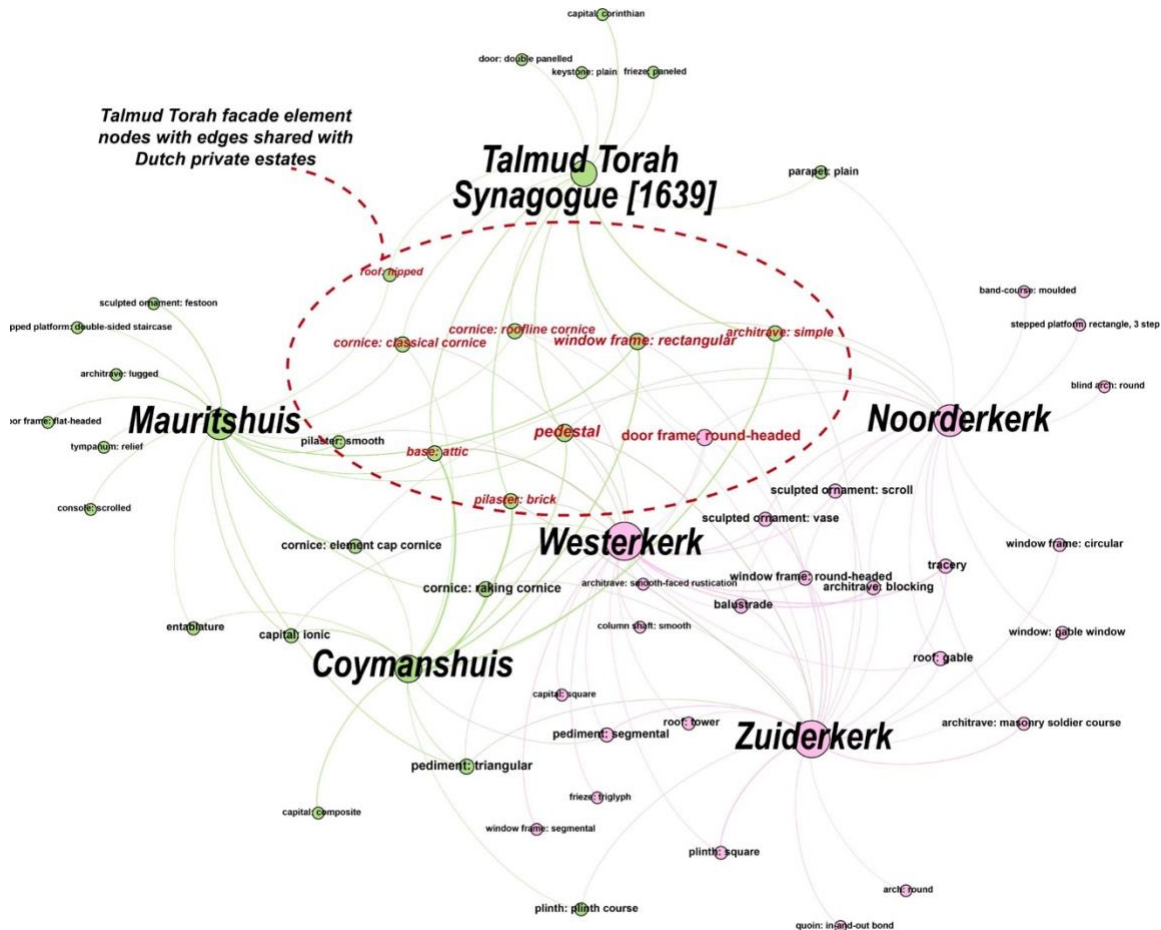
Figure 3.7: Early-17th century Dutch buildings: facade building-element network with
community detection

The network in Figure 3.7 is simple enough that we can identify the specific elements

shared primarily between Talmud Torah Synagogue, Coymanshuis, and Mauritshuis. These have

been highlighted and circled in red in the above graph. The prominent use in the facades of the

pilaster atop a pedestal, classical cornice element at the roofline, and rectangular windows

framed by a simple, molded architrave, are what clusters these buildings apart from the

Amsterdam churches of De Keyser. Figure 3.8 follows a similar approach, in this case for the

interior and plan elements of Talmud Torah and the early-17th century religious buildings in

Amsterdam. In the following building-element networks, plan elements—footprint, gallery type,

axis of symmetry—are visualized with interior elements—ceiling composition, framing/support

composition (column, capital, base), and interior elevation—because together they provide an

overall impression of the interior space. We can see several patterns emerge in Figure 3.8 in

relation to Talmud Torah:
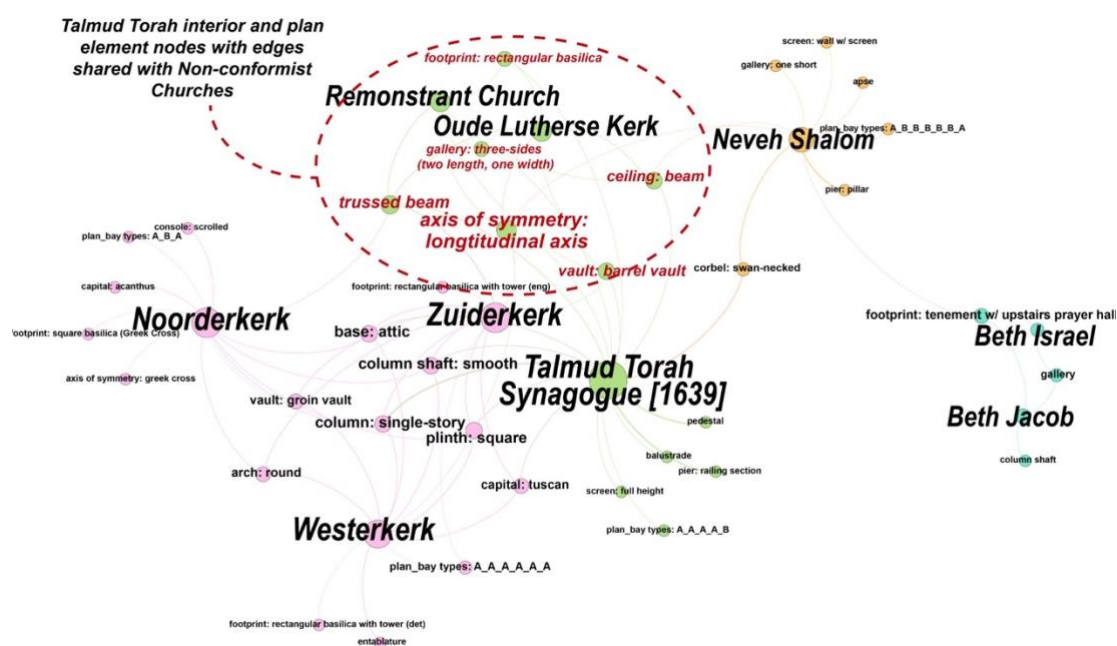
Figure 3.8: Early-17th century Dutch buildings: interior and plan building-element network with community detection

Despite some shared elements, the Talmud Torah Synagogue is clustered separately from

the earlier Neveh Shalom *schuilkerk*. Instead, the 1639 synagogue shares a community with the

non-conformist churches, Oude Lutherse Kerk and the Remonstrant Church in Amsterdam. The

elements that define this cluster are again highlighted in red and circled; they include the three-

sides galleries, the barrel vault, rectangular basilica footprint with a longitudinal axis of

symmetry. These results may not be groundbreaking, but we can see that in the case of these

small building networks, the community detection analysis finds results in line with the outcomes of traditional approaches.

We can do the same analysis for the Dutch religious buildings of the mid-17th century, which includes the churches of Van Campen and Stalpaert, the Grote Sjoel, and Esnoga. Figure 3.9 shows a building-element network of the facades of these buildings. Most of the included facades lie in a single community, with the Nieuwe Kerk by Van Campen as an outlier.

Figure 3.9: Mid-17th century Dutch religious buildings: facade building-element network with community detection

The building facades represented in the above network graph demonstrate the level of consistency that existed in the outward appearance of many Dutch religious buildings in the mid-17th century. These buildings, both church and synagogue, share an austere, classical architectural language. This is centered on the use of brick pilasters, round-headed and rectangular windows adorned only with their surrounding brick masonry course, and the classically-inspired cornice on the roofline. The elements unique to the Esnoga, seen connected

to the right of the building node labeled "Esnoga," are all features of the synagogue's entrance composition. Many of the entrance compositions of the other buildings in this purple cluster have not been included in the analysis, primarily due to the fact that the scope of this dissertation did not allow for in-depth historical accounting of these church's entrances at the time of construction, if that data remains available.[107] Given that the Esnoga remains clustered with the Grote Sjoel, Oosterkerk, and the two Van Campen churches, even with so many elements disconnected from the group, it can be argued that future inclusion of uncovered entrance elements would not drastically shift the current analysis. Importantly, what this network illustrates is that at the time of their construction, the exteriors of the Esnoga and the Grote Sjoel would have been viewed by the Dutch as existing within the mainstream landscape of "modern" religious architecture in the Netherlands. The illustrations commissioned by Romeyn de Hooghe when the Esnoga opened in 1675 celebrated the Amsterdam Sephardim as unified with the Dutch Republic. The network analysis confirms the facade of their monumental synagogue was distinctly a Dutch construction.

Continuing this analysis for the interior and plan elements of this set of mid-17th century religious sites, Figure 3.10 depicts a different pattern. Unlike the relative uniformity in facade appearance, the interiors are far more varied, with more communities detected within the network:

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[107] The level of research done on the churches of Oosterkerk, Hooge Zwaluwe, and Renswoude provided enough evidence for this study, but it was clear their entrances had changed over time. I only included architectural elements of these buildings, and all buildings in this study, that could be confirmed as having been present during the time frame of this study.
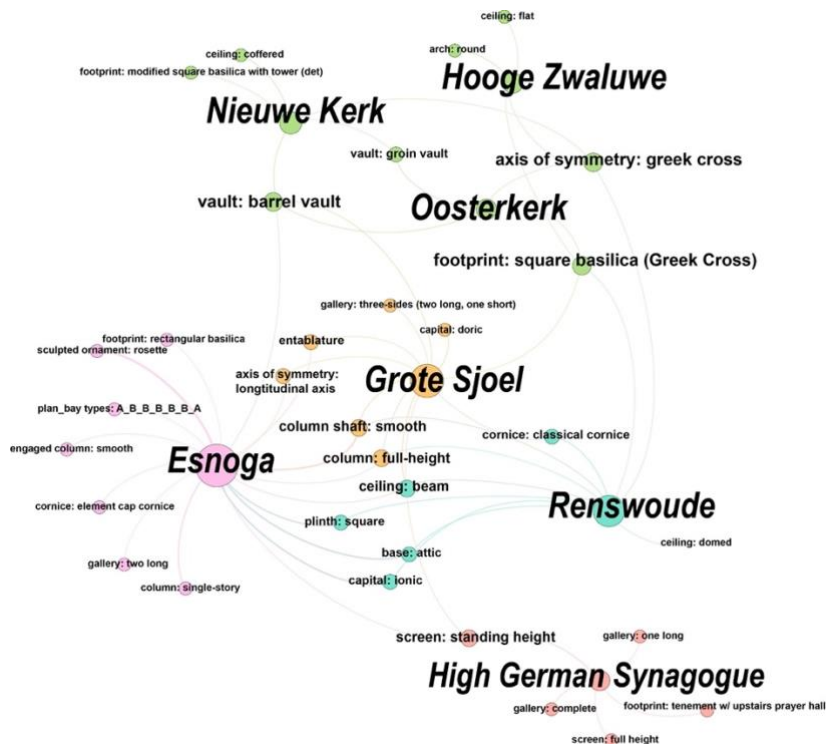
Figure 3.10: Mid-17th century Dutch religious buildings: interior and plan building-element network with community detection

Many of the Dutch churches and the Grote Sjoel share a Greek Cross, square basilica footprint. However, this is not enough for community detection to place them in a single grouping. Instead, various elements make these buildings distinct in their interior layout. Both Grote Sjoel and the Van Campen church in Renswoude share elements with the Esnoga, as well as the other churches. There is not a strong sense of consistency within the interiors of Dutch religious spaces, at least in this particular context.

Importantly, this chapter argues that the Esnoga was fundamental in the formation of a distinctly Dutch-Jewish form of architecture, that was later implemented in 18th century synagogues in the Netherlands. The following set of network graphs and analysis will support this argument and make clear precisely what architectural elements were essential to this Dutch-Jewish mode of architecture. For the analysis that follows, the Dutch synagogues in this chapter have been split into two groups: synagogues built before and including the Esnoga, and

synagogues built after the Esnoga opened. Based on the conclusions of part one of this chapter,

we can see that the architecture of the Esnoga itself exists directly within the lineage of Dutch

religious architecture. For this reason, the Esnoga was placed in the group of pre-1675

synagogues. If a specific form of synagogue architecture in the Netherlands emerged following

the construction of the Esnoga, we should expect to see a certain degree of uniformity in the

corresponding network graphs; that is, less communities detected, with more synagogues within

those clusters. This analysis will also provide corresponding element-element networks with the

use of betweenness centrality measures, to determine which elements are most representative of

the datasets. Again, if there is a particular Dutch-Jewish architecture that is based on the Esnoga,

we should expect to see the architectural elements with the highest betweenness centrality

measures in the set of 18th century synagogues match the prominent features of the Esnoga.

Figures 3.11 through 3.14 are focused on the synagogues' facades. Figures 3.11 and 3.12

illustrate the relationships between the facades of the synagogues built before 1675, including the

Esnoga. The repurposed spaces have not been included in the analysis of the facades, due to the

fact that their facades were determined by the previous structure. They will be included in

analysis on the interior layout, because the interiors of the buildings underwent remodeling into

prayer spaces. Figures 3.13 and 3.14 provide the same facade networks, in this case for the

synagogues built after 1675. This set includes the Obbene Sjoel built in 1686, the Honen Dal

Synagogue in The Hague and the Rotterdam synagogue on the Boompjes, both built in 1725,

Nieuwe Synagogue built in 1752, and the Amsterdam Ashkenazi Uilenburgerstraat Synagogue

built in 1766 (Image 3.27).

First, let's look at the facades of the first group of synagogues, built before 1675. Figure

3.11 reveals the community partitions that exist in this subgroup. The Esnoga and Grote Sjoel are

grouped together, which given they were both built in 1670's Amsterdam under the direction of the same builder, Elias Bouman is unsurprising. It is important to note which architectural features seem to determine this outcome: brick pilasters with buttresses at the base, round-headed and rectangular windows with brick masonry architraves, and the typically Dutch classical cornice at the roofline. We know from previous analysis, including Figure 3.9, that these elements were highly prominent features in Dutch religious architecture during the mid-17th century. There is a reasonable chance that these specific elements were included in these two synagogue facades due to the prior building experience of Elias Bouman.
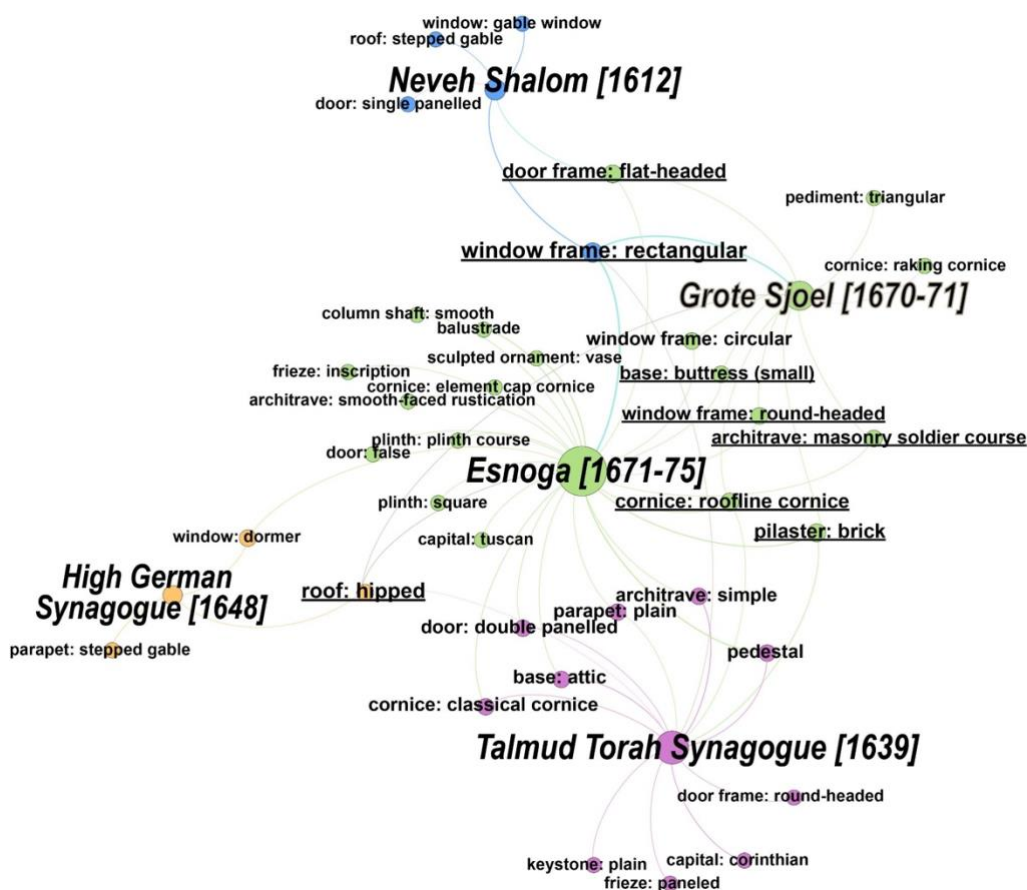
Figure 3.11: Esnoga and earlier synagogues in Amsterdam: facade building-element network with community detection

Built off the above graph, Figure 3.12 shows the element-element network of the architectural elements in pre-1675 synagogue facades, with betweenness centrality measures

applied. There are a few elements with high centrality measures: rectangular window frames, flat-headed door frames, and hipped roofs. None of these are particularly distinct elements, and the other elements have significantly lower betweenness measures, illustrated through their much smaller font sizes in comparison. What this means is that for the majority of the synagogues built before 1675, there is not a distinct architectural language used in synagogue facades in Amsterdam.
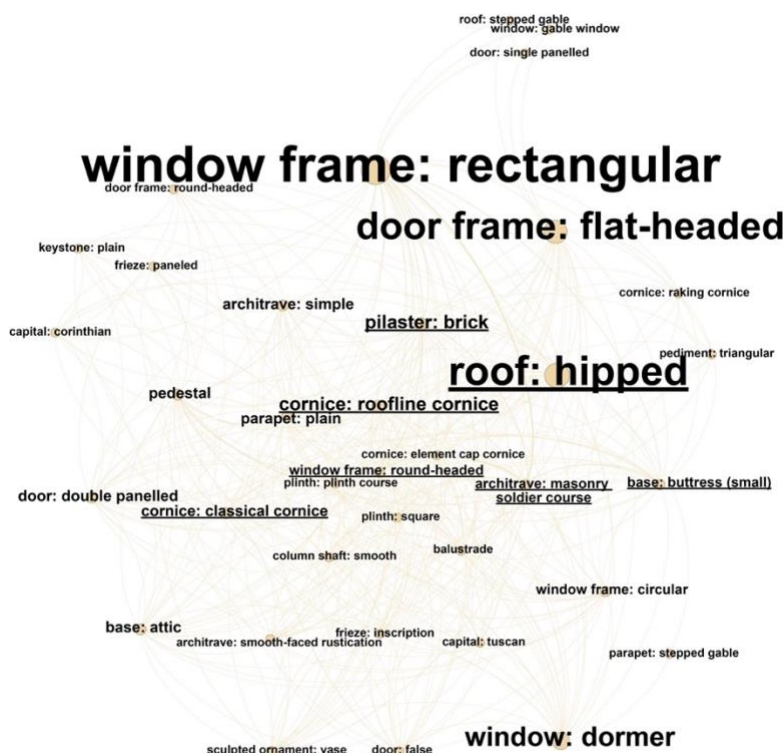
Figure 3.12: Esnoga and earlier synagogues in Amsterdam: facade element-element network with betweenness centrality measures

Both Figures 3.11 and 3.12 illustrate that there is not a specific form of Dutch-Jewish architecture used in these Amsterdam synagogue facades. From Figure 3.11, we can see that the Grote Sjoel and Esnoga share a number of architectural elements that were highly prevalent in mid-17th century church designs, supporting the argument that the synagogues of Amsterdam's Jewish community would have been viewed through the same framework as mainstream Dutch churches of the period. Next, we can apply the same analysis to the Dutch synagogues built after

1675, to see what patterns emerge. Figure 3.13 shows the post-1675 Dutch synagogues in a building-element network, with community detection applied. Immediately we can see far fewer partitions, and one cluster that includes four of the five synagogues:
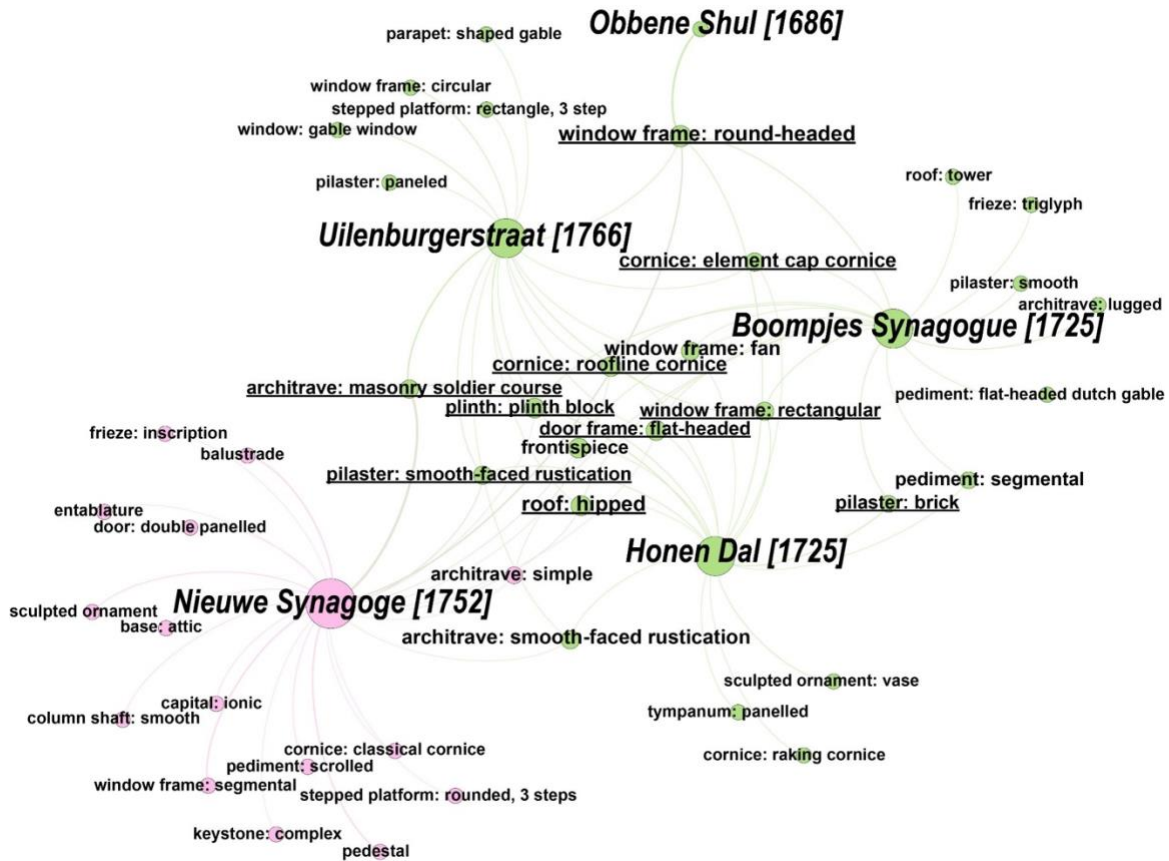
Figure 3.13: Dutch synagogues after the Esnoga: facade building-element network with community detection

There is a high degree of cohesion in these synagogue facades and consistent use of a number of shared architectural elements. The specific architectural language applied to these building facades is further explored in Figure 3.14. Here we can see which architectural elements are most representative of the dataset:
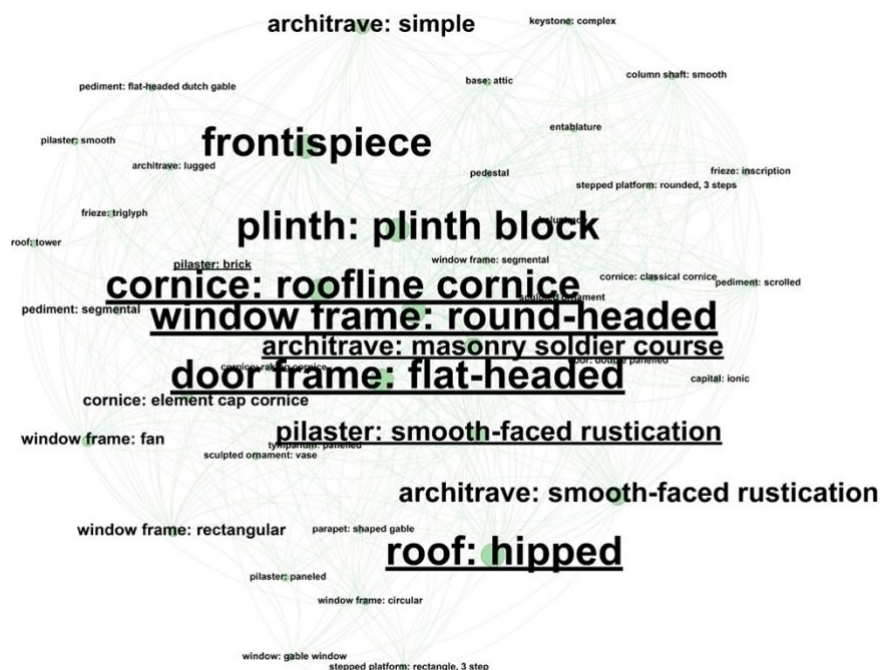
Figure 3.14: Dutch synagogues after the Esnoga: facade element-element network with betweenness centrality measures

Compared to the element-element network of pre-1675 synagogue facades in Figure 3.12, this graph shows a large number of architectural elements with high betweenness centrality measures. What this suggests is that there is a consistent architectural language applied to the exterior of these synagogues. These elements include the frontispiece, the roofline cornice, hipped roof, round-headed windows with brick architraves, as well as simple, molded architraves and pilasters with smooth-faced rustication detailing. If we compare these features with the Esnoga specifically, there are significant similarities. The prominent use of brick pilasters has been replaced in the 18th century with smooth-faced rustication, but they are still present, as well as round-headed windows with masonry architraves. The hipped roof remained common, compared to the frequent use of gabled roofs in other Dutch constructions. It is important to note that these elements were also present in the Grote Sjoel, suggesting that the later Dutch synagogues in fact had two models to follow, both the Ashkenazic and Sephardic synagogues of the 1670's. Another note is that the iconic buttresses of the Grote Sjoel and Esnoga do not appear

in any of the later synagogues. Their use may have fallen out of fashion in 18th century religious buildings, but it also suggests that these elements, that were heavily associated with depictions of Solomon's temple, do not appear to be features that later Dutch synagogues cared to emulate. If there was a Dutch-Jewish architectural form, the sloped buttress was not a critical element. In summary, there does appear to be a shift towards a consistent language in synagogue facade design in the late-17th and 18th centuries. However, it cannot be said that the Esnoga alone provided the singular model for later synagogues. The most prominent features of this Dutch-Jewish architecture were also shared by the Grote Sjoel, and together, the two Amsterdam synagogues provided the foundations of a coherent synagogue architecture in the Netherlands.

Next, let's analyze the interior and plan features of the same sets of synagogues. Figure 3.15 shows the set of early Amsterdam synagogues, with a partition identified that includes the Talmud Torah Synagogue built in 1639, the Grote Sjoel (1669-71), and the Esnoga (1671-1675). Already by the 1670's, there is a consistent use of certain shared architectural elements in the interior layouts of these synagogues:
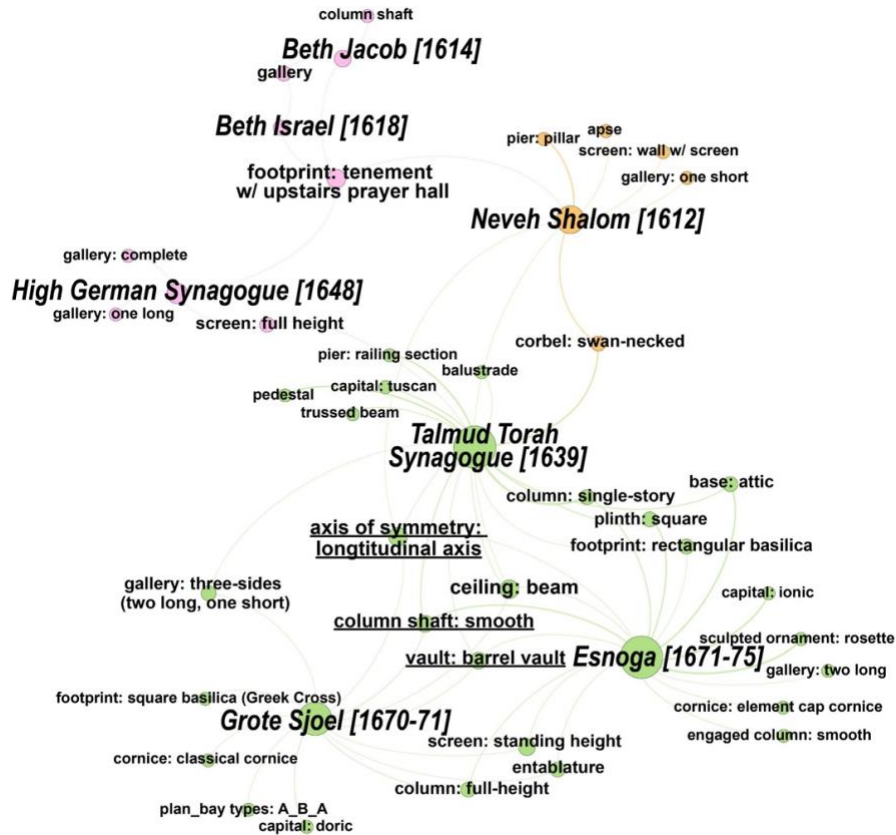
Figure 3.15: Esnoga and earlier synagogues in Amsterdam: interior and plan building-element network with community detection

This consistency comes from the shared ritual elements of Jewish practice within the synagogue. The longitudinal layout allowed for focus on the east end where the ark sat. The use of gallery spaces was shared in all synagogues in this set, as was full-height and standing height screens that separated the women from the primary worship space. The use of the barrel vault is also common between the Talmud Torah Synagogue, the Grote Sjoel, and the Esnoga. As seen earlier in Figure 3.8, the use of the barrel vault first appeared in the Talmud Torah synagogue, possibly due to its use in other nondenominational prayer spaces in Amsterdam. When the Esnoga building committee was vetting potential designs, the only request by the committee documented was for a vaulted space, to help with the auditory quality. By the 1670's the Amsterdam Jewish community had an architectural lineage that included use of the barrel vault and galleries.

Next, we can apply centrality measures to the element-element network based on the synagogue interiors in Figure 3.15. There are a handful of elements that stand out below in Figure 3.16, including the longitudinal axis of symmetry, the standing height and full-height screens, and the barrel vault. The footprint of the remodeled tenement with an upstairs prayer hall and beam ceiling are among the highest centrality measures, which makes sense given that four of the seven synagogues here were *schuilkerken* spaces.
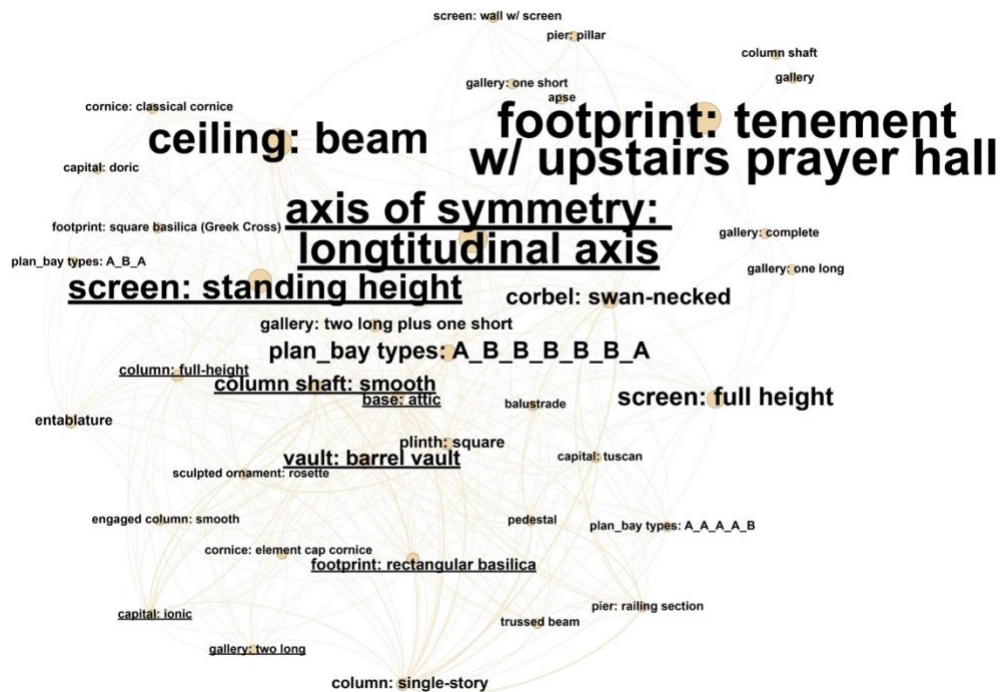
Figure 3.16: Esnoga and earlier synagogues in Amsterdam: interior and plan element-element network with betweenness centrality measures

Arguably, there is already a pattern in architectural form appearing in these early and mid-17th century synagogue interiors, centered around their east-west orientation, use of screened galleries, and relative frequency of barrel vaults, especially in the purpose-built spaces.

Using the same mode of analysis on the post-1675 Dutch synagogues, this pattern in architectural form appears to be further associated with synagogue interiors. Figure 3.17 illustrates a similar partition in the interiors as the facades of the second set of synagogues. In this case, five of the six Dutch synagogues are clustered together (the Dritt Sjoel built in 1777

has been added to the set). The Rotterdam synagogue on the Boompjes has a separate partition;

the synagogue's interior was distinct: oriented on the transverse axis, with no columns

supporting its galleries and use of the groin vault.
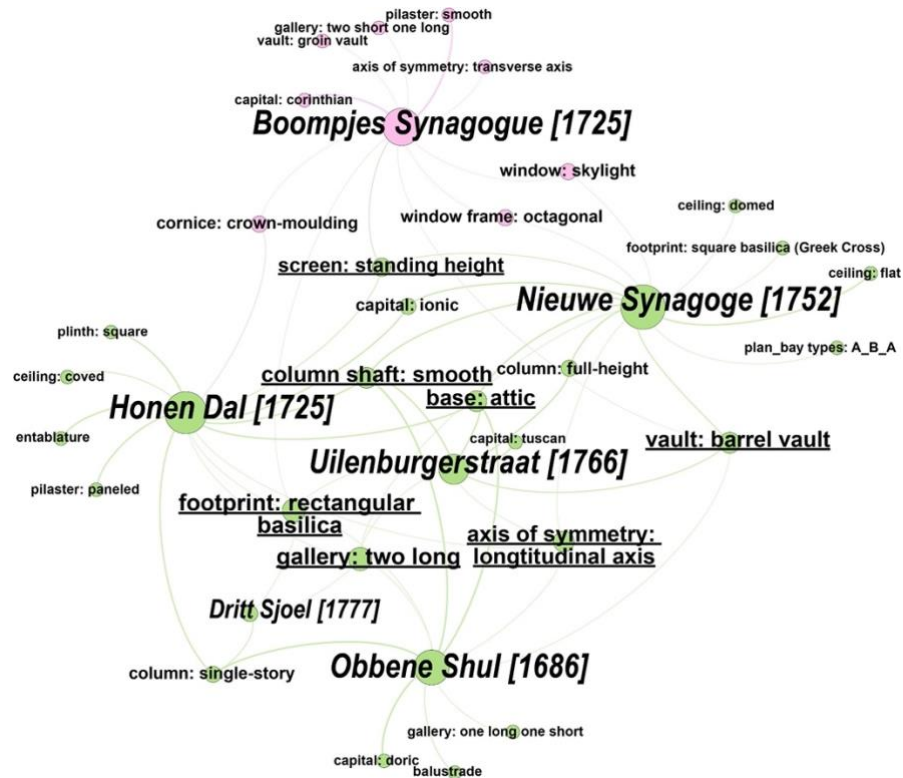
Figure 3.17: Dutch synagogues after the Esnoga: interior and plan building-element network with community detection

For the larger partition in Figure 3.17, we can get a better sense of the most central

elements from the corresponding element-element graph in Figure 3.18. The graph below

highlights the interior and plan elements that best describe these late-17th and 18th century

synagogue spaces:
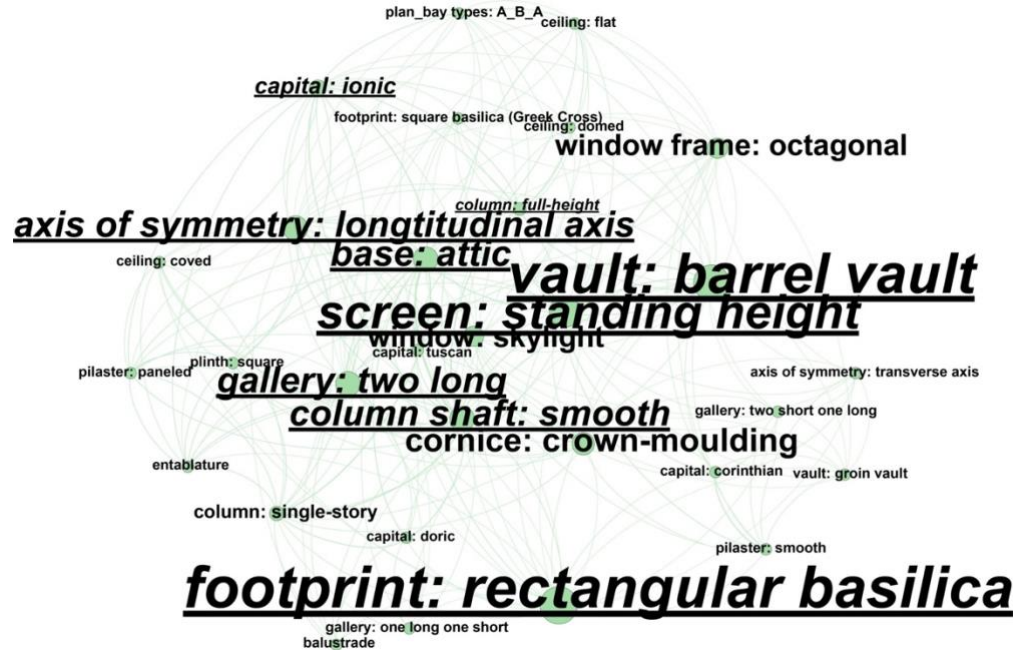
Figure 3.18: Dutch synagogues after the Esnoga: interior and plan element-element network with betweenness centrality measures

Like the element-element network for these facades in Figure 3.14, the interior layout of the later Dutch synagogues shows a consistent language of architectural form. The Dutch-Jewish architecture described here features prominent use of the rectangular basilica, longitudinal axis of symmetry, barrel vaults, two galleries along the building's length, and standing height screens. The use of the Ionic order in the interior of the synagogue also has a relatively high centrality measure. Importantly, these are all prominent features of the interior layout of the Esnoga. The 18th century synagogues also make prominent use of crown molding and octagonal skylights in the ceiling, but predominantly, their form shares a lineage with the Esnoga.

In summary, it is clear from Figures 3.15 and 3.16 that certain features were already becoming relatively standardized in the Dutch synagogue when the Grote Sjoel and Esnoga were built in the 1670's. This includes the longitudinal orientation, screened galleries, and use of barrel vaults. However, later synagogues in the Netherlands further defined this architectural language with elements specifically found in the Esnoga: the two-sides galleries, the rectangular

basilica footprint, and prominent use of the Ionic order. Arguably, these elements further define

the Dutch-Jewish architectural form of the 17th and 18th centuries.

If there was a specifically Jewish form of architecture in the Netherlands in the 17th and

18th centuries, then it would need to be distinct from Christian spaces of the same period. The

following networks seen in Figures 3.19 and 3.20 will confirm this argument. These element-

element networks were created from the set of church buildings that includes the churches of

Hendrik de Keyser, Jacob van Campen, Daniel Stalpaert, and the nonconformist church spaces in

Amsterdam. It is not an inclusive set of all churches in the Netherlands during the period of

inquiry, but they do provide a representational slice of Dutch church designs.

Considering the facades of the Dutch churches, Figure 3.19 presents an element-element

network with the most central architectural elements highlighted. We can identify the brick

pilaster, pedestal, the classical cornice on the roofline, round-headed and rectangular windows

with masonry architraves, and the balustrade were common features across Dutch church design.

The sloped buttress is also prominent, mostly present in churches built in the mid-17th century.
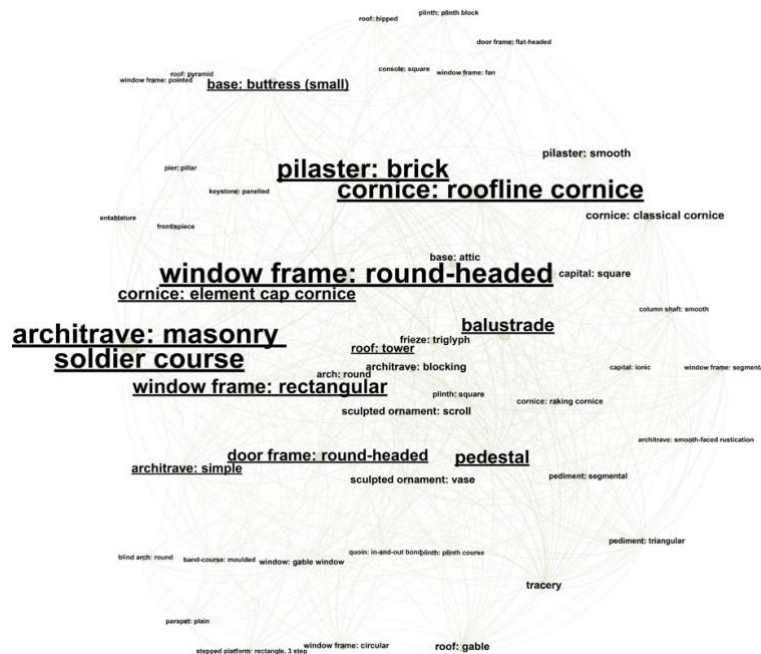
Figure 3.19: Dutch churches: facade element-element network with betweenness centrality

Many of these features were also present in the Dutch-Jewish forms, including the brick pilaster, roofline cornice, and windows with masonry architraves; these are the primary features of the synagogues that make them distinctly Dutch constructions and identifiable in the landscape as Dutch religious buildings.

It is in the interior layout that there is a distinct difference between the Jewish and Christian spaces. Figure 3.20 shows the element-element network for the Dutch church interiors. What is revealed is significant variation in footprint and interior compositions in the Dutch church spaces.
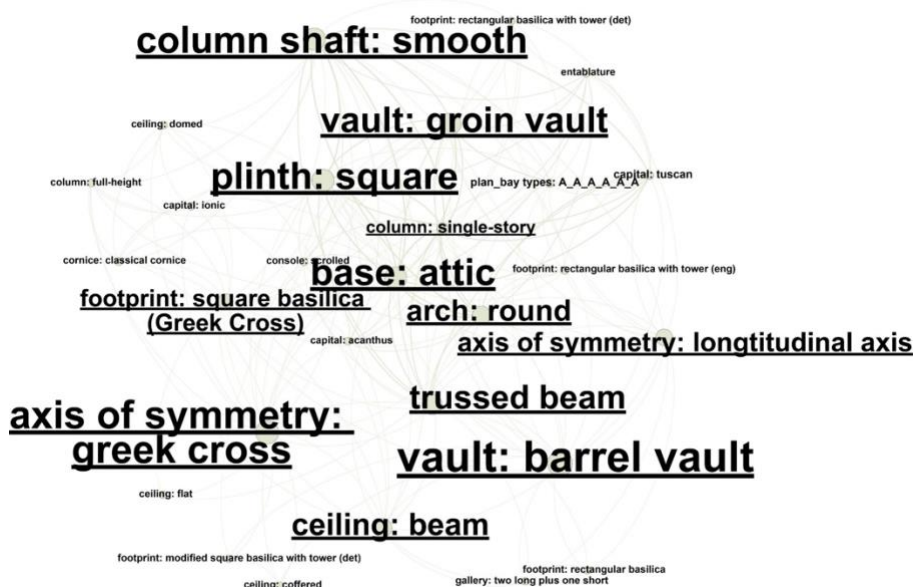
Figure 3.20: Dutch churches: interior and plan element-element network with betweenness centrality measures

There is high prevalence of both the Greek Cross and the longitudinally oriented spaces. There is also variation in vaults, the churches using both groin and barrel vaults with regularity. Galleries were not a strong presence in this dataset, and the use of arches in the nave colonnades is frequent. Importantly, where there is a clear pattern of form in the Dutch synagogues, this does not exist within the churches.

The network analysis in this section provides some simple, but important conclusions on

the architectural impact of the Esnoga within Dutch synagogue architecture. In both facade and interior layout, there is a clear adherence to particular forms in the synagogues built after the opening of the Esnoga in 1675. This pattern can be described as a distinctly Dutch-Jewish mode of architecture. The development of this architectural mode stemmed out of an architectural lineage centered on the Esnoga, but also the Grote Sjoel. In their facades, these synagogues were distinctly Dutch religious spaces, read alongside the austere classicism that defined the period. On their interiors, elements of Jewish ritual merged with architectural form to create a Jewish space. In the Esnoga, these elements were applied to a monumental space, securing the legacy of the Amsterdam Jewish community and establishing a new mode of Jewish architecture that was reflected in later Dutch synagogues. As the singular synagogue at the center of the Sephardim during the 17th and 18th centuries, the Dutch-Jewish architectural mode of the Esnoga represented the ideals of *Bom Judesmo*: a cultured, restrained, and religiously pious Jewish community.

Images: Chapter Three
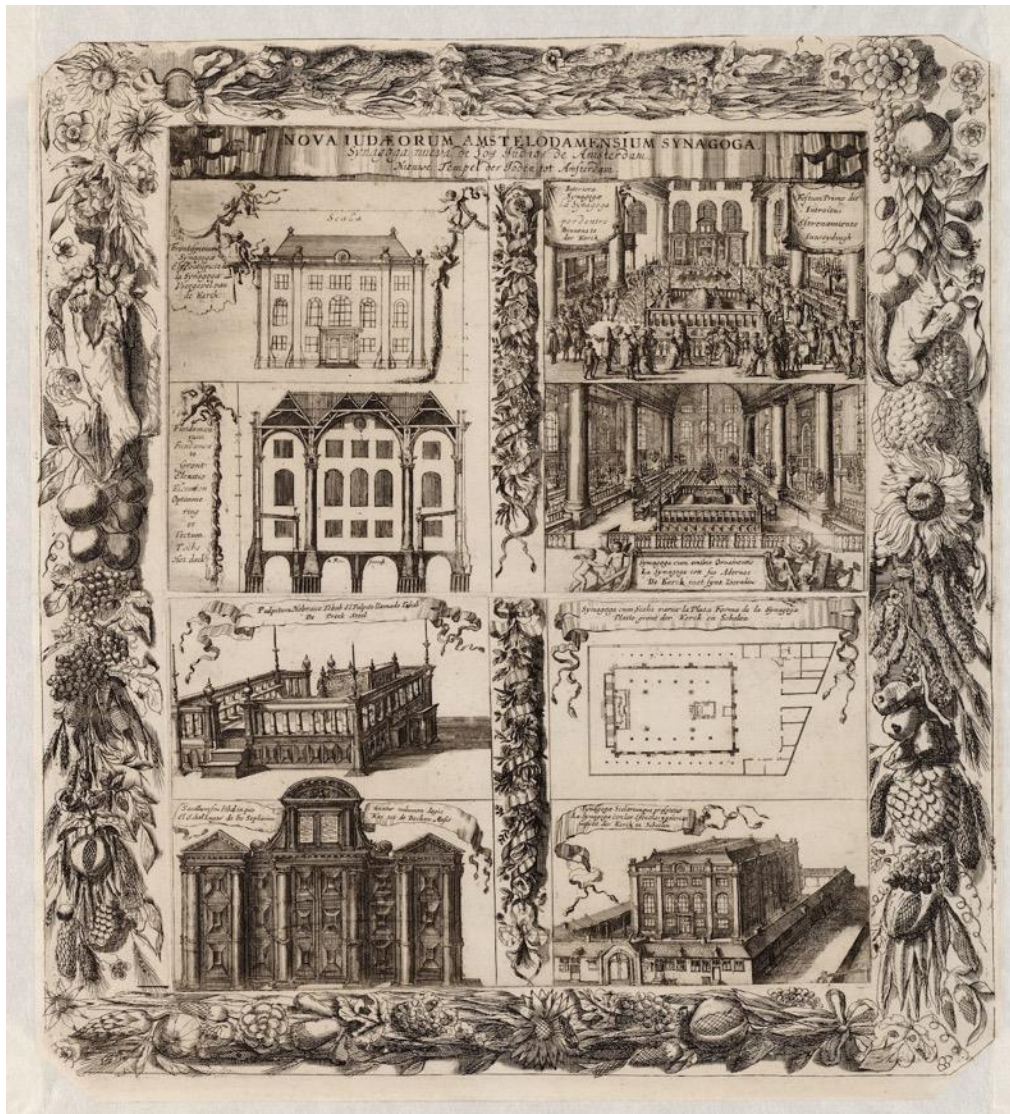
Image 3.1: Etchings by Romeyn de Hooghe of the Inauguration of the Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam, 1675. Image from the Collection of the Amsterdam City Archives: drawings and prints, https://archief.amsterdam/beeldbank/detail/574db22b-cb36-580a-cdc0-dfa11cfb35b8

Image 3.2: View of the interior of the Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam during the inauguration on 2 August 1675, by Romeyn de Hooghe. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-79.308A.

Image 3.3: View of the Sephardi and Ashkenazi Synagogues in Amsterdam, by artist Gerrit Adriaensz Berckheyde, c.1675

Image 3.4: Interior of the Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam, by Emanuel de Witte, 1680
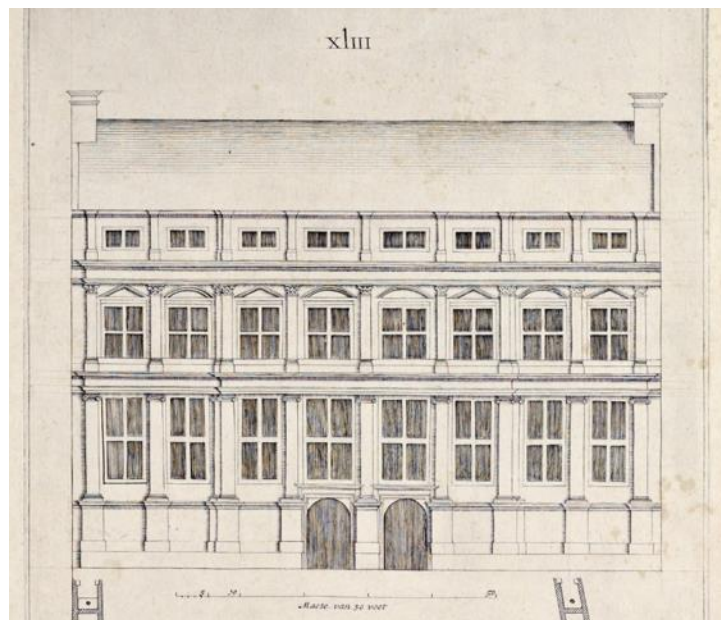
Image 3.5: Coymanshuis front elevation, designed by Jacob van Campen, 1625. In Bray, Salomon de, Hendrik de Keyser, and Cornelis Danckerts. 1631. *Architectura Moderna, Ofte, Bouwinge van Onsen Tyt ... Tot Amstelredam : By Cornelis Dankertsz van Seevenhovẽ ...*
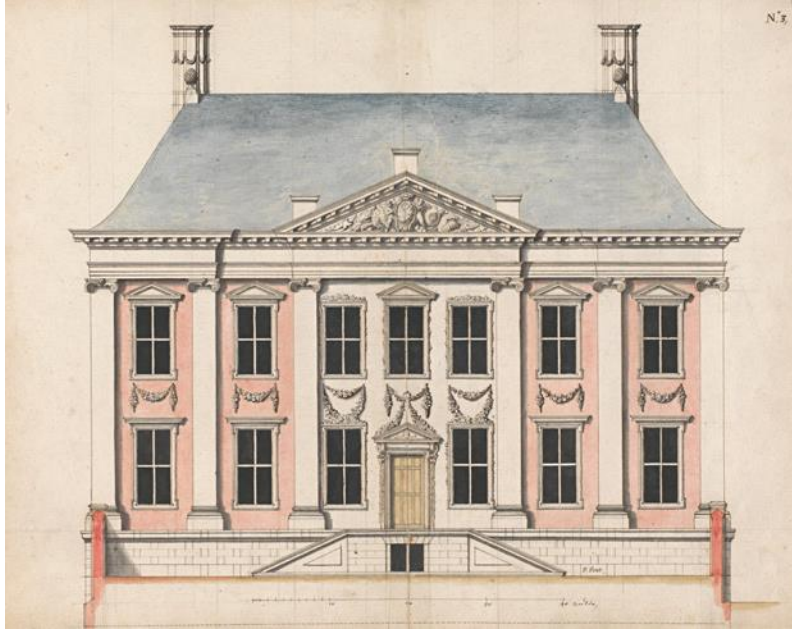
Image 3.6: Front Façade of the Mauritshuis, designed by Jacob van Campen, 1652. Drawing by Pieter Post. From Post 1652, no. 3. The Hague, National Library.

Image 3.7: View of the former Portuguese Synagogue on the Houtgracht (the current Waterlooplein) in Amsterdam, where the Sephardic community Talmud Torah met from 1639 to 1675. Romeyn de Hooghe, c. 1695. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-AO-24-39.
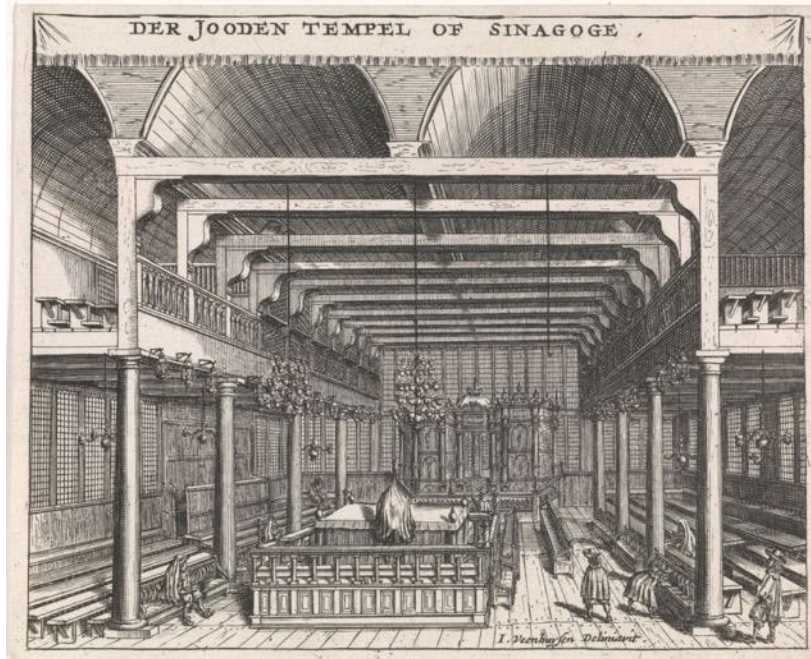
Image 3.8: Interior of the Portuguese Synagogue on the Houtgracht (the current Waterlooplein) in Amsterdam, where the Sephardic community Talmud Torah met from 1639 to 1675. Attributed to Jan Veenhuysen, 1664. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-AO-24-28.
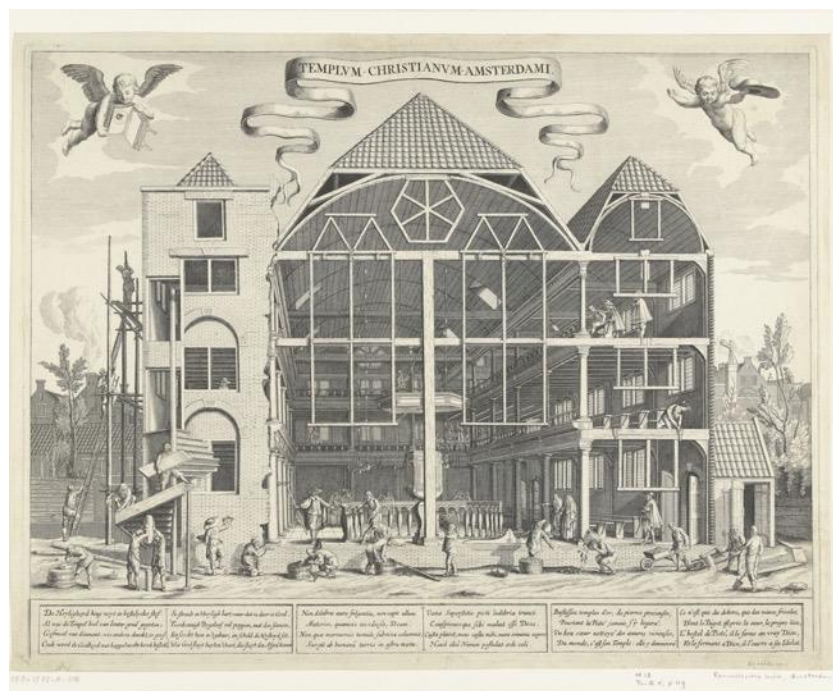
Image 3.9: Remonstrant Church ('De Rode Hoed' / 'The Red Hat') in Amsterdam under construction, 1630. Print by Frans Brun. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-1878-A-706.
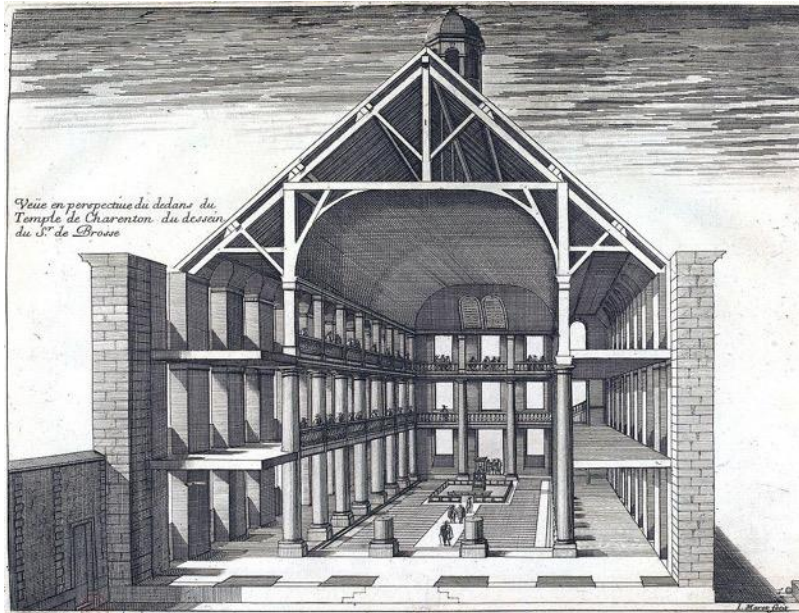
Image 3.10: The Temple at Charenton, near Paris. Built 1623, torn down in 1685. Plate from Jean Marot's *L'Architecture française*.
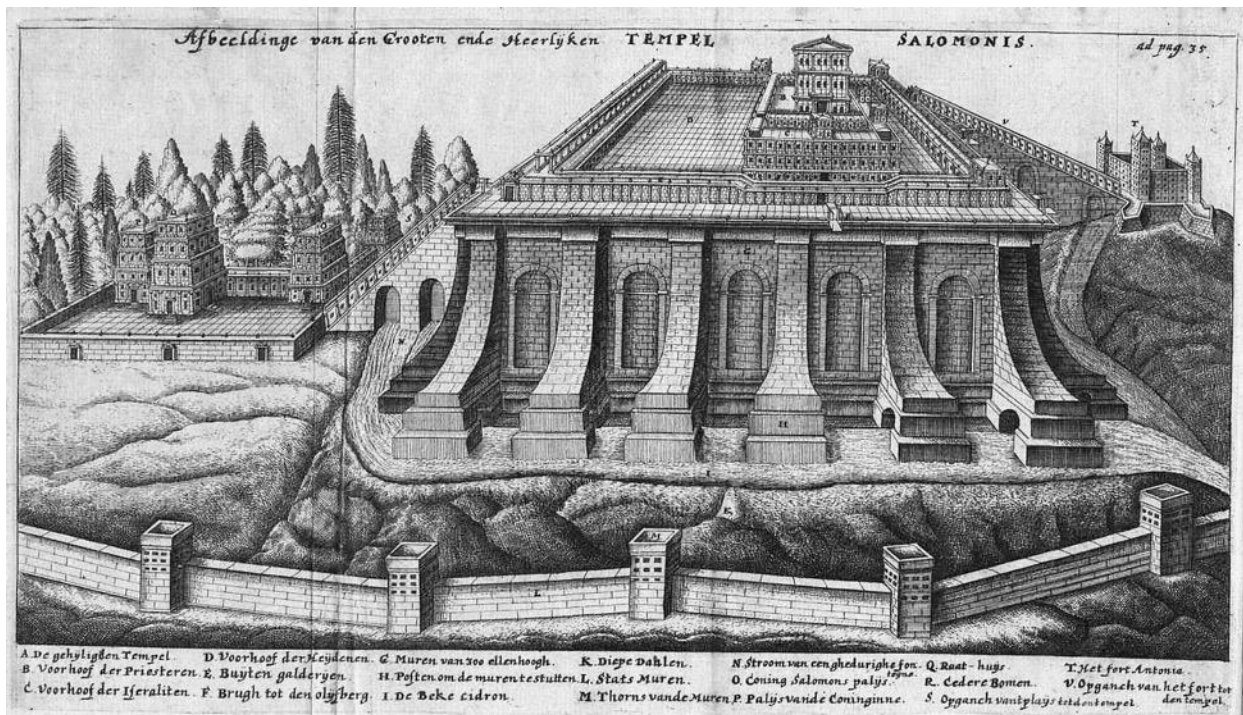
Image 3.11: The Temple Mount and the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, Jacob Judah Leon, *Afbeeldinghe van den Tempel Salomonis*
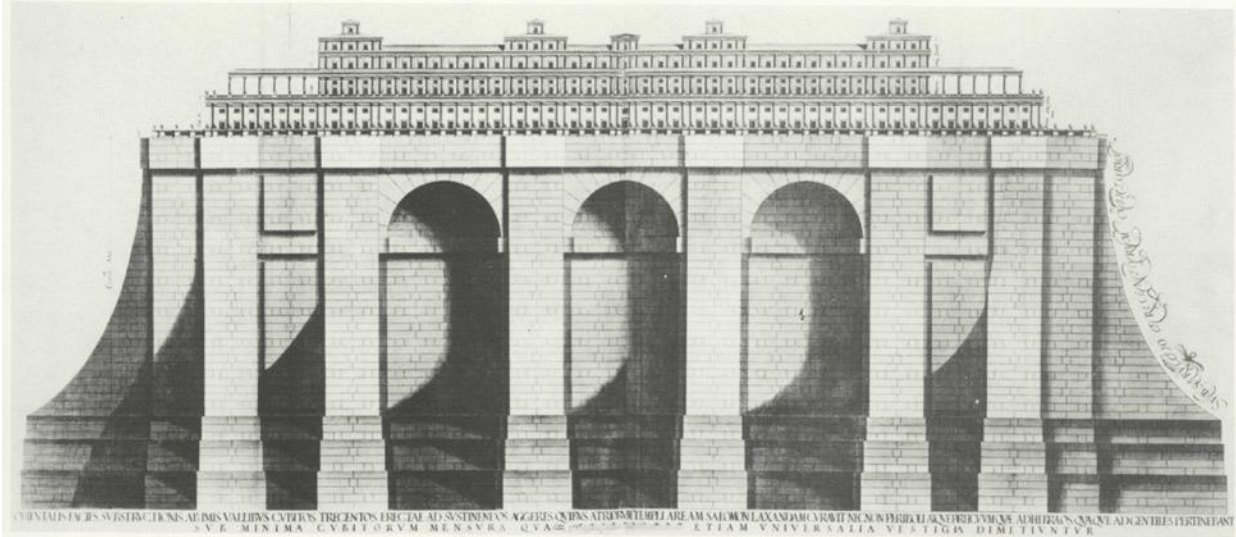
Image 3.12: View of the Temple Mount and The Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, Juan Bautista Villalpando, *In Ezechielem Explanationes*

Image 3.13: The churches of Hooge Zwaluwe (left), 1639-1641, and Renswoude (right), 1639-1640. Designed by Jacob van Campen. Source: Wikimedia
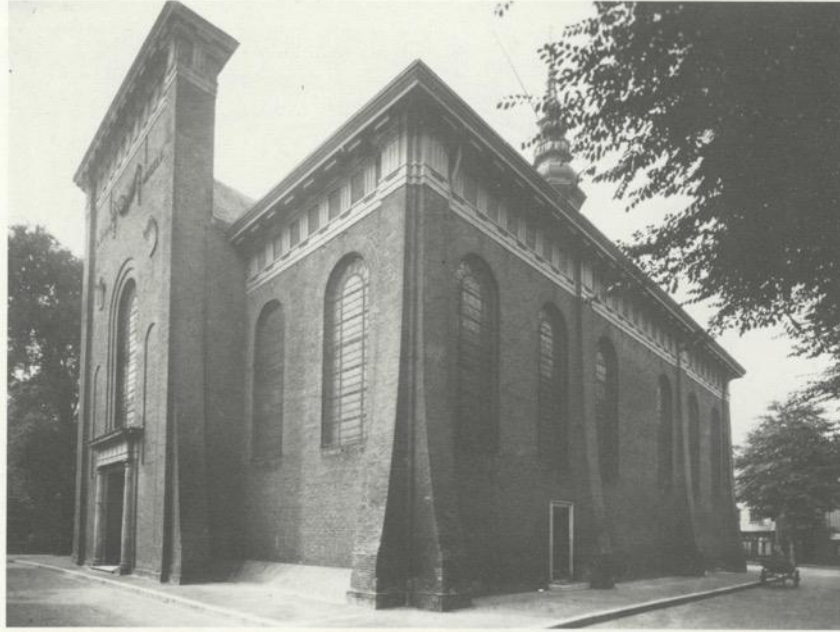
Image 3.14: Nieuwe Kerk, Jacob van Campen; Source: Wikimedia

Image 3.15: Daniel Stalpaert's churches at Oudeshoorn (left) and Oosterkerk in Amsterdam (right); Source: Wikimedia
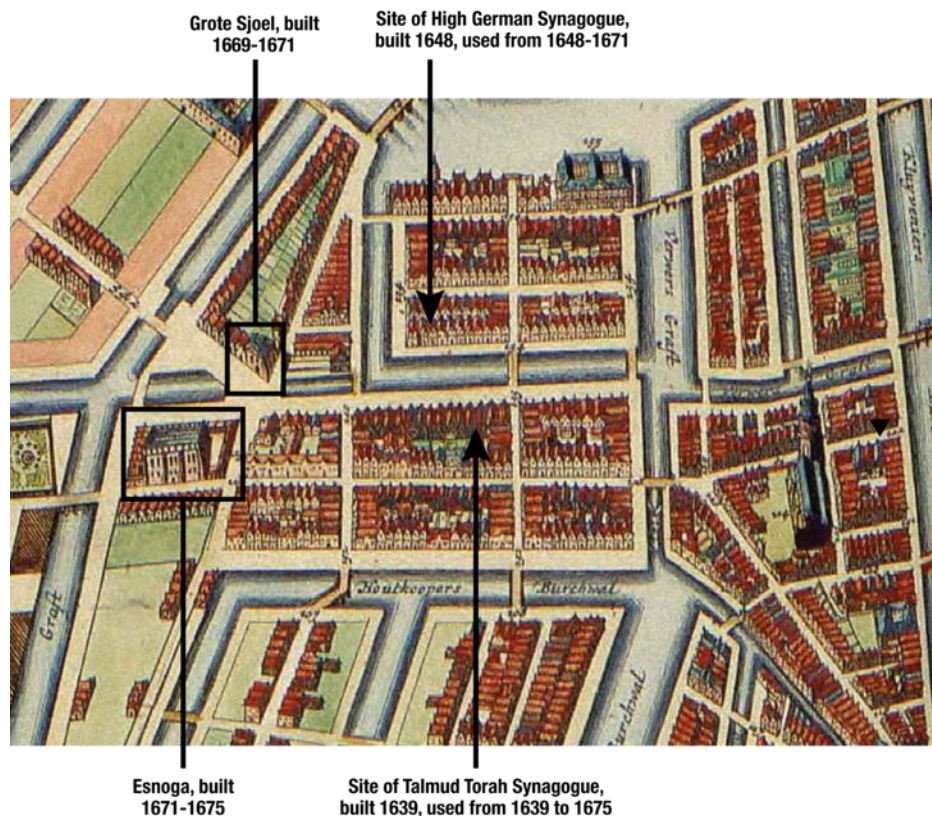
Image 3.16: Detail of the Vlooienburg area with major synagogue sites highlighted. Map detail from: EXACTISSIMA AMSTELODAMI VETERIS ET NOVISSIMA DELINEATO PER F. DE WIT, Frederik de Wit, c. 1688. Source: 1049B11_091 (kopergravure, prent), Atlas Van der Hagen, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag.
https://geheugen.delpher.nl/en/geheugen/view?coll=ngvn&identifier=KONB01%3A229

Image 3.17: Grote Sjoel, print c. 1693. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-AO-24-40A

Image 3.18: Grote Sjoel Interior; print from Bernard Picart, *Ceremonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde(…)*; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-65.229
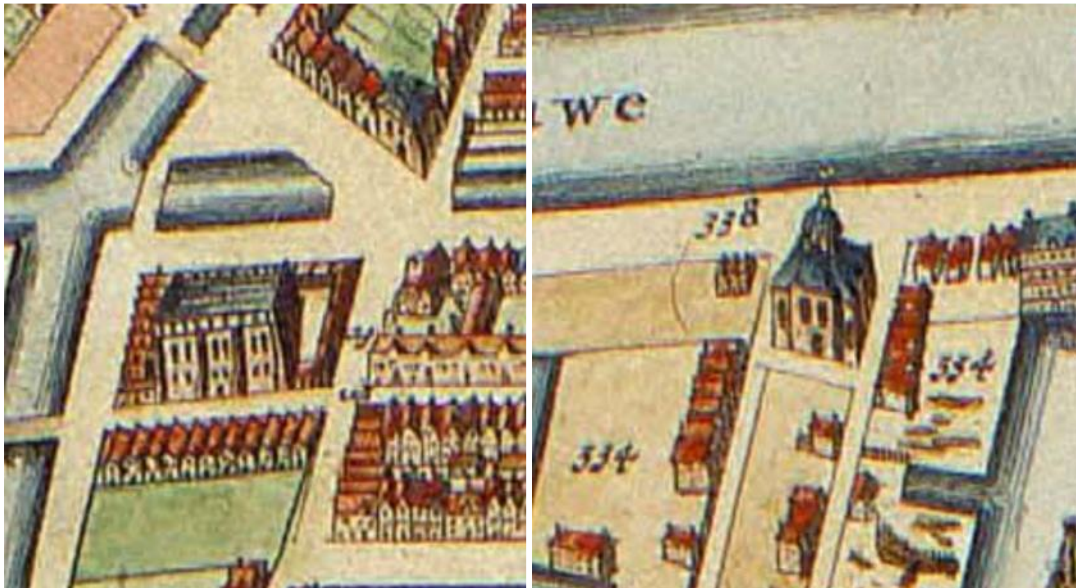
Image 3.19: Details from map of Amsterdam published in 1688 by Frederik de Wit. Esnoga detail (left) and Oosterkerk detail (right).

Image 3.20: Honen Dal Synagogue, The Hague. Print from Jacob de Riemer *Beschryving van 's-Graven-Hage(...)*; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-AO-12-47
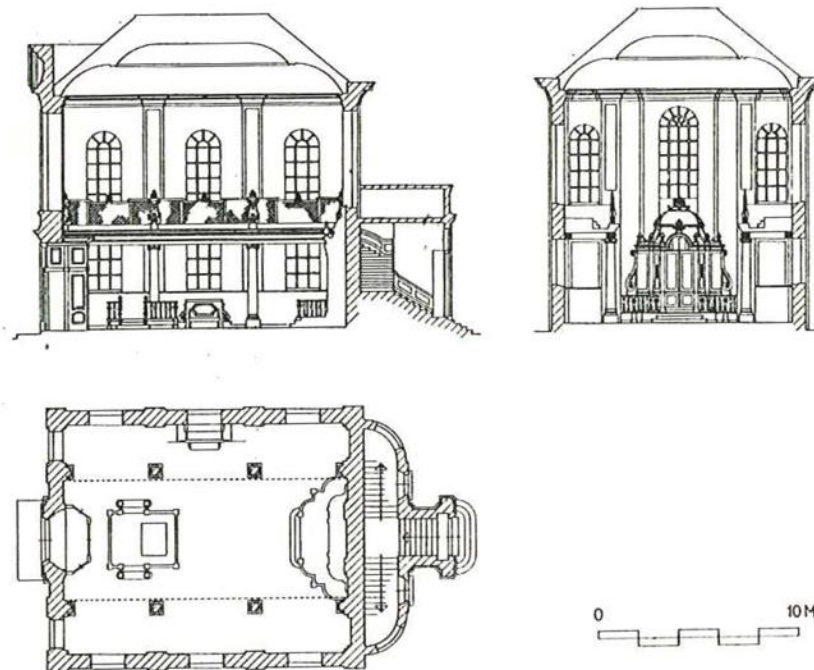
Image 3.21: Interior elevations and plan. Honen Dal Synagogue, The Hague; J.F. van Agt, *Portugese Synagogen in Den Haag*

Image 3.22: Rotterdam Synagogue on the Boompjes, built 1725. Front facade, c. 1790 (right), interior, early 20th century (left); De Paepe, 2014
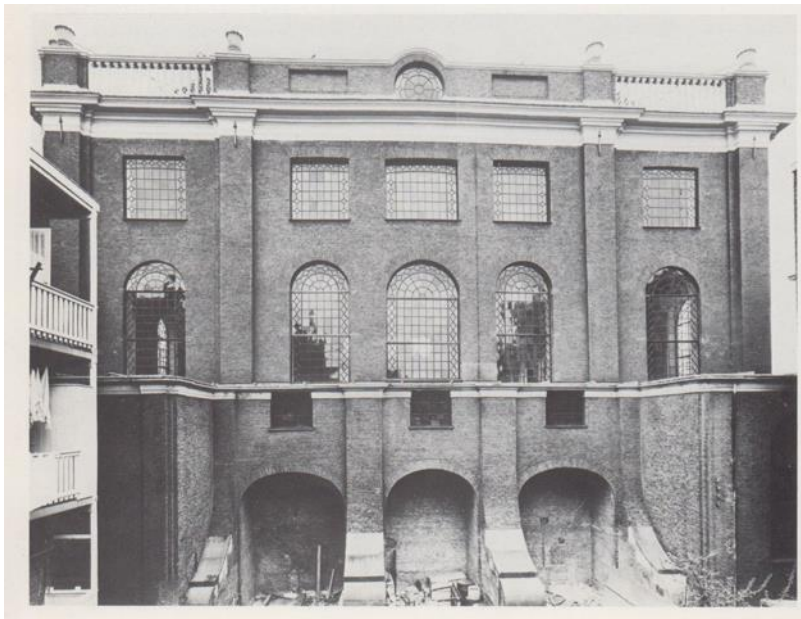
Image 3.23: East facade of the Esnoga, following the renovation of 1773; J.F. van Agt, 1974: 44

Le CHIPUR, ou le JOUR du PARDON tel qu'il se célèbre chez les JUIFS ALLEMANDS.

Image 3.24: Obbene Sjoel, Interior; print from Bernard Picart, *Ceremonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde(...)*

Image 3.25: Nieuwe Sjoel, Interior; J.F. van Agt, 1974: 62
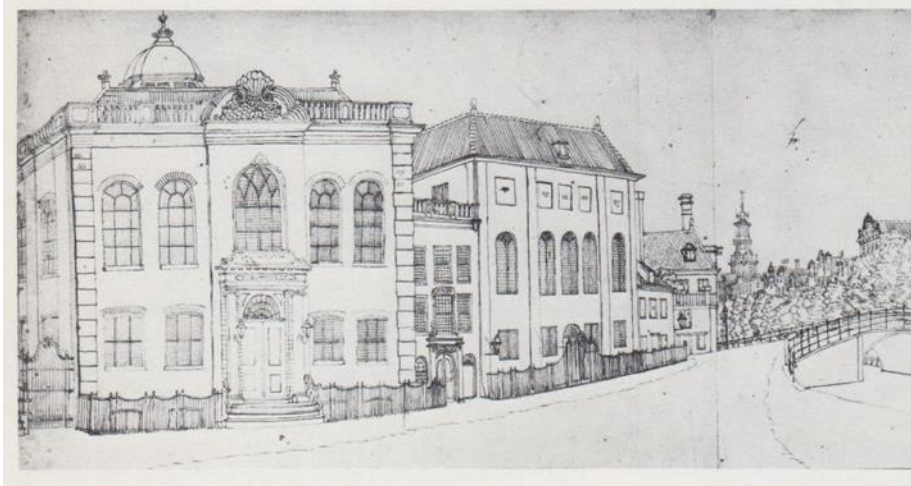
Image 3.26: Nieuwe Sjoel (left) and Grote Sjoel (right). Drawing by Jan Spaan, before 1777. J.F. van Agt, 1974: 60

Image 3.27: Uilenburger Synagogue, built 1766. Front facade (right), interior (left); From: Program of the solemn religious service commemorating the centennial of the synagogue on Uilenburgerstraat, 1916; J.F. van Agt, 1974: 68

Chapter 4

London's 18th Century Synagogues: Break from Amsterdam Towards
Assimilation into English Society

Introduction

In the mid-17th century, developments within the Sephardic diaspora and England's

growing interests in the Atlantic trade economy led London to become home to a new Jewish

community. By the end of the century, two Jewish congregations were firmly established in the

city, Sephardic and Ashkenazi, both with prominent members of London's wealthy merchant

class. Their synagogues provide two interesting case studies in the lineage of synagogue

architecture, which are explored in this chapter using the organizational structure of the relational

database and methods in network analysis introduced in the previous chapter. Split into two

parts, this chapter argues that an English-Jewish mode of architecture did not develop in the 18th

century, as occurred in the Netherlands, and instead the London synagogues are early evidence

of an English Jewish community moving towards assimilation into English society.

Part one is centered on London's Sephardic congregation, Sha'ar Hashamayim, who

opened Bevis Marks Synagogue in 1701, their third synagogue following the use of two

successive remodeled spaces on Creechurch Lane. The architecture of Bevis Marks can be

studied through the lens of both English and Dutch architectural trends of the mid-to-late 17th

century, using the synagogue's connections to the city churches of Christopher Wren and to the

Esnoga in Amsterdam, the Sephardic communal authority of the period. Prominent architects in

both England and the Netherlands were heavily influenced by the classicism of the period, and

this chapter intends to interrogate the relationship between the architecture of the two locales,

using Bevis Marks as the central reference. This analysis provides an opportunity to reassess the

often argued position that Bevis Marks was modeled off its Dutch counterpart, the Esnoga. As Chapter Three argued, a specifically Dutch-Jewish architecture did emerge in the Netherlands following the opening of the Esnoga, and part one of this chapter will demonstrate that this architectural mode did not necessarily impact the English Sephardic spaces.

The second part of this chapter focuses on the synagogue of the Ashkenazi London congregation of the Great Synagogue, which over the course of the 18th century underwent several major renovation projects. This site provides an opportunity to study changes within a single site over time, and the impact of wealthy benefactors within the congregation. In Amsterdam, maintaining a cohesive community identity was a priority, and was reflected in the shared architectural forms of their synagogues. The architecture of the Great Synagogue demonstrates that this was less of a priority in England, where the Ashkenazi community experienced multiple schisms leading to the establishment of multiple congregations over the 18th century. Instead of reflecting a specific Jewish identity through their synagogue's design, there was a stronger interest in gaining acceptance into English society.

Both synagogues, Bevis Marks and the Great Synagogue, firmly established the Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jewish communities into the urban fabric of London. This was a significant accomplishment given the fragile foundations of the legal status of Jews in England, a country which had expelled the Jewish population 1290, and in the 17th and 18th centuries, maintained significant restrictions and regulations on their participation in English life. The assimilation of Jews into English society has been well documented in prior scholarship, and as this chapter demonstrates, the architecture of their synagogues supports the degree to which the elites within Jewish society in England made efforts to be viewed within the upper classes of English society.

Part I: The Sephardic Synagogues of London

Messianism and the Readmission of Jews to England

As discussed in Chapter Two, Portuguese New Christian merchants were present in Brazil beginning in the mid-16th century, acting within a critical commerce network that shipped Brazilian goods, primarily sugar, to the major ports in Portugal and in Northern Europe in Antwerp and Amsterdam. After the Dutch conquest of Recife in 1630, a highly prosperous and relatively large Jewish community developed in the colony, most with ties to the Amsterdam Sephardim. When the colony was reconquered by the Portuguese in 1654, many Jews returned to Amsterdam having faced significant financial losses; some were destitute and relied on charity from Talmud Torah. The Jewish community of Amsterdam, and the one that had arisen in Hamburg, struggled to keep up with this influx of immigrants, who were also arriving from the Iberian Peninsula and central and eastern Europe. New Jewish settlements were actively pursued to send Jewish refugees. The fall of Dutch Brazil was a major blow to the network of Sephardic merchants in the Atlantic, who urgently looked for ways to rebuild trade routes in the New World. Soon, there were small communities of mainly Sephardic Jews in Dutch Atlantic ports of New Amsterdam in North America and Curacao in the Caribbean, and on the British controlled island of Barbados. England's first Navigation Act in 1651 had also closed English ports from Dutch Sephardic merchants, and that, along with the country's increasingly tolerant attitudes towards Jews, made London a destination for Jewish migration.

The desire to found new Jewish settlements in the mid-17th century did not come strictly from the Sephardic merchants' needs for access to colonial commercial ports. The 17th century saw a wave of Messianism in the Jewish world, which included the belief that the dispersal of Jews around the world was a precondition for the coming of the Jewish Messiah. To many, the

migrations and establishment of Jewish congregations in the Americas represented the fulfilment

of certain messianic prophecies. This rise in Messianism was not unique to Jewish circles during

the period; many in the Christian world also trusted in their forthcoming Messiah and fixated

over interpretations of the Book of Revelations signaling that the "End of Days" was imminent.

As discussed in Chapter Three, Sephardic scholars in Amsterdam like Rabbi Jacob Judah Leon

Templo became a resource for Protestant theologians and intellectuals, eager for a renewed

understanding of the Hebrew Bible. Despite the fact that the authorities of Talmud Torah

prohibited theological debate, for fear of arousing anger against Jews, the intellectual trends of

the period were too strong of a force, and a culture of encounters and collaborations between

Sephardic and Protestant scholars emerged in mid-17th century Amsterdam.

One of the leading figures in this movement was Menasseh ben Israel, the prolific writer

and rabbi of the Amsterdam Talmud Torah congregation. Menasseh was a singular personality,

whose correspondences and publications were varied, both in audience and language. Though it

was common for Dutch Sephardic scholars to correspond regularly with their Christian

contemporaries, Menasseh's involvement was uniquely high. The rabbi had an impressive ability

to sit at the center of controversy and turn a tensioned dialogue between conflicting religious

doctrines into a peaceful and instructional discussion. Menasseh ben Israel, in his ability to cross

boundaries in theological debate, insisted to both Jewish and Christian audiences that the

encounter between Jews and Non-Jews was critical to the coming messianic age, when an

allegiance would be formed that neither group could deny, and only those who did not harm the

Jews would be received by the Messiah.[1]

Like others of his time, Menasseh had a consuming interest in the Ten Lost Tribes of

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[1] Henry Méchoulan, "Menasseh Ben Israel and the World of the Non-Jew," in *Menasseh Ben Israel and His World*, ed. Yosef Kaplan, Henry Méchoulan, and Richard Popkin (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), 89.

Israel and their messianic implications. Exploration and colonization had led to the discovery of Native American populations residing in the New World, whose existence required reconciliation with European biblical understandings of the world. At first, the native populations were believed to be the descendants of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, the ten tribes of the Nation of Israel that disappeared from historical narrative following the Assyrian conquest of Israel and Jewish exile in 721 BCE. By the 17th century, there was a consensus that the people encountered by colonists were not the said Israelites, but that *some* of the native communities within the New World had encountered the prophesized Lost Tribes. In 1644, a Jewish traveler by the name of Antonio de Montezinos came to Amsterdam following an extensive period of time spent in South America, with an astonishing tale of having met the descendants of one of the Lost Tribes deep within the mountains of what is Ecuador today. Montezinos' story became widely circulated within Jewish and Christian communities, as it suggested signs of the imminent messianic age. Menasseh ben Israel was requested by his friend in England, Calvinist John Dury, to comment on the validity of Montezinos' story. He chose to respond by writing one of his most recognized and widely-read works, *Esperanca de Israel* (*Mikveh Israel*), a messianic text first published in 1650 in Spanish and Hebrew for a Jewish audience, as well as in Latin, then in English, translated as *The Hope of Israel*.

Mikveh Israel was fundamentally a messianic text in which Menasseh unequivocally argued that the coming of the Messiah was fast-approaching, and with it, redemption, the return of Jews to Israel, and world peace. The text addressed a series of stories that to him and his contemporaries, were evidence of synagogue constructions—and therefore Jewish congregations—within the native populations of the New World. In one passage, Menasseh referenced a text on travels in Peru, by his contemporary Garcilaso de la Vega, in which Vega

discussed constructions of native settlement:

> among the great buildings which are there, one was said to be seen as a very great pile, which has a court of 15 fathoms broad; a wall that compasses it, 2 furlongs high…the Indians say that the House is dedicated to the Maker of the World. I conjecture that building to be a synagogue, built by the Israelites; for the authors who wrote about the Indies tell us that Indians never use iron or iron weapons. Also the Indians were idolaters and therefore it could not be that they should build a house to God.[2]

These synagogue constructions, Menasseh argued, along with similarities found between the laws and customs of the native tribes and the Jewish people, were proof that events prophesied in Isaiah 11:12 were presently occurring. The biblical passage, quoted in his text, "'And he shall set up a sign for the nations, and he shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four quarter of the earth,'" was interpreted by the rabbi to imply that Jews must be found residing "in the extremities and ends of countries" before the coming of the Jewish Messiah.[3] The Jewish congregations established in Dutch Brazil were further evidence for Menasseh ben Israel: for even the tribe of Judah (of the two not-lost tribes of Israel) had spread to the four corners of the world: "which now has synagogues not only in three parts of the world, but also in America."[4]

Mikveh Israel was an accessible text that was widely read in both Jewish and Christian circles. When the text was translated into English in 1651, *Mikveh Israel* became wildly popular among English millenarians. For English Puritans, the reign of Elizabeth I and the Reformed Church of England provided evidence of England as the location where the drama of the Last Days would unfold, during which, according to Christian tradition, all Jews would convert at the

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[2] Menasseh ben Israel, *Menasseh Ben Israel The Hope of Israel [English Translation by Moses Wall, 1652]*, ed. Henry Mechoulan and Gerard Nahon (Oxford [Oxfordshire]: Published for the Littman Library by Oxford University Press, 1987), 117.
[3] ben Israel, 142.
[4] There is also discussion within Mikveh Israel of the synagogue of the Kaifeng Jewry in China, as encountered by Jesuit Matteo Ricci, which Menasseh argued as one of the referenced three parts of the world. Ben Israel, 142.

return of the Christian Messiah.[5] As their predicted date of the messianic age quickly

approached, English millenarians became increasingly troubled by England's lack of a Jewish

population. These troubled millenarians reached out to Menasseh ben Israel, and together, began

an initiative promoting the return of Jews to England.

Sympathetic to this cause was English military and political leader, Oliver Cromwell,

who became Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England following the English Civil war

and the deposition of King Charles I. With *Mikveh Israel* as his primary argument, Menasseh ben

Israel traveled to London in the autumn of 1655 to officially petition for the readmission of Jews

to England. In response, Cromwell gathered delegates at the Whitehall Conference in December

of that year to consider the question of Jewish settlement in the country. Debate was heated, with

arguments against allowing Jews to reside within England centered around the legal precedent of

Edward I's 1290 expulsion of Jews from the realm. Legal writers and members of Parliament,

including Sir Edward Coke, William Prynne, and William Hughes, deemed Jews a threat to

England's constitutional order, and their presence in England as the first steps towards becoming

a lawless nation governed by immorality and greed instead of rationality and justice.[6] The other

side of the debate included Protestant theologians John Dury, correspondent of Menasseh ben

Israel, and Henry Jessey, who argued that readmitting Jews would lead to their conversion to

Christianity through the charity and good example set by English Protestants. To English

millenarians, creating acceptable social space for Jews in England was necessary for their

voluntary conversion and allegiance to Protestantism, in contrast to the forced baptisms and

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[5] For more see, Zakai, Avihu. "Thomas Brightman and English Apocalyptic Tradition." In Menasseh Ben Israel and His World, 31–44, 1989; and Katz, David. Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England, 1603-1655. Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1982.

[6] Holly Snyder, "Rules, Rights and Redemption: The Negotiation of Jewish Status in British Atlantic Port," *Jewish History* 20, no. 2 (2006): 150.

cruelty of the Catholic Inquisitions. Both sides argued for the activities and privileges of Jews in England to be restricted; Jessey in one example suggested to Cromwell that Jews be allowed residency only in port towns in need of economic growth.[7]

Those against the readmission of Jews to England in 1655 made the case for expulsion indirectly, through the implication that Jews posed an immediate danger to England's political and moral wellbeing. Addressing this threat was considered urgent because at the time of the Whitehall conference Jewish migrants from Dutch Brazil had been permitted to reside in British Barbados, and there were already a number of Jews living discreetly in London. This Jewish presence in England was a small community of primarily *converso* Portuguese New Christians, living in the adjacent parishes of St. James, Duke's Place, and St. Katherine Creechurch on the eastern boundary of the city. Most of the twenty or so families had maintained public identities as Spanish Catholics, while likely holding communal Jewish prayer services in the home of a community member. One prominent member of this *converso* community was Antonio Ferdinando Carvajal, a wealthy merchant from the Canary Islands who had resided in London since around 1635.[8] Having provided intelligence to the English government during wars with the Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese, Carvajal was on favorable terms with the English Parliament, and appears to have received personal favors from Cromwell himself.[9] It is unclear whether they were aware of Carvajal or his fellow coreligionists' Jewish heritage during this period, but they did come to the merchant's support in 1645 when denounced by an informer for not attending church.[10]

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[7] Snyder, 151.

[8] Lucien Wolf, "The First English Jew: Notes on Antonio Ferdinando Carvajal, with Some Biographical Documents," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 2 (1894): 14–46.

[9] Wolf, 18–19.

[10] Wolf, 16.

Cromwell's millenarian beliefs supporting a Jewish presence in England was likely reinforced by the recognition that Jewish merchants played a role in the new Atlantic colonial economy. During the 1650's, Jews were already accepted in the British holdings in Barbados and Suriname, where many had arrived as refugees of Dutch Brazil, bringing their knowledge of colonial trade and sugar production. In addition, two Jews, Abraham and Raphael de Mercado, had been given permission to settle on Barbados from Cromwell directly in April 1655.[11] The Lord Protector was certainly interested in gaining a foothold in the Atlantic, where the network of Jewish merchants and planters had proven valuable to the Dutch economy. In fact, Menasseh ben Israel's audience with the Lord Protector had been facilitated by a member of London's *converso* community, David Abrabanel Dormido, a relative of Menasseh's wife Rachel.[12] Dormido had used his commercial contacts to provide intelligence to Cromwell and had his own reasons for wanting legal protections for Jews in England, after incurring considerable financial losses in the fall of Dutch Brazil. Cromwell was already backing New Christian merchants in England, including Carvajal, who along with his sons were given Patents of Endenization in early 1655, granting them certain permissions and status as English subjects. This was especially important to their participation in England's global trade economy under the Navigation Acts, requiring all imports be carried on English ships. In November of 1655, only days after Menasseh ben Israel submitted his initial petition, Carvajal requested and received help from Cromwell in retrieving his large estate in the Canary Islands, which was threatened by embargo and seizure from Spanish authorities due to England's war with Spain.

Commercial and colonial rivalry had caused the war to break out between the two

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[11] Stiefel, *Jewish Sanctuary in the Atlantic World: A Social and Architectural History*, 90.
[12] Lionel D. Barnett, ed., *Bevis Marks Records: Being Contributions to the History of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London* (Oxford: University Press, 1940), 1–3.

countries in 1655, causing disruption to the livelihoods of the New Christian merchants in

London. Orders under Cromwellian England stated that the property of Spanish merchants

within the country was liable to seizure.[13] On March 13th, 1656, another merchant of the Spanish

Canaries residing in London, Antonio Rodrigues Robles, was caught red-handed with both

Spanish goods and Spanish currency.[14] The Robles trial seems to have provided an opportunity

for the small group of *conversos* to expose their presence and secure their commercial interests

within England. Less than two weeks after Robles' arrest, Cromwell received the famous

Humble Petition of the Hebrews at Present Residing in this citty of London, signed by Menasseh

ben Israel, along with Antonio Ferdinando Carvajal and other members of the London *converso*

community, who in doing so, made their Jewish identities public knowledge for the first time.[15]

The defense in the Robles case argued that he was not a Spaniard, but a Jew of

Portuguese descent and a member of this *converso* community. Others of the *converso*

experience testified that their families had fled the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal and were

forced to practice their religion in secrecy out of fear for their safety, in the same manner Robles

claimed. No firm conclusion could be determined by the courts and the goods were returned; the

Commission for the Admiralty and Navy stated that they "doe not finde any convicting evidence

to cleare up either the Nation or Religion of the petitioner."[16] During the events of 1655 and

1656, there is a clear shift within London's *converso* community from identifying themselves

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[13] David Cesarani, *Port Jews: Jewish Communities in Cosmopolitan Maritime Trading Centres, 1550-1950* (London; Portland: Frank Cass, 2002), 111.

[14] Holly Snyder, "English Markets, Jewish Merchants, and Atlantic Endeavors: Jews and the Making of British Transatlantic Commercial Trade, 1650-1800," in *Atlantic Diasporas* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 50.

[15] One signatory, David Abarbanel Dormido, aka Manuel Martinez Dormido, did live openly as a Jew in London. He emigrated in 1654 following an arrangement made with Cromwell for his passage. Diamond, A.S. "The Community of the Resettlement, 1656-1684." *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 24 (1974): 134–50.

[16] Maurice Woolf, "Foreign Trade of London Jews in the Seventeenth Century," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 24 (1974): 38.

through their Iberian, Catholic, origins towards a Jewish identity aligned with England's economic interests.

 Menasseh ben Israel left England in 1657 disappointed in the results of his petitions; he wanted a public declaration and written legal status that guaranteed protections and rights for the Jews of England. Instead, the results of the Whitehall Conference in 1656 only determined that, "There was no law which forbade the Jews returning to England."[17] With the implicit support of the Lord Protector, the London *converso* community established a public synagogue at Creechurch Lane. Despite the lack of a clear legal status, members of the Sephardim began settling in England from Amsterdam, Hamburg, and the Atlantic colonies. Once established in the Commonwealth, the Jewish merchants could receive endenization and maintain commercial ties with England's ports. However, many in England read Cromwell's deferral as a license to impose restrictions on the economic activities of Jews who resided in England. Debate over their status was renewed with each change of administration—the Restoration of Charles II in 1660, the accession of James II in 1685 and the Glorious Revolution of William III and Mary II in 1689-90—with further regulations and even expulsion regularly petitioned to Parliament and the English crown. Through the 17th and much of the 18th century Jewish mercantile practices and participation in English political life were defined by a complicated framework of regulations and restrictions. From its start in 1656, the position of England's Jewish community lay on fragile foundations and maintaining political alignment and favor with English authorities remained a central focus for the community well into the 18th century.

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[17] Lucien Wolf, "Status of the Jews in England after the Re-Settlement," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 4 (1899): 178–79.

Creechurch Lane Synagogue: The First London Synagogue, 1657

Immediately following the Whitehall conference, Antonio Ferdinando Carvajal acquired a 21-year lease on a large home across from St. Katherine Creechurch in the Aldgate ward for the purpose of a synagogue (Figure 4.1).[18] The site was near his own residence on Leadenhall Street, and was owned by the parish church, with whom the London merchant was on good terms. Since at least 1650, Carvajal was listed in the church's account books among the highest tithe-payers at £1 annually; he continued to pay this rate even after the synagogue opened, and after his death in 1659, it was paid by his widow.[19] The lot contained two houses, the larger leased by Carvajal, the corner house still leased by a tenant of the parish of St Katherine Creechurch. The building's use as a synagogue was public knowledge to both the parish and the Guildhall authorities, confirmed by an entry from St. Katherine's account book in February or March 1657 for an amount "paid for warning the workman before the Court of Alderman that were Imployed in building the Jewes Synagogue."[20] The status of Antonio Ferdinando Carvajal within the neighborhood, and his and his colleagues' connections to the highest levels of the English government, were assets in establishing this public synagogue.

With the lease of the Creechurch Lane Synagogue in place, Carvajal brought his cousin and business associate, Moses Athias, to London from Hamburg to act as the newly formed congregation's first rabbi. Beginning in 1657, "Mr. Moyses Atteas" appears in the Churchwardens' account books as an annual tithe-payer, and as a tenet, paying the annual rent owed by the synagogue of £40 in 1662.[21] The relationship between St. Katherine Creechurch and

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[18] The detailed history of the Creechurch Lane Synagogue is attributed to the exhaustive study of the site by: Wilfred S. Samuel, "The First London Synagogue of the Resettlement [Creechurch Lane]," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 10 (1924): 1–147.

[19] From the extracts of the Churchwardens' Account Book 1650-1691, in Appendix V.a. in: Samuel, 73–75.

[20] Samuel, 21.

[21] Samuel, 76–77.

its Jewish neighbors illustrate the kind of tolerance provided to the Jews in London during the mid-17th century. The church's account books list several names of members of the initial Creechurch Lane congregation, in addition to Antonio Ferdinando Carvajal and Moses Athias. London merchant Domingo Vaez de Brito, who had signed Menasseh's petition as Abraham Israel de Brito, was listed among tithe-payers, and was buried through the parish church when he died in December 1656. With Simon Jacob de Caceres, London merchant and shipowner with land in Barbados, Carvajal leased land in Mile End for a Jewish burial grounds in 1657.[22] Even after the separate cemetery was established, St. Katherine Creechurch acknowledged the death of Jewish community members with bell tolls marking the death of Judith de Brito on August 4th, 1657, and Sarah Athias, wife of Moses Athias, on August 20th, 1657.[23] On October 28th, 1659, the parish church rang their 'Great Bell' five times, honoring the memory of Antonio Ferdinando Carvajal, who was buried at Mile End.

The Creechurch Lane Synagogue building was two stories, the worship space on the second floor with a residence on the ground level, occupied by lodgers of the synagogue community, including Moses Athias (Image 4.2). A description of the interior of the synagogue after the initial remodeling appears in a letter written in 1662 by Englishman John Greenhalgh, who described his experience of the Jewish services. He wrote that the synagogue was "like a Chapel, high built; for after the first door they go upstairs into it," a generous way of describing a prayer space constructed in the upper story of an otherwise average London building.[24] According to Greenhalgh, the synagogue was considered a private, discreet, space for the congregation: "though they did scarce admit of any [visitors], their Synagogue being strictly kept

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[22] Barnett, *Bevis Marks Records: Being Contributions to the History of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London*, 6.
[23] Samuel, "The First London Synagogue of the Resettlement [Creechurch Lane]," 75.
[24] Samuel, 51.

with three doors one beyond another."[25] The stairway could be found at the end of the short

entrance passageway, leading upstairs to the main worship space. Greenhalgh described the

traditional arrangement and ritual furniture: "the seats are not as ours, but two long running seats

on either side, as in a school...on the midst of the floor, stood wheron the Service and Law were

read, being like a high short table, with steps to it on one side as an alter…At the east end of the

Synagogue standeth a closet like a very high cupboard, which they call the ark."[26] Based on

Greenhalgh's description, the home's upper level had been repurposed into a traditional

Sephardic worship space.

Our keen observer, Greenhalgh, also makes note of the separation between men and

women during the services. Commenting on a young boy during the service: "he got the inner

door open and went to his mother…on one side of the synagogue there is a low, long and narrow

latticed window, through which the women sitting in the next room, do hear."[27] Greenhalgh was

welcomed to the services by a Jewish associate, who sat with him, and given similar traditions in

the Amsterdam synagogues, his presence was likely not particularly unusual. As the young boy

opened the door to the women's chamber, Greenhalgh noted that he "saw some of their wives in

their rich silks bedaubed with broad gold lace, with muffs in one hand and books in the other."[28]

He also noted the men, all of whom wore traditional costume described as "hats covered with

veils," which did not restrict his observation that "they were all gentlemen (merchants); most of

them rich in apparel, divers with jewels glittering (for they are the richest jewelers of any)…and

look as if strong intellectuals; several of them are comely, gallant, proper gentlemen. I knew

many of them when I saw them daily on the exchange and the Priest there too, who was also a

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[25] Samuel, 50.
[26] Samuel, 50–52.
[27] Samuel, 52.
[28] Samuel, 52.

merchant."[29] Greenhalgh estimates there were roughly one hundred Jews present, near the estimate made in Samuel's early 20th century study of the synagogue, which counted square footage for roughly eighty-five men and twenty-five women.[30]

The reactions of the Christian visitors to the synagogue demonstrate how the Jewish community of London was mainly considered a religious curiosity at the time. Greenhalgh described the services to his Christian colleague as "a strange, uncouth, foreign, and to [him] barbarous sight," while also admitting to being deeply affected by consideration of the ancient Israelites.[31] Diarist Samuel Pepys visited the Creechurch Lane Synagogue twice, on December 3rd, 1659, and October 14th, 1663. Following his visit in 1663, Pepys wrote: "But Lord! To see the disorder, laughing, sporting, and no attention, but confusion in their service, more like brutes than people knowing the true God… I never could have imagined there had been any religion in the whole world so absurdly performed as this."[32] During the debates at Whitehall, the theoretical English Jew was one who converted to Christianity. Once their presence in London became a reality, familiarity with actual Jews led to pity at best, and contempt, at worst. Those that had zealously argued in favor of readmission, now witnessed that England's Jews, who exhibited their social and religious identities publicly, had no interest in conversion. Greenhalgh wrote: "they have a grosser veil over the eye of the soul, than that which covers their heads," while an anonymous writer of the same period stated to the Jews, "I do love you, and pity you, and do long for your conversion and restauration [sic]."[33] The backlash following Readmission was immediate, and anti-Semitic literature, as well as mob violence, proliferated between 1656

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[29] Samuel, 56–57.
[30] Samuel, 44.
[31] Samuel, 55.
[32] The Diary of Samuel Pepys, vol. 6, July 6, 1663–Dec. 31, 1663, ed. H. B. Wheatley (New York, 1893), 283–84
[33] Samuel, "The First London Synagogue of the Resettlement [Creechurch Lane]," 57; NI Matar, "The Idea of the Restoration of the Jews in English Protestant Thought, 1661–1701," *Harvard Theological Review* 78, no. 1 (1985): 120.

and the debate surrounding Jewish naturalization in 1753, when anti-Semitic sentiments were especially high.[34]

The *mahamad* of the Creechurch Lane Synagogue spent significant resources petitioning to the highest levels of the English government for explicit recognition of the community's legal right to reside in England. Following the rise of Charles II in 1664, the congregation petitioned the King directly, stating that they were "dayly threatned by some with the seizure of all their estates & are told that both their lives and Estates are forfeited to your Majestie by the Lawes of your Kingdom." They received a response from Whitehall in their favor, assuring them that no one would be permitted to molest them, and that "they may promise themselves the effects of the same favor as formerly they have had, soe long as they demeane themselves peaceably & quietly with due obedience to his Majesties Lawes & without scandal to his Government."[35] The London *mahamad* enacted regulations that attempted to maintain the good will of English authorities, including new restrictions to visitors within the synagogue. The wealthy Sephardic merchants within the congregation walked a fine line between acceptance into English society and marginalization for their foreign status. Jewish merchants risked being prosecuted as "Aliens" under the Navigation Acts, and despite repeated petitions, the number of Jewish sworn brokers permitted on the London commodities exchange was restricted to twelve, out of a total of 124, until 1830.[36] Even after privileges were granted, Jews in England were forced to pay substantial bribes or appeal to the highest levels of British hierarchy to assert their legal rights. In one example, the London congregation used communal funds to make an annual gift of £50 sterling,

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[34] Emily Vine, "'The Cursed Jew Priest That Ordered the Woman and Her Child to Be Burnt': Rumors of Jewish Infanticide in Early Modern London," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 83, no. 2 (2020): 331–59.

[35] Moses Gaster, *History of the Ancient Synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews* (London: Bevis Marks, 1901), 4.

[36] Snyder, "Rules, Rights and Redemption: The Negotiation of Jewish Status in British Atlantic Port," 152.

as well as a large silver dish with several pounds of sweetmeats or chocolate, to the Lord Mayor, to ensure his favor; a practice that began in 1671 and continued until 1779.[37]

The 17th century London Jewish community had considerable financial capital. Many were successful merchants and members of *la Nação*, who owned ships, had investments abroad, and acted in the London commodities exchange. London's Jewish merchants were importers and exporters of a wide variety of goods, and in the latter half of the 17th century, they dominated London's trade in minted and unminted bullion, as well as diamonds and jewelry (as mentioned by Greenhalgh).[38] The English Sephardim's involvement in the Indian diamond trade reached well into the 18th century, with a small community developing in Madras and a synagogue built there by 1695.[39] Despite the anti-Jewish sentiments by some in England, with the ongoing support for Jewish settlement by the crown and the country's growing prominence in colonial trade, the London congregation grew substantially in only a few decades, reaching 414 active members by 1684.[40] New arrivals, if single, often lodged within the residence of the synagogue building, or with established families. The neighborhood surrounding Creechurch Lane in the Aldgate Ward was the center of this new, and growing Jewish community, which would eventually house the Ashkenazi synagogue in nearby Duke's Place.

The Sephardim in London: Communal Authority in Relation to Amsterdam

In many ways, the pattern of development of London's Sephardic community reflects that of early-17th century Amsterdam. The initial community had been founded by New

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[37] Barnett, *Bevis Marks Records: Being Contributions to the History of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London*, 35–36.

[38] A.S. Diamond, "The Community of the Resettlement, 1656-1684," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 24 (1974): 134–50.

[39] Walter J. Fischel, "The Jewish Merchant-Colony in Madras (Fort St. George) during the 17th and 18th Centuries: A Contribution to the Economic and Social History of the Jews in India (Concluded)," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 3, no. 2 (August 1960): 175.

[40] Barnett, *Bevis Marks Records: Being Contributions to the History of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London*, 23.

Christian merchants, who asserted their Jewish identities when the political and economic climate became more tolerant of their public presence. Like in Amsterdam, the leaders of London's Sephardic congregation were tasked with bringing religious orthodoxy to a community with a mixed background in Judaism. In contrast to Talmud Torah, Sha'ar Hashamayim was significantly less rigid in who was socially accepted into the community. Despite being geographically close to Amsterdam, the London Sephardim existed on the periphery of Jewish life in western Europe in the 17th century. The London congregation lacked the social cohesion and legal autonomy that was maintained in Amsterdam, and so rabbinical leadership was ineffective at imposing authority on new arrivals. In addition, the general atmosphere of London was relatively flexible in terms of commercial and social arrangements, which encouraged prominent Jewish merchants to engage with those outside of their community.[41] In the second half of the 17th century, a significant portion of the members of *la Nação* in London were not members of the synagogue, or only affiliated with Sha'ar Hashamayim sporadically. However, they were not socially ostracized from the London Jewish community, as rifts within these social connections imposed a significant danger to the economic wellbeing of the community as a whole. For congregation members who did not attend synagogue services or refrained from other aspects of community life, the London *mahamad* did not impose the same kind of strict punishments, like excommunication, as was done in Amsterdam.[42] These policies worked towards maintaining an image of a cohesive, cooperative Jewish community to English authorities, but in the long-run, was also responsible for the relatively seamless integration and assimilation of wealthy Jews into English society during the 18th and 19th centuries.[43]

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[41] Endelman, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History, 1656-1945*, 24–25.
[42] Yosef Kaplan, "The Jewish Profile of the Spanish-Portuguese Community of London During the 17th Century," in *An Alternative Path to Modernity* (Leiden; Boston; Koln: Brill, 2000), 164–65.
[43] Endelman, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History, 1656-1945*.

In the early decades of the congregation, Sha'ar Hashamayim preserved a strong allegiance to the senior Amsterdam congregation. The first regulations of the London congregation of 1663 were directly modeled from the *ascamot* of Talmud Torah, borrowing significant portions of text from Amsterdam's by-laws.[44] The *mahamad* during that time included David Abrabanel Dormido, aka Manoel Martinez Dormido, relative through marriage to Menasseh ben Israel with significant connections to the Amsterdam Sephardim and *la Nação*.[45] Most of the *hahamim* (rabbis) that served the London congregation during the 17th century arrived from Amsterdam: Jacob Sasportas in 1664, Joshua da Silva in 1670, Jacob Abendana in 1681, and Selomoh Ayilon in 1689. During the early decades following the congregation's establishment, Sha'ar Hashamayim also received lower ranking officers, including *rubyssim, hazanim, and bodekim* (teachers, cantors, and kosher meat examiners) from Amsterdam, after requesting such referrals from the Talmud Torah *parnassim*.[46] It is clear that the London congregation heavily relied on Talmud Torah for religious communal needs during these decades, but importantly, not financial support.

Many of the *hahamim* faced considerable frustration attempting to enforce their rabbinical authority while serving the London congregation during the 17th century. During Rabbi Ayilon's time in England, he wrote to his mentor, Rabbi Jacob Sasportas, who had returned to Amsterdam after a short period serving as *haham* in London: "If the leaders of this holy congregation would heed me, they would excommunicate these accursed Sabbath-

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[44] Kaplan, "Discipline, Dissent, and Communal Authority in the Western Sephardic Diaspora," 385.

[45] Other signatures on the Sha'ar Hashamayim Ascamot of 5424 (1663) include: Eliau de Limma, Moseh Baruh Louzada, Abraham Roiz da Costa, Samuel da Veiga, Jahacob Berahal, Jahacob Gomez Serra, Abraham Coen Gonsales, Jacob Netto, Jacho Pardo, Aron Vega, Benjamin Nunes, Yssache Barcillay, Isha Dazevedo, Dr. Joseph Mendez Bravo, Jahacob de Chaves, Imanuel Mussaphia, and Jacob Sasportas (signature in Hebrew, noted as "Judge-Deputy"). Barnett, 1931; pg. 14

[46] Evelyne Oliel-Grausz, "A Study in Intercommunal Relations in the Sephardi Diaspora: London and Amsterdam in the Eighteenth Century," in *Dutch Jews As Perceived By Themselves And By Others*, vol. 24, Brill's Series in Jewish Studies (Brill, 2001), 42.

profaners."[47] Both Ayilon and Sasportas struggled with the blurred boundaries that were permitted between full members of Sha'ar Hashamayim and those on the margins, not fully committed to Judaism. In Sasportas' time, the rabbi had primarily struggled with a significant portion of community members' refusal to be circumcised, who were either on the fence about conversion to Judaism or wanted to maintain their Catholic aliases. By the 1690's, circumcision was no longer a primary issue, however, there remained stark differences between the London and Amsterdam Sephardim, where for the latter, clear and sharp distinction was made between members of the community and those outside. In London, there were different social and economic positions to maintain, as well as increasing investments by the community in England's colonial economy in Barbados, Jamaica, and North America. Despite initial reliance on Amsterdam, England's Jewish community became more and more self-sufficient.

Creechurch Lane Remodeled, 1675

As the Jewish community of London grew, their synagogue at Creechurch Lane underwent a large scale remodeling project. In 1674, the Sephardic congregation took over the lease of the adjacent corner house and expanded their worship space by combining the two homes (Image 4.3).[48] On May 18th of that year, members of the *mahamad*, Abraham do Porto, Ishac Alvarez, and Antonio Gomes Serra signed a contract with carpenters William Pope and Thomas Clark for work on the synagogue.[49] The work was completed in 1675, at the total cost of £760 16s. 4d., with £494 17s. 10d. paid by the congregation's *sedaca* (communal treasury) and the remaining raised from two collections within the synagogue.[50] From the main entrance on

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[47] Matt Goldish, "Jews, Christians and Conversos: Rabbi Solomon Aailion's Struggles in the Portuguese Community of London," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 45, no. 2 (October 1, 1994): 240.
[48] Samuel, "The First London Synagogue of the Resettlement [Creechurch Lane]," 42–43.
[49] Complete "Carpenters Agreement" in Samuel, 59–64.
[50] Lionel Barnett, ed., *El Libro de Los Acuerdos, Being the Records and Accompts of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue of London from 1663 to 1681* (Oxford: University Press, 1931), 76–85.

Creechurch Lane, worshipers now passed through an impressive covered porch, which included a pair of benches and lamps, and double doors with an ornamental pediment above.[51] Beyond the entrance sat a wide staircase, leading up into the main worship space, with seating for 172 men and 84 women. The interior of the remodeled synagogue must have been a remarkable sight, as a French traveler noted that "The best of the seven [synagogues in Venice] is not near so fine as that in London."[52] What a visitor encountered was a large, double height space, with galleries along three sides supported by two levels of "pillers of the Doricke order."[53] The ceilings were coved, and the interior was paneled throughout. Women had a separate entrance on the eastern side of the building, with a stairway leading to the north and south galleries that were enclosed "with Deale made into pannells Standing height."[54] The west gallery provided additional seating for men, with "rails and bannisters leaning heighth and not with pannells," and was connected to the main space below via an additional staircase.[55] Inventory from 1676 notes thirty candelabra "that stand around the Synagogue and women's galleries and staircase, all of copper," that were purchased at the time of the synagogue's renovation for use during regular services.[56] The "Carpenters Agreement" of 1674 also required that the ceiling be finished in a suitable fashion for "Lamps and other Ornaments" to be "Conveniently fixed and fastened;" these fixtures may be the five brass "candelabrum" mentioned in the 1676 inventory, four with six candles and a large one with sixteen.[57]

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[51] Samuel, "The First London Synagogue of the Resettlement [Creechurch Lane]," 45.
[52] Quoted in Samuel, 1924, p. 45 from an English translation of F.M. Mission's "Nouveau Voyage d'Italie"
[53] Samuel, "The First London Synagogue of the Resettlement [Creechurch Lane]," 61.
[54] Samuel, 61.
[55] Samuel, 61.
[56] Barnett, *El Libro de Los Acuerdos, Being the Records and Accompts of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue of London from 1663 to 1681*, 118.
[57] Samuel, "The First London Synagogue of the Resettlement [Creechurch Lane]," 61; Barnett, *El Libro de Los Acuerdos, Being the Records and Accompts of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue of London from 1663 to 1681*, 117.

The ritual furniture included the ark, *heichal*, made of walnut wood, approached by steps and the interior lined with "coloured damask with fringes of silver and gold, and a curtain of coloured taffeta."[58] A *tebah* had been built for the new synagogue space, ordered by the *parnassim*; the reading desk included steps and "four piñas of silver,"[59] with a cover of "scarlet satin with fringes of garnished silver."[60] Following the remodeling of the Creechurch Lane Synagogue, the congregation's inventory illustrates the wealth of the London congregation; many of the objects were donated by congregants, usually in honor of certain events, and a number were purchased for synagogue use from the *sedaca*. The list includes a large number of ritual objects made of silver, including *rimonim* (torah finials), torah crowns, *besamin* (spice box used during the Havdalah), ritual cups and candelabrum.[61] There were also a number of *sefer torah* and rich cloths of velvet, satin, damask, and taffeta. Two muskets "purchased with the money of the Sedaca for the guards" are included, although it's unclear what circumstances led to hiring guards and when they were present.[62] In 1689, a number of silver items were stolen from the synagogue, so the need for guards may have been directed towards protecting the synagogue's valuables.

From the exterior, the Creechurch Lane Synagogue was relatively unremarkable, but inside, there was clear evidence of significant investment into their ritual space on the part of the London congregation. The Amsterdam rabbis who served Sha'ar Hashamayim during the 17th century were critical of the *mahamad* and what they deemed a lack of commitment to Judaism by

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[58] Barnett, *El Libro de Los Acuerdos, Being the Records and Accompts of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue of London from 1663 to 1681*, 117.
[59] These are knob-like decorative objects, sometimes shaped as pinecones, usually placed on the four corners of the tebah.
[60] Barnett, *El Libro de Los Acuerdos, Being the Records and Accompts of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue of London from 1663 to 1681*, 117.
[61] Barnett, 117–20.
[62] Barnett, 118.

portions of the community. However, within the congregation and its leadership, there were major financial contributions and efforts being put towards establishing a Jewish worship space that represented the status of the community within England. The 1676 inventory lists a number of important documents, including a number of leases, the 1664 response from Whitehall giving the London Jews explicit permission of residency by the crown, an ordinance from the Court of Aldermans requiring the Jewish community to "not admit among us any vagabonds," and an agreement made between the widow of Selomo Franco, member of the congregation, and the Privy Council, with the king present, that "has some things favourable to the Nation."[63] These documents are evidence that maintaining the legal status of Jews in England, and their right to participate in the English trade economy, required the regular intervention of the congregation, which as a body, kept on hand documents that proved rights that had been previously granted. Both investments into their physical space at Creechurch Lane and into the defense of their legal status demonstrate the London Jewish community's commitment to firmly establishing their presence in England.

In the final decade of the 17th century, the London Sephardic congregation faced several challenges to their position in English society. In their actions, the *mahamad* showed their confidence in fighting this opposition: they continued to push back against further impediments to the community's acceptance within the country. Congregation leaders took action when the economic livelihoods of the community were threatened, again demonstrating the importance of England's growing trade economy to the London Sephardim. In an attempt to tap into the supposed wealth of the London Sephardic Jews, a bill was proposed to the House of Commons

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[63] Barnett, 116.

in 1689, recommending the Jewish community be taxed a total sum of £100,000.[64] The *mahamad* used every legal procedure and private interest at their disposal to protest this proposed legislation. After an expensive four-month battle, the synagogue won, and the bill died before any law was enacted.[65] In 1690 however, the poll tax was fixed and Parliament charged Endenizened Jews at a higher rate than other foreign merchants, a change that was eliminated in subsequent years.[66] As the result of a currency crisis in England, a committee of the Commons reported in 1690 that Jews were responsible for exporting large quantities of silver out of England, since they "would do anything for a profit."[67] The synagogue leaders immediately enacted several laws within the congregation forbidding members from exporting silver and gold, and limited when Jews could be present during coinage sales made in public.[68] It is hard to know how strictly these measures were followed, but they do show a continued effort on the part of the congregation towards avoiding conflict and maintaining the community's reputation in the public eye.

At the end of the 17th century, anti-Jewish sentiments in England continued to be pervasive. Complaints surrounding the activities of Jewish merchants and the publication of anti-alien pamphlets increased each time changes to naturalization policies were considered in Parliament, indicating that many considered the country's Jewish population to be foreigners. However, as noted by French author Cesar de Saussure during the period, the English government "considered trade as the support and strength of the kingdom, and have been careful not to banish and hunt any of those who can make it flourish. This is why Jews are protected by

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[64] Barnett, *Bevis Marks Records: Being Contributions to the History of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London*, 21.
[65] Cost to the congregation was £93. 8s. 9d.; Barnett, 1940, p. 21
[66] Todd Endelman, *The Jews of Britain, 1656 to 2000* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 2002), 36.
[67] Barnett, *Bevis Marks Records: Being Contributions to the History of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London*, 22.
[68] Barnett, 22.

the laws here."[69] The fact remained that each time the case was made to remove Jews from the country or further restrict their mercantile activities, the English crown provided assurance to the Jewish community, with conditions that they kept out of conflict. The highest levels of the English hierarchy supported the continued settlement of Jews in England, but socially, Jews often remained outsiders. As efforts were made to position themselves within the English economy, England's Jews also devoted significant resources towards acceptance in British high society.

A London census taken in 1695 indicated around 600 Sephardic Jews, with a significant proportion living in the Aldgate ward, in the parishes of St. Katherine Creechurch and Duke's Place (Image 4.1). The London Sephardim remained significantly smaller in membership compared to the community in Amsterdam, but were generally speaking, very wealthy. Already at the end of the 17th century there was movement by the wealthiest Jewish families towards acceptance into London's elite social class. During this period, the establishment of country residences by England's elite was in high fashion, and London's Jews participated in these trends from the outset. In locations like Richmond and Isleworth, wealthy Jews socialized alongside other wealthy merchants, bankers and brokers, finding an entrance into English society in the geographic separation from London. It is important to note that this distance did not necessarily imply division from the synagogue community but is further evidence of a Jewish community with intentions of maintaining deep ties to English society.

This provides important context to the construction of the first major purpose-built synagogue in London, Bevis Marks, opened 1701, and its relationship to the architecture of the Esnoga in Amsterdam. Despite the continued associations, familial and business, with members

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[69] Translated from the original French. Cesar de Saussure, *Lettres et Voyages de Monsr Cesar de Saussure En Allemagne, En Hollande et En Angleterre, 1725-1729* (Lausanne: Chez G. Bridel, 1903), 344–45.

of the Dutch Sephardim, England's Jewish congregation was increasingly independent from the authority imposed by Talmud Torah. This would come to a head as soon as 1705, when the London *mahamad* declared that under no circumstances would a request for a decision or judgement be made in the future to the Amsterdam *bet din* (rabbinical court) or *mahamad*, after the older community had favored a petition from a small group of community members over the congregation.[70] Later in the 18th century, the two congregations would act collaboratively, as equals, but already at the turn of the century, the London Sephardim was acting as an independent, English congregation. This was especially the case in terms of their economic, social and cultural identities: wealthy English Jews prioritized acceptance into English high society, and increasingly, their financial investments lay in English colonial trade in Jamaica, Barbados, and North America.

The notion that Amsterdam acted as the primary authority over London's Sha'ar Hashamayim, and the corollary that Bevis Marks Synagogue was directly modeled off the Esnoga, is an idea that is asserted repeatedly in scholarship. The two communities shared an Iberian lineage and as members of the Sephardim and *la Nação*, were culturally, religiously and economically entwined. However, the identities of each were equally shaped by their immediate surroundings, as the previous chapter demonstrated for the Amsterdam Sephardim; the Esnoga was a physical output of these systems, and a distinctly Dutch-Jewish form of architecture. In England, Bevis Marks Synagogue presents as distinctly English, representing the English-Jewish identities of the congregation. In the following examination of the architecture of Bevis Marks, it will be clear that ritually, the space was tied to the wider Sephardim and therefore Amsterdam, but in its physical presentation, the building follows the modes of religious architecture in

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[70] This was following the Nieto affair in 1704-05, when a small group of congregants petitioned to have Rabbi David Nieto removed following what they deemed a heretical sermon. Oliel-Grausz, 43-49

England during the period.

Christopher Wren's City Churches and Classical Architecture in England

Not often discussed in the frequent comparison of the Esnoga and Bevis Marks is the shared architectural lineage of Dutch and English religious architecture in the 17th century. The popularity of the treatises on classical architecture also extended to England, where the impact of these intellectual pursuits can be seen in the country's architecture. Even in the late-16th century, there existed a system of knowledge exchange between England and the Netherlands; In one example, Hendrik de Keyser was known to have travelled to England to study London's Royal Exchange before building his own design in Amsterdam. In the early 17th century, English architect Inigo Jones applied Vitruvian-based classical designs to English constructions. Through his large personality and writing, Jones placed himself at the center of a new, classical language of English architecture.[71] Jones' architectural productions were distinctly English but existed within the wider trends of classicism that reached Northern Europe and England.

Traditions in English building practices were highly pervasive into the 17th century. English architecture of the medieval period, and into the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras, celebrated buildings with inventive use of decorative elements, materials and planning, believed to invoke a sense of wonder in viewers. The innovations in vault designs, seen in the medieval cathedrals of England is an example of these traditions. Local conventions permeated English building practices, and the built work of Inigo Jones provided a combination of these earlier elements and the logical, systematic approach of the classical treatises.[72] Architects in the latter half of the 17th century, including Christopher Wren, saw Jones as an essential link between the

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[71] Christy Anderson, *Inigo Jones and the Classical Tradition* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
[72] Anderson, 6–9.

Italian classicism of Palladio and their own "modern" British architecture.

Wren and other English intellectuals, like their Protestant colleagues in Northern Europe, viewed the mathematical precision and logic of the classical Orders as a critical connection between biblical architecture and their own modern designs. Wren's approach to classicism applied to the Anglican church form differed from the modes of religious architecture in the Netherlands as characterized by Jacob van Campen and Daniel Stalpaert, despite the shared lineage. Following the Great Fire of 1666, Christopher Wren undertook a large-scale rebuilding of London's parish churches, where he applied his classical viewpoint to the city church. Using the organizational system for architectural data proposed in the dissertation and the application of network analysis, we can visualize the difference in Wren's English application of classical elements with Van Campen's Dutch approach. Figure 4.1 provides a visual argument that Wren's classical church designs were heavily impacted by English traditions in innovation, compared to the more austere classicism of Van Campen's limited architectural language.

Facade Element	Betweenness Centrality
architrave: simple	37.901357
plinth: plinth course	37.901357
window frame: round-headed	33.856746
entablature	31.154826
band-course: molded	22.855048
door frame: flat-headed	21.40171
quoin: in-and-out bond	21.235953
cornice: raking cornice	18.557087
cornice: roofline cornice	16.878999
console: scrolled	15.822311
pediment: triangular	15.670412
column shaft: smooth	11.737557
base: attic	11.737557
plinth: plinth block	11.479971
window frame: circular	11.232888

Figure 4.1: Church architecture of Christopher Wren: element-element network with betweenness centrality measures

Both architects use the classical vocabulary, but in these cases, there is a higher instance in the use of molded elements and columns in the facades of English churches, compared to the use of brick pilasters in the Dutch. Wren's classical language in the case of his parish churches is far more varied, indicative of English building conventions, where in the Netherlands by the mid-17th century, the innovations on classicism had been replaced by an austere approach. Understanding Wren's theory of architecture can be drawn from the five Tracts on Architecture that he wrote during his career. In Tract I, Wren borrows from Vitruvius three principles of architecture: "Beauty, Firmness, and Convenience."[73] Beauty and firmness he considered to be derived through "geometrical Reasons of Opticks and Statistics."[74] For Wren, the mathematical precision and logic of classicism—the Vitruvian system of the Orders—were derived from the "Law of Nature," where geometric proportions and straight lines were "naturally more beautiful." In his London parish churches, Wren provided a model of the application of his classical standards of beauty to the church form.

In a letter written in 1711 to a friend on the Commission for Building Fifty New City Churches, Wren gives a summary of his thinking behind his English city church designs, supplying insight into how the architect put his theory to practice. As discussed in Tract I, the rules of "Opticks" included the architect's skill in using perspective: designing a building with attention to how it would be viewed in context. A church should be sited "as forward as possible into the larger or more open streets," where its primary facade, "adorned with Porticos," would be highly visible. In addition, a tall spire that emphasized the beauty of the vertical line, provided

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[73] Vitruvius wrote that buildings should account for strength, utility, and grace. Soo, 1999, 187

[74] Lydia Soo, *Wren's "Tracts" on Architecture and Other Writings* (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 154.

appropriate "ornament to the town."[75] Outside of these features, the exterior should remain

unadorned, however, as illustrated in Figure 4.1, Wren's "Plainness" was significantly less

subdued than his Dutch counterparts. The primary, street-facing facades of Wren's city churches

varied in designs ranging from full classical temple fronts to more minimal classical cornices,

quoins, and moldings that framed the facade's windows and wall planes.

Influenced by the writings of Vitruvius and Serlio, Wren looked to the Roman basilica

form as inspiration for his city church plans, further differentiating his work from the square,

Greek Cross plans common to Amsterdam's mid-century Calvinist churches. Inside, almost all of

Wren's city churches were oriented east-west, with the altar on the east end and the main

entrance opposite, regardless of which exterior facade was most prominent. The acoustic

function of the church was deemed critical, and Wren recommended the parish church hold no

more than 2,000 people and have approximate dimensions of sixty feet wide and ninety feet

long; any larger volume would "create Noise and Confusion," and interfere with the main

function of a church, which was to hear the preacher. In the letter, Wren singled out St. James,

Piccadilly, built between 1676 and 1684, as the best model for parish church designs (Image

4.4). The church was a rectangular basilica, oriented east-west, and featured a large barrel vault

and galleries, both supported by columns of the Corinthian order. Wren's two-storied basilica

with galleries seamlessly blended into the design, following the precision of the Vitruvian

Orders, was considered an innovation in Anglican church planning.[76] This design was first

applied at Christ Church, Newgate, then again at St. Peter's Cornhill in 1677 and St. Clement

Danes in 1680, with further variations in the vaulting and incorporation of the galleries. Wren's

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[75] Christopher Wren, "The Parochial Churches of Sir Christopher Wren, 1666-1718," in *Publications, v. 9-10*, ed. Arthur T Bolton and H Duncan Hendry (Oxford: Printed for the Wren Society at the University Press, 1932).
[76] John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970), 215–16.

two storied basilica, standardized to a five bay church plan, was again used at St. Bride's Fleet Street in 1680 (Image 4.5). In his letter to the Building Commission, Wren remarked that this arrangement "may be found beautiful and convenient."[77]

Christopher Wren's city churches set the standard for religious architecture in London during the period when Bevis Marks Synagogue was built. His guidelines from 1711 provide direct insight into what was seen during the period as ideal Anglican parish church design. The large-scale construction of city churches following the Great Fire of 1666 also employed a significant number of English craftsmen. Importantly, these builders—London's contractors, stonemasons, carpenters, and joiners—became highly versed in the mode of Wren's classical architecture. As with Elias Bouman in Amsterdam, these craftsmen would be later employed in less prestigious projects around the city, indirectly transferring the language of classicism as practiced by prominent English architects like Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren. It was these builders who were employed in the remodeling of Creechurch Lane and would construct Bevis Marks Synagogue.

Bevis Marks: An English Synagogue for an English Congregation, 1701

As the space at Creechurch Lane became inadequate for the growing community, plans for expansion began. In 1694 the Churchwardens at St. Katherine Creechurch appointed a committee to assist in the project, but soon the plan was replaced with a more confident one, the construction of a new, purpose-built synagogue.[78] The congregation began contributing substantial sums towards the construction of their new worship space, and a nearby site was found in the open plot known as Plough Yard (Image 4.1). The site was owned by the speaker of

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[77] Wren, "The Parochial Churches of Sir Christopher Wren, 1666-1718."
[78] Barnett, *Bevis Marks Records: Being Contributions to the History of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London*, 23–24.

the House of Commons, Sir Thomas Littleton, who provided the congregation with a 99-year lease, finalized in November of 1699.[79] Several members of the London Sephardim were already renting parts of the property for their personal use; there were a handful of stables, a garden, and small shops on the site. The synagogue itself was also paying rent to Littleton: the community's Kosher butcher shop could be found in Plough Yard, an important establishment that marked the area as a Jewish neighborhood. The lease was communicated through an intermediary, but the names of Antonio Gomes Serra, Menasseh Mendes, Alphonso Rodriguez, Manuel Nunes Miranda, Andres Lopes and Pantaleao Rodregues of the Sha'ar Hashamayim congregation appear as leaseholders for the whole of the property. According to the document, these men had the "Liberty, power and authority" to demolish any existing structures and build anywhere on the site which was bounded by the streets Bevis Marks and Heaneage Lane.[80]

The synagogue's design had been under discussion in the years leading up to the finalization of the lease on the property. Records from the congregation show two payments made in 1694 to a joiner, Henry Ramsay, for making '*un modelo pa una Esnoga*,' though the author of the design and the form of the model, are lost to time.[81] In February of 1699, while the London *parnassim* concluded communications over the Plough Yard property, a 'Building Agreement' was signed between the same men, Antonio Gomes Serra, Menasseh Mendes, Alphonso Rodriguez, Manuel Nunes Miranda, Andres Lopes and Pantaleao Rodregues, and a "citizen and merchant taylor of London," Joseph Avis.[82] Avis was a Quaker carpenter, as well as entrepreneur and contractor, who had previously worked on prominent projects for both Christopher Wren and Robert Hooke. These projects made him familiar with the trends in

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[79] Gaster, *History of the Ancient Synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*, 61–62.
[80] Indenture of 1699 reproduced in Gaster, 1901, p. 62-64
[81] Records show a 'Mr Ransey,' identified as Henry Ramsay in the Guildhall records in Samuel, 1924
[82] Gaster, *History of the Ancient Synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*, 68.

English religious architecture, and an ideal candidate to lead the construction of a new synagogue for a Jewish congregation keen to maintain their status as respectable, yet reserved, residents of London. His experience included work as a carpenter and joiner for Wren's St. Bride's Fleet Street (1680) and St. James, Piccadilly (1683), as well as with Hooke on an entryway at Merchant Taylor's Hall.[83] To the construction at Bevis Marks, Avis brought a team of English craftsmen, all of whom had worked on Wren city churches in the wake of the Great Fire of 1666.[84] The group included, in particular, one John Sims, who had worked as a principal joiner at the Wren city churches of St. Clement Danes in the Strand (1682) and St. Bride's, Fleet Street (1680), and another, Thomas Clark, who had been the synagogue's principal carpenter during the remodeling at Creechurch Lane in 1674.[85]

If the design of the synagogue at Bevis Marks had an individual author, the remaining records do not document this fact. The final form, still extant in London today, suggests the building was an output of the precedent in Sephardic worship space in England and Amsterdam, combined with the priority of the London congregation towards acceptance into English society (Image 4.6). As capable as Avis may have been in designing the synagogue's form on his own, the records reveal a large involvement of the Sephardic congregation in the new construction, as well as the existence of the unidentified model. The Building Agreement is written with a clear intention towards guaranteeing the quality of the finished work and that the craftsmen hired by Avis would be provided appropriate pay for their services. Avis himself had a reputation as an upstanding citizen; it is strongly rumored that he returned the unused portion of the £2,650

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[83] Wren, "The Parochial Churches of Sir Christopher Wren, 1666-1718," 124–25.
[84] Synagogue accounts list payments made to John Sims, joiner; John Philips, bricklayer; Thomas Robinson, smith; James Paget, stone mason paid for paving courtyard; Thomas Clark, carpenter, John Lingar, plumber, John Dodson. Barnett, 1939, pg 81
[85] Wren, "The Parochial Churches of Sir Christopher Wren, 1666-1718," 110–11.

budget, refusing to profit from constructing a House of God, although documentation for this claim is lacking.[86] Possible witness of Avis's piousness matching that of the governing body of the orthodox synagogue is provided by a handwritten addendum to the contract, stating that Avis would "hereby promise and agree neither he or his workmen or any others by his order shall work on the new intended building…on any of the Jewish Festival days or Saturdays which shall happen in the time of [the building's construction]."[87] The Building Agreement, which mentioned the model in several places, required the synagogue to "contain in length within the walls fourscore [80] foot and in breadth between the walls fifty foot and in height from the floor to the ceiling thirty-two foot."[88] Other details described the columns to be of "yellow firr" with stone bases, "painted three times with oyle" to imitate the look of marble, and were to carry above "a true freece and cornisht [freeze and cornice] and a brest panill with sherquer worke." Unlike the contract for the Creechurch Lane remodel, which referenced the "Doricke" order, this agreement makes no mention of the use of any particular Classical Order. The columns instead feature simple Tuscan capitals. The windows were to be glazed with "good English glass" with iron bars and "easements as shall be thought fit and convenient." The craftsmen were instructed to build "wainscott seaven foot high round the inside of the said new building" and make the "gallaryes and staircases as is described in the said modell." The front entrance was to be approached through a courtyard paved with "free stone," and to contain a "stone doorcase… six foot wide with three hansome stone steps," fitted with an oak doorway "twelve inches square." Further specifications listed in the agreement include the precise measurements, quality and type of building material for many other constructed features, such as roof beams, joists, window

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[86] Gaster, *History of the Ancient Synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*.
[87] Gaster, 72.
[88] Gaster, 68.

frames, floorboards, and benches. No mention of the ark is found in the building agreement, though it was also built at this moment, and bears resemblance to Avis' prior project at the Merchant Taylor's Hall.

Exploring the relationship of the architecture of Bevis Marks with the work of Christopher Wren in London and the Esnoga in Amsterdam can be done through the data organizational structure put forward by this dissertation. The building-element networks from the previous chapter, now with relevant Wren city churches and the London Sephardic synagogues can help towards understanding the primary character of Bevis Marks. Figure 4.2 places the facades of Bevis Marks into the context of facades of the relevant English and Dutch constructions. The parish churches of St. James, Piccadilly and St. Bride's, Fleet Street were selected as representations of Wren's rectangular basilica, the former because of Wren's own identification of St. James as a prototype and the latter, St. Bride's, due to Joseph Avis' documented involvement. St. Benet's, Thames Street (also known as St. Benet's, Paul's Wharf) was selected not only due to its geographic proximity to Bevis Marks, but because of its simpler design compared to other city churches, it is often referred to as Wren's "Dutch church," an especially relevant description for this current study (Image 4.7). Wren used London's parish churches as opportunities to experiment with his approach to classical design, most famously at St. Stephen, Walbrook where the architect implemented a dome that was later used as a prototype for St. Paul's cathedral. For this study, the selected city churches represent not the diversity in Wren's city church designs, but the rectangular basilicas most connected to Bevis Marks.
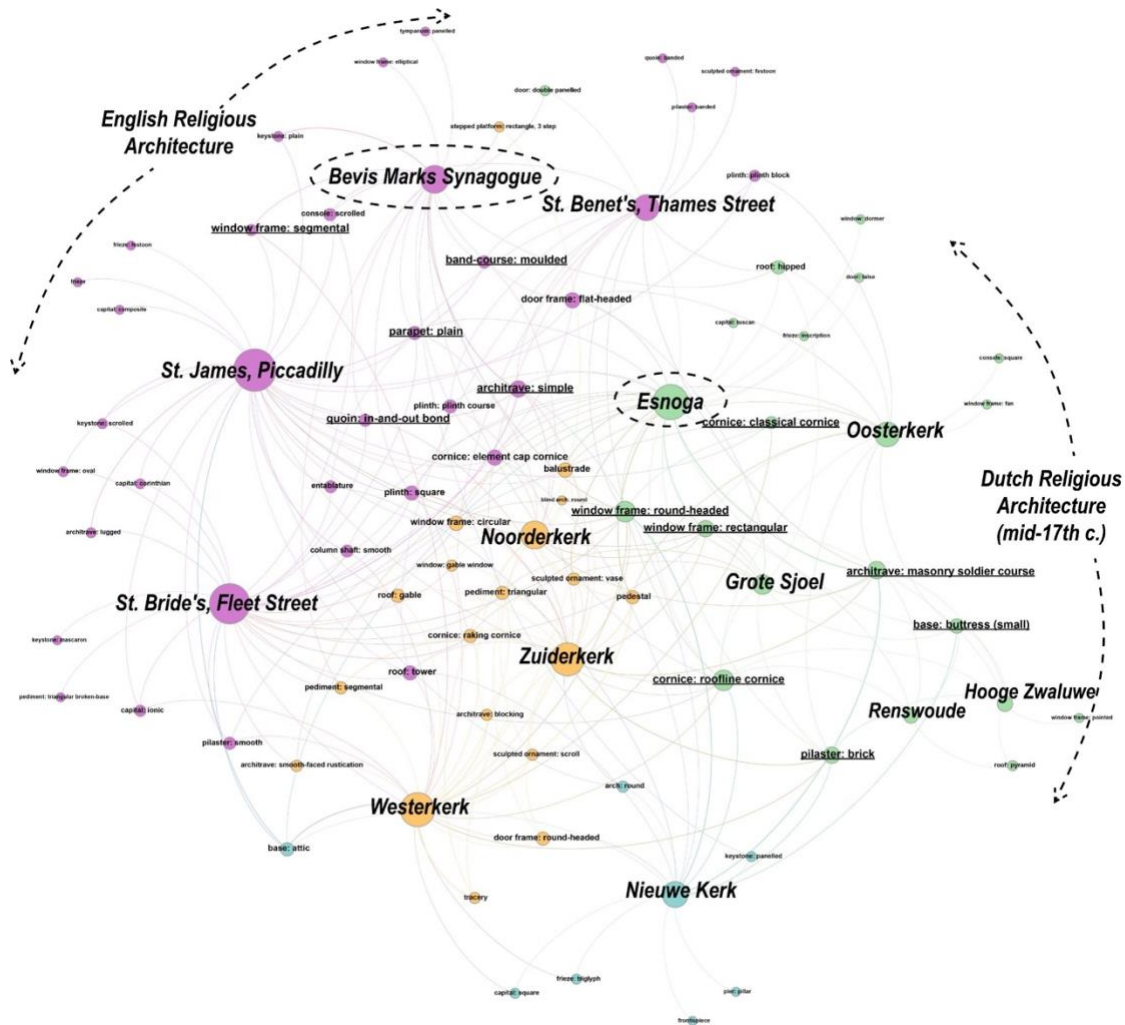
Figure 4.2: English and Dutch facade building-element network with community detection

As the community detection network analysis shown in Figure 4.2 makes clear, the

exterior appearance of Bevis Marks exists within the framework of the English church designs

by Christopher Wren, and not with the Dutch Esnoga. The network analysis in Chapter Three

identified the features most central to Dutch religious architecture in the mid-17th century, and

the Dutch-Jewish architectural mode that developed out of the Esnoga and Grote Sjoel.

Expanding on this analysis, we can use the organizational structure of the recombinant

architectural data to further isolate precisely why this grouping of English buildings is

partitioned separately from their Dutch counterparts, and importantly, the critical differences

between the facades of Bevis Marks and the Esnoga.

The following set of building-element network graphs are focused studies on the architectural compositions that make up a building's facade: the window compositions, entrance compositions, roofline compositions, and additional facade elements (features not a part of the other three compositions). The first of this set, Figure 4.3, is a network based on window compositions, that is, the subsets of architectural elements that make up the buildings' windows and their framing.[89] In Figure 4.3 below, the primary windows of the Dutch churches and synagogues are partitioned together, centered on their shared use of the brick architraves in their window compositions, as seen in the top right of the graph. A single window from the Esnoga, labeled "w4c" following the naming conventions of the database, is clustered with the English window compositions in the lower left; this is the round window that sits on the synagogue's roofline, the only window on the facade with a molded architrave. All three of the window compositions of Bevis Marks Synagogue are clustered among the windows of the English churches of St. James' and St. Bride's, seen to the center-left of the graph:

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[89] To explain the labeling in these graphs, each window composition has a unique name in the database following the pattern w (for window composition), the building's id number in the database, a letter representing the numerical count of windows in the facade. For example, Bevis Marks has three window compositions and in the database the building has an id of "0", so they are listed as w0a, w0b, and w0c. The id numbers are arbitrary, a necessary indexing function of the relational database. The networks that follow also share this naming convention, with "e" for entrance, "r" for roofline, etc.
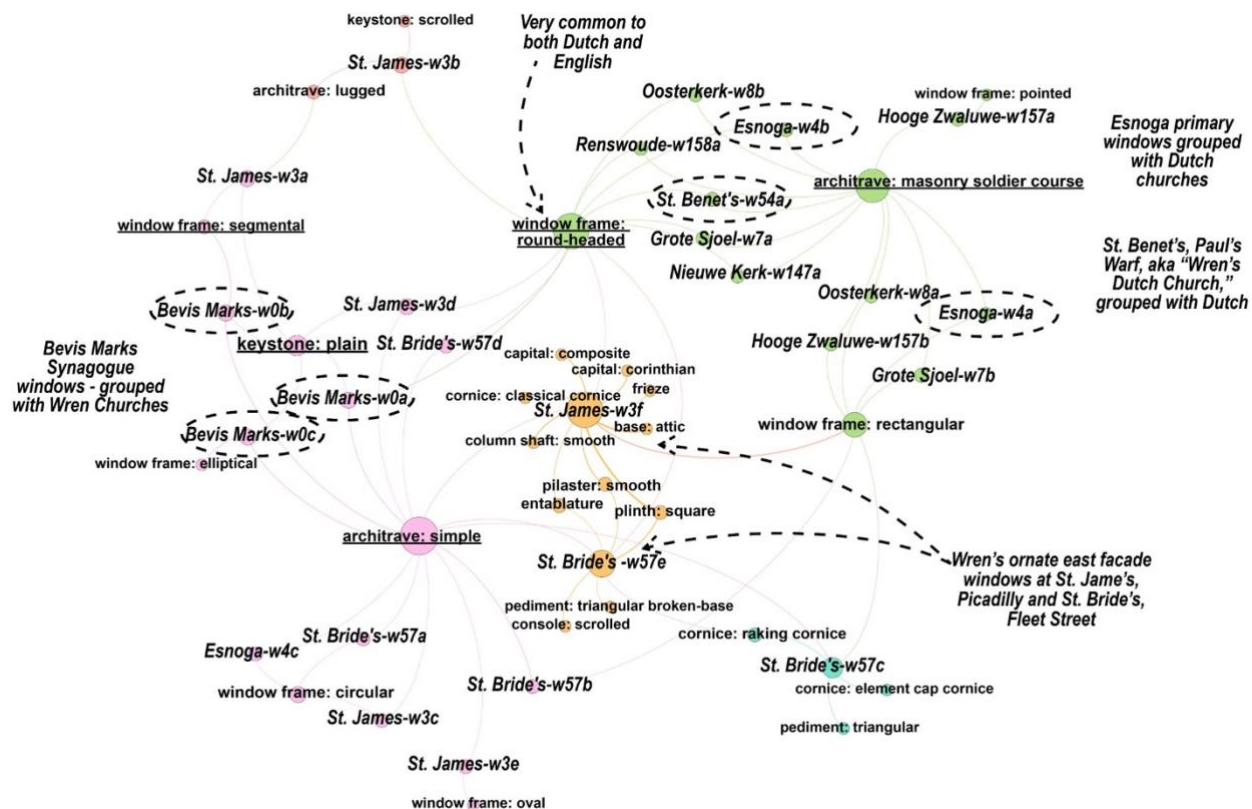
Figure 4.3: English and Dutch window composition network with community detection

What this graph illustrates is that in terms of the window designs of Bevis Marks, they are far more "English" in their compositions compared to the Dutch windows of the Esnoga. The English set of window compositions share the use of the round-headed window frame with the Dutch buildings, but are ornamented with simple, molded architraves and keystone blocks. The single window composition of Wren's St. Benet's, often referred to as "Wren's Dutch church," is, per its namesake, clustered here among the Dutch window compositions. This supports an argument that the austere round-headed window with brick architrave was a recognizable and standard convention of Dutch design in the mid-to-late 17th century.

The next network explores the entrance compositions of the selected English and Dutch religious spaces. Unlike the network of window compositions and architectural elements, there does not appear to be a strong sense of consistency within English and Dutch entrance

compositions. The partitions in Figure 4.4 are not made across national boundaries; sets of English and Dutch entrances are grouped together:
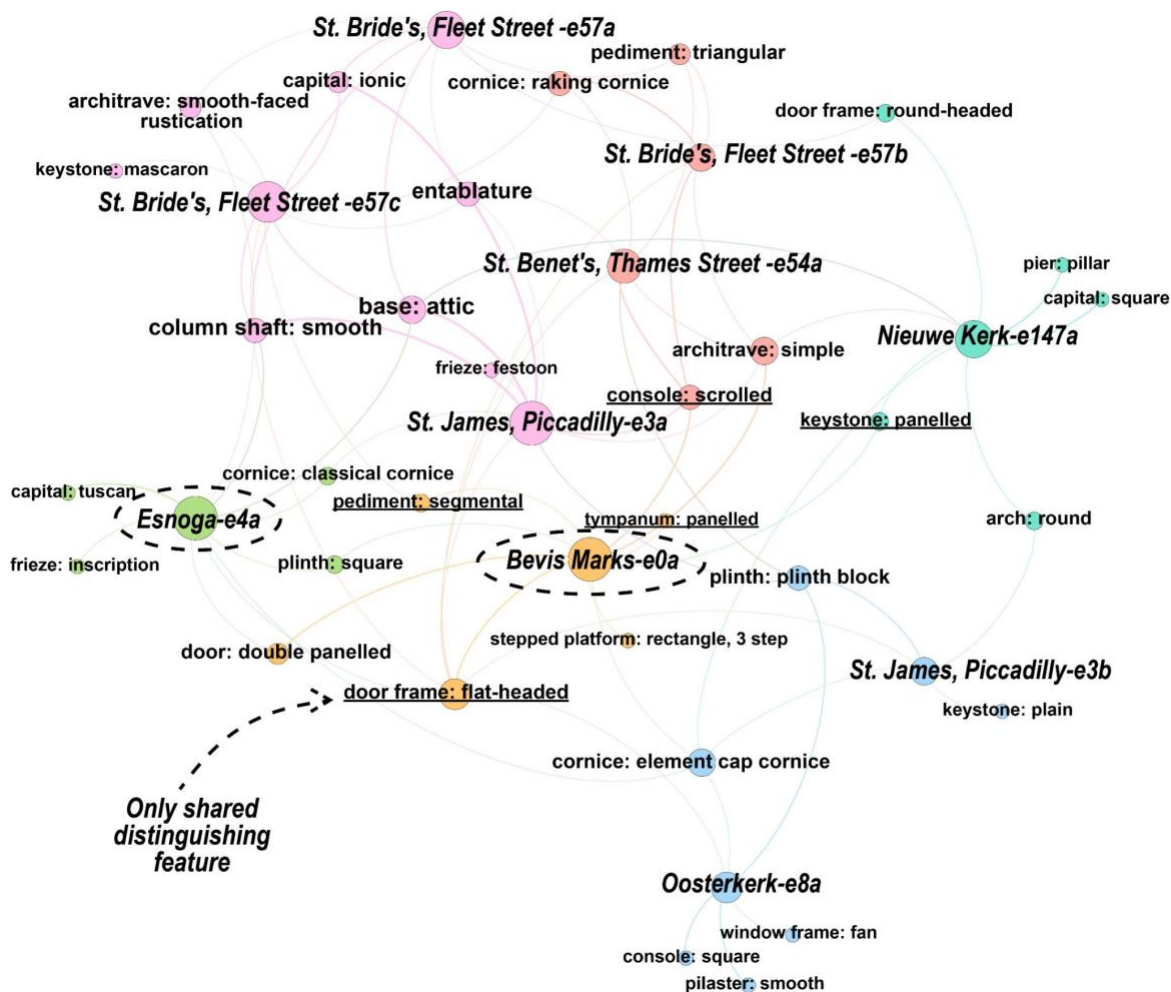
Figure 4.4: English and Dutch entrance composition network with community detection

Here, there is not any clear correlation between the main entrance of the Esnoga and Bevis Marks. The only shared element between these two are the flat-headed door frame, which is far too common an element amongst this set to claim any kind of relationship between the synagogue entrances. Figure 4.4 makes clear that entrance compositions were not critical to the partitions found in Figure 4.2, the building-element network of all facade elements.

Next, Figure 4.5 looks at the roofline compositions of the mid-17th century Dutch buildings and their English counterparts. Note that some buildings have multiple rooflines,

primarily in the cases where the rooflines along the building's length differs from the width, as is the case for the Esnoga and Grote Sjoel. Figure 4.5 shows various partitions among the church and synagogue roofline compositions. There are four primary partitions in this set. On the upper right, are the rooflines that include the church bell towers and spires. Along the top (in pink) are the English gabled roofs with simple parapets. On the left and bottom left are the two most ornamented roofline partitions: in blue, the triangular pediments of Grote Sjoel and St. Bride's, and in green, the Esnoga and Oosterkerk, with their balustrades and pedestals. Bevis Marks is clustered among the simplest roofline compositions; its ornamentation includes only a simple molded cornice and parapet.
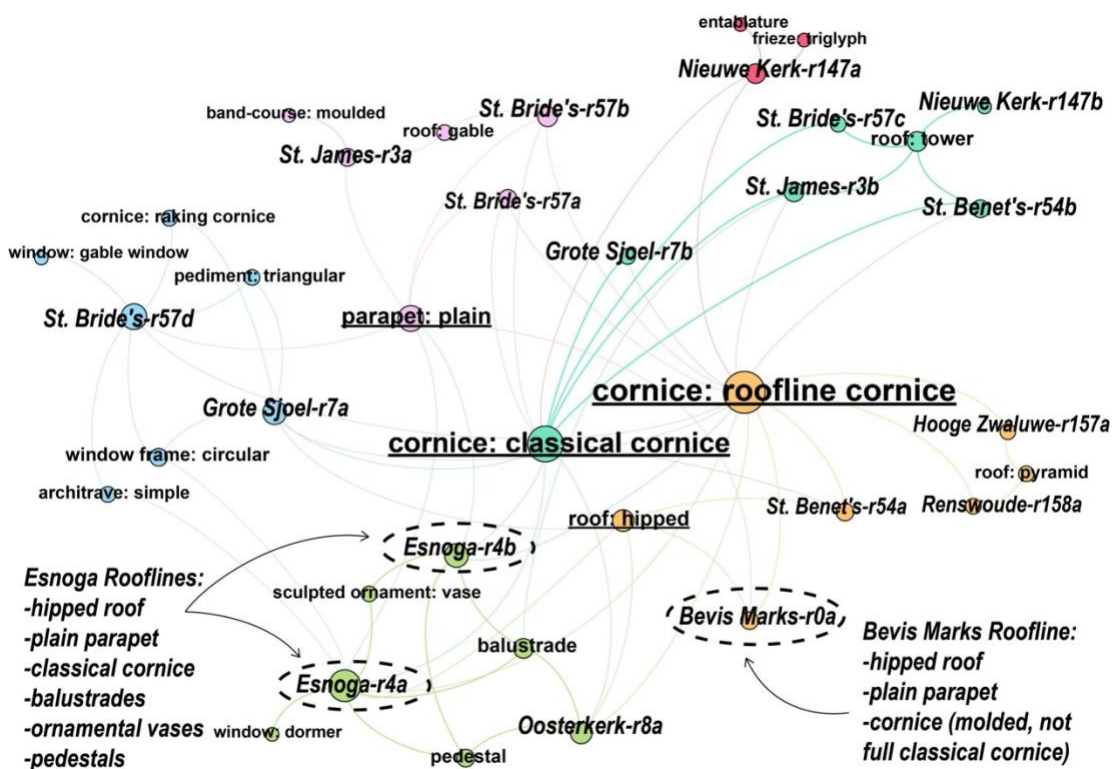
Figure 4.5: English and Dutch roofline composition network with community detection

Although Bevis Marks and the Esnoga share several features in their rooflines, the additional ornamentation of the Esnoga clearly sets it apart from the English Sephardic synagogue. Between the Dutch and English buildings, both sets commonly applied the full

classical cornice along the roofline of these religious buildings.

Finally, Figure 4.6 shows the additional facade elements that cannot be classified in the previous three compositions. This includes facade elements like bandcourses, pilasters, and quoins. Figure 4.6 below shows a clear partition between the English and Dutch facades:
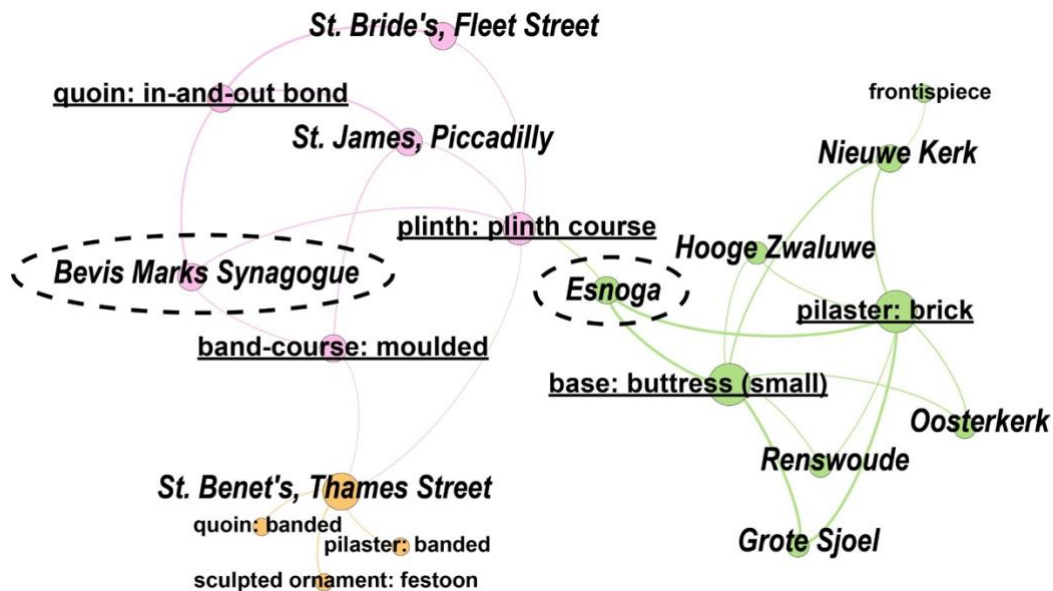
Figure 4.6: English and Dutch additional facade element network with community detection

The English facades, including Bevis Marks, are centered around their use of molded band courses and quoin articulations. The Dutch buildings, including the Esnoga, are defined by their brick pilasters, and for this set of religious buildings, the small, sloped buttress. St. Benet's sits as a kind of hybrid between the two: the band course and quoins linking it to the English constructions, while its application of the pilaster could be considered a more Dutch feature.

There are a few key takeaways from this set of networks. First, we can identify some of the primary differences between the classicism of these Dutch and English religious buildings, and the precise reasons there exists a clear partition between these two sets in Figure 4.2. In window compositions and application of additional facade elements (Figures 4.3 and 4.6) there are few shared architectural elements. Each set, the Dutch and English, have distinct

compositions that set them apart from one another. Both commonly feature round-headed windows, but the English version frequently applies molded architraves and keystone blocks to these compositions. In terms of entrance compositions, there is more diversity in architectural elements, and for the rooflines, both sets are highly centered around the classical roofline cornice. Overall, there is a shared classical language applied in both the Dutch and English settings, but in practice, their applications are distinct.

Importantly, in each of these networks, Bevis Mark remains partitioned separately from the Esnoga, and is more frequently clustered with other English compositions. Some of the fundamental pieces of Dutch-Jewish architecture following the Esnoga, as were defined in Chapter Three (Figure 3.14), are missing in Bevis Marks. This includes the distinctly Dutch elements of the facade pilasters and brick architraves. The common facade elements in Bevis Marks and the post-Esnoga synagogues in the Netherlands—specifically the round-headed windows—are also elements of English church facades, especially with their molded architraves and keyblock element. It is clear from the analysis of these facades that Bevis Mark does not appear to be specifically modeled off the Esnoga in terms of its exterior appearance. Instead, it is unmistakably English in its design.

For the interior layout, we might expect Bevis Marks to share more with the Esnoga than the Christian churches in London, due to the shared Jewish ritual within. As a reminder from Chapter Three, the elements that were most representative of the Dutch-Jewish interior was the rectangular basilica, longitudinal orientation, barrel vault, two-side galleries with traditional standing height screens, and in many cases, full-height columns, often of the Ionic order (Figure 3.18). In England, however, Christopher Wren was partial to the rectangular basilica with an east-west orientation, full height columns with incorporated galleries. He also often applied the

barrel vault to his rectangular basilicas. As a Jewish prayer space, Bevis Marks was oriented toward the ark on the east end, longitudinally, and has a rectangular footprint with galleries for women (Image 4.8). Given so many shared features between Wren's rectangular basilicas and the Dutch-Jewish form of the Esnoga, it would be difficult to determine which of the two had a larger impact on the interior layout of Bevis Marks. This makes for an especially good case for applying the methods of this dissertation, in particular the community detection algorithm. Using this network analysis, we can precisely explore the relationship between Bevis Marks and the Dutch and English buildings.

Figure 4.7 provides this analysis. The graph is somewhat complex at first glance, but upon study, we can draw some conclusions. There are five partitions in this particular network. Moving clockwise from the upper left, the first cluster is the Creechurch Lane synagogues, both remodeled spaces. Next, in orange, is a partition with Bevis Marks Synagogue and the Wren church of St. Benet's, Thames Street. St. Benet's is one of the simplest of the Wren city church interiors; with a flat ceiling, crown molding, and wainscotting it is very similar in character to the interior of Bevis Marks (Image 4.9). The other two of Wren's city churches, St. James and St. Bride's, are grouped together sharing the barrel vault, longitudinal orientation, three-side galleries, and rectangular basilica footprint with tower. In the lower half of the graph are two partitions of Dutch buildings, the mid-17th century Dutch churches, and the Dutch synagogues.
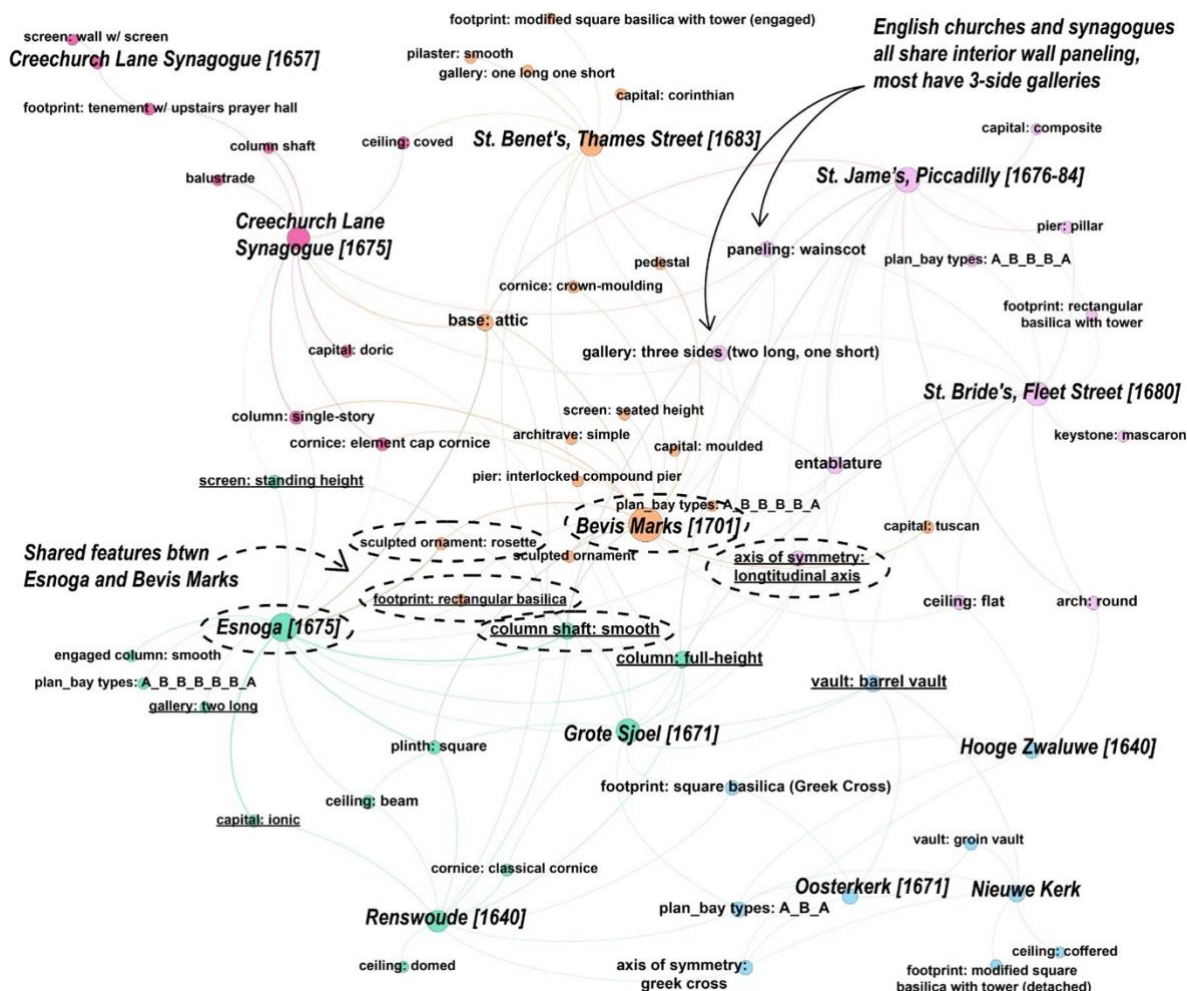
Figure 4.7: English and Dutch Interior and Plan Communities

Once again, it is telling that Bevis Marks and the Esnoga are partitioned separately. It is also clear given the separate partitions of St. James and St. Bride's, that the English barrel vaulted churches are also distinct from the Dutch spaces with the same elements. This confirms that both the longitudinal orientation and barrel vaults are not specific to either English or Dutch modes of architecture. Bevis Marks, importantly, does not have a barrel vault, two-side galleries, or the full-height columns that came to describe the Dutch synagogue after the Esnoga. Instead, the flat ceiling, ornamented with a crown molding, the wainscotting, and the three-side galleries make the space more English in its appearance. Interestingly, even when the building opened in 1701, Bevis Marks did not make use of the standing height screens in the women's galleries,

instead opting for a simple trellis at seated height, not much different from a railing. Their spaces at Creechurch Lane both used versions of this visual separation of genders; the space in 1675 had full-height screens similar to the Amsterdam synagogues. Visual separation of the genders was not part of Anglican spaces, and it is possible that the London Sephardic community did not want their space to appear foreign, especially since Christian visitors already viewed the Jewish ritual as a strange curiosity. Emphasizing the commonalities with English gentiles appears to have taken priority over strict orthodoxy. Note that these traditions were still in full force elsewhere; standing height screens were used in Dutch synagogues well into the 18th century, as well as in some colonial synagogues.

In conclusion, the overall analysis of both interior and exterior supports the argument that Bevis Marks was constructed to be perceived as an English religious space. The liturgical needs of Jewish ritual, as had been developed in the synagogues in Amsterdam, made preference for longitudinally oriented spaces, with rectangular footprints, and galleries for women. In England, these were all features already common to Anglican church spaces, so in constructing their synagogue at Bevis Marks in 1701, the Sha'ar Hashamayim congregation did not need to look abroad for a model. London already had a supply of builders and craftsmen experienced in constructing this form of religious space. The status of Jews within the social and political landscape of London was still somewhat precarious, with the wealthiest of the Sephardim actively making moves to become accepted into English high society. Their purpose-built synagogue of Bevis Marks presented the community as they wanted to be seen: as English subjects, with English tastes.

Part II: The London Ashkenazim

Foundations of the London Ashkenazim: Legacy of the Early Benefactors of the Community

Following the establishment of the Sephardic congregation Sha'ar Hashamayim in 1656, Ashkenazi Jews were also permitted to worship within the Creechurch Lane Synagogue. Within the small Ashkenazi population of London were a handful of wealthy merchants, on equal footing with the elite members of the London Sephardim. This included the German merchants and financiers Abraham Franks (also known as Naphtali Hertz) and Benjamin Levy, who were both among the twelve Jewish brokers permitted on the London Exchange in the late 17th-century.[90] Bias did exist within the Sephardic congregation towards the Ashkenazim, including a good number of regulations restricting their participation during services and within the congregation generally, but exceptions were granted by the *mahamad* to "deserving Tudescos."[91] Among those granted exceptions included Abraham Franks, Benjamin Levy, his uncle Mayer (Meir, or Michael) Levy, the London jeweler Samuel Heilbuth, an elder Benjamin Levy and his brother Samuel. The elder Benjamin Levy had acted as *hazan* and *shohet* (cantor and butcher) at Creechurch Lane, signed the congregation's *ascamot* in 1677 and 1693, and had contributed to the remodeling of Creechurch Lane in 1675; his brother Samuel had also acted as *shammash* (secretary) and was likely the acquaintance of John Greenhalgh. These prominent Ashkenazi families would remain highly involved with the London Ashkenazim, as well as the community in New York, well into the following century, with marriage frequently tying the families to one another. The wealthy Ashkenazim also maintained business and social relations with the

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[90] Cecil Roth, *The Great Synagogue, London, 1690-1940.* (London: E. Goldston, 1950), 26.
[91] In 1678-79 London's Shaar Hashamayim adopted regulations stating that Askenazim could not hold office, vote, be given mitzvoth, be called to the Torah, recite the mourner's kaddish, or pay congregational dues, unless special permission was granted by the mahamad. In 1682, the regulations were modified to allow "deserving Tudescos" to be called to the Torah and make voluntary offerings. Barnett, *El Libro de Los Acuerdos, Being the Records and Accompts of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue of London from 1663 to 1681*, 31–32.

prominent members of the London Sephardim. In one example, the younger Benjamin Levy included Alvaro da Fonseca, Joshua Gomes Serra and Isaac Fernandes Nunes of the Sephardic congregation as executors of his will and recipients of a legacy.[92] Several also owned country estates, and like their wealthy Sephardic neighbors, were generally accepted into the elite social circles of London.

By 1690 the Ashkenazim in London had grown large enough to sustain a separate congregation. Most of the small congregation originated from Amsterdam, Hamburg or held ties to Germany, and the rite followed in their first synagogue was that of the Polish and Northern German Jews observed in Hamburg.[93] Around 1696-97 the *parnassim* of Sha'ar Hashamayim gave an ultimatum to "the Mahamad of the tudescos" to find their own burial grounds within six months, after which no Ashkenazi who did not pay their burial dues would not be buried in the Sephardic cemetery at Mile End. The wealthy Ashkenazi financier Benjamin Levy acquired a deed in 1697 for a plot of land adjacent to the Sephardi cemetery for the Ashkenazi congregation.[94] Despite the separation of the two communities, Levy remained a full member of the Sephardic congregation, and contributed £39 to the construction of Bevis Marks.[95] Him and his second wife Hendele, the daughter of Samuel Heilbuth, were buried in the Ashkenazi cemetery. The initial congregation of the London Ashkenazim held services in a home in Broad Court, Mitre Square, now Duke's Place, very near the Creechurch Lane and later Bevis Marks synagogues (Image 4.1). The house was rented from a member of the London Sephardim and close associate of Benjamin Levy, Isaac Fernandes Nunes, which records from 1706-1708 show

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[92] Roth, *The Great Synagogue, London, 1690-1940.*, 25.
[93] Roth, 22.
[94] Roth, 17.
[95] Barnett, *El Libro de Los Acuerdos, Being the Records and Accompts of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue of London from 1663 to 1681*, 31.

a payment made of £28 13s. 4d. for the synagogue's rent for a year and a half.[96] In 1714, a relative of Benjamin Levy, Moses Hart, acquired deeds for the synagogue and nearby properties in Duke's Place, which would become the site of the first purpose-built Great Synagogue.

Moses Hart had immigrated to London from Breslau around 1697 and worked as a successful stock and commodities broker.[97] He was the founder of the Hart family fortune in England, and an observant Jew who became a major benefactor of the Ashkenazi synagogue. Married to Prudence Heilbuth, the daughter of Samuel and sister to Benjamin Levy's wife Hendele, Moses Hart exerted significant control over the London Ashkenazi congregation until his death in 1756. He appointed his older brother, Aaron Hart, as rabbi of the congregation around 1705, who served the congregation until his death in 1756. Their sister, Zipporah, was married to Meir Wagg, treasurer of the congregation. Moses Hart married all of his daughters to Jewish merchants or brokers of the same status as himself, including the sons of patriarch Abraham Franks and the son of his relative Benjamin Levy, uniting the major Ashkenazi families of London.[98]

His extensive wealth was not only put towards the Ashkenazi congregation, but in supporting his own lifestyle and social aspirations. The portrait of Moses Hart, that hung in the boardroom of the Great Synagogue before its destruction, depicted the patriarch in the fashions of London during the period, wearing a powdered wig and his face clean-shaven, contrary to traditional practice. The walls of his home featured paintings by Van Dyck, Rubens, Brueghel, Poussin, Hals, and Holbein, that included explicitly Christian subjects.[99] In 1710 Moses Hart leased a home in Richmond on the Thames, and in 1718 purchased a large estate in Isleworth,

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[96] Roth, *The Great Synagogue, London, 1690-1940.*, 20.
[97] Endelman, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History, 1656-1945*, 36.
[98] Endelman, 37.
[99] Endelman, 36.

which he later rebuilt. In the country, he and his son-in-law Aaron Franks, who also had property in Isleworth, entertained frequently and socialized with England's elite. Despite the movement out of London and acceptance into high society, the members of later generations of the Hart and Franks families maintained a strong position within the Ashkenazi congregation through the 18th century. Moses Hart, his son-in-law Aaron Franks, his nephews Naphtali and Moses Franks, and his daughter Judith Levy, married to Benjamin Levy's son Elias, were the primary contributors to the constructions and remodelings of the Ashkenazi Great Synagogue of London, the final of which opened in 1790 and stood until its destruction during the London bombings of 1941.

"Moses Hart's Shul:" The First Great Synagogue of London, 1722

The London Ashkenazi congregation dedicated their first purpose-built synagogue on September 18th, 1722, the eve of the Jewish New Year of 5483.[100] The Great Synagogue was built on the properties acquired by Moses Hart in 1714, at the south-east corner of Duke's Place, bordered by Shoemaker Row (later renamed Duke's Street) (Figure 4.1). An open yard near the main entrance made the synagogue accessible from Duke's Place Court and Broad Street. Moses Hart appears to have supplied at least a major portion, if not the entirety, of the cost of the property and the building's construction. A petition dated 1725 from Moses Hart on behalf of the Great Synagogue congregation to the Court of Alderman lists the sum of £2,000 as the cost of rebuilding the synagogue.[101] During construction, services were held in the house of Rabbi Lieb Cohen, who was paid £10 through communal funds for the inconvenience, suggesting that the new synagogue was on the site of the early building.[102] Due to his benefaction and position in the congregation, the new synagogue was known as "Moses Hart's Shul."[103]

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[100] Roth, *The Great Synagogue, London, 1690-1940.*, 51.
[101] Roth, 116–17.
[102] Roth, 50.
[103] Roth, *The Great Synagogue, London, 1690-1940.*

A lease dated in 1760 "from the mayor of London to Mr. Aaron Franks and others of the Synagogue of Duke's Place" confirms the synagogue was sited on land owned by the Corporation of London.[104] A drawing by the city surveyor at the time, George Dance, accompanies this lease, dated July 1763, and provides some insight into the plan of the Great Synagogue of 1722 (Image 4.10). Although the lease and drawing are dated later than the synagogue's construction, we can assume this was the form of the 1722 building because the next round of remodeling did not start until 1764. The drawing shows the synagogue plan to be nearly square, at sixty-four feet long by sixty feet wide, with two entrances at the north-west corner. Cesar de Saussure described the interior of the Great Synagogue briefly, after a visit in 1729: "it is small, but pretty."[105] Presumably one of the entrances seen in the plan was for women, who viewed services from a screened off gallery, De Saussure writing, "Women do not mingle with men, they go into a gallery sealed off by louvered blinds." The ark was described as "a double wardrobe, placed at the end of the synagogue, and adorned with flowers of foil and gilding."[106] In the account book of 1722, an expenditure of £75 is listed for woodwork and gilding, including the ark.[107] De Saussure also described what must have been the *bimah*, readers platform, "raised two or three feet high, and surrounded on a balustrade." Typically, in Ashkenazi prayer spaces the *bimah* sat in the center of the space, but De Saussure states it was "at the end of the chapel, opposite where the cupboard is." In the small, almost square, space of the 1722 Great Synagogue, the reader's platform may have been more towards the west end, though it is difficult to know with certainty from this brief description.

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[104] Clarence Epstein, "Compromising Traditions in Eighteenth Century London: The Architecture of the Great Synagogue, Duke's Place," in *Building Jerusalem: Jewish Architecture in Britain*, ed. Sharman Kadish (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1996), 81.

[105] Translated from French. Saussure, *Lettres et Voyages de Monsr Cesar de Saussure En Allemagne, En Hollande et En Angleterre, 1725-1729*, 344–45.

[106] Saussure, 344–45.

[107] Roth, *The Great Synagogue, London, 1690-1940.*, 53.

The London Ashkenazim did not remain united for long following the separation from the Sephardic congregation. In 1706, Rabbi Aaron Hart excommunicated the gem dealer Marcus Moses from the community, after he denounced the rabbi over what he considered an illegal divorce given to another congregation member.[108] Marcus Moses opened a synagogue in his own home, where the rites of Hamburg were adhered to more strictly than at the Great Synagogue, which at that point had a significant number of congregants from Amsterdam, Frankfort and Southern Germany. Moses purchased land in Hoxton for the new congregation's burial ground and provided the synagogue with Torah scrolls. It appears he lost substantial business following the ostracization from the London Ashkenazim, and went to Madras, India, where he potentially regained his fortunes.[109] While he was abroad, services continued to be held in his home, with another wealthy businessman and Moses' son-in-law, Benjamin Isaac, also known as Wolf Prager, taking lead of the congregation. In 1725, a synagogue was constructed in the garden of Moses' property, now belonging to Benjamin Isaac, in Magpie Alley on Fenchurch Street. Moses Hart of the Great Synagogue vehemently protested the construction of this synagogue, as did the Churchwardens of St. Katherine Creechurch. Both petitioned to the Lord Mayor and Court of Alderman to stop the construction; they received a response that the synagogue was prohibited from being built.[110] Despite this, construction was not interrupted. The foundation stone was laid by Benjamin Isaacs, aka Wolf Prager, on May 15th, 1725, and the synagogue became known as "Wolf Prager's Shul," later referred to as the Hambro Synagogue.[111] Its interior was supposedly modeled on the "Hamburger Schul" on the Neuer Steinweg in Hamburg, but no evidence of the

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[108] Rabbi Yosef Prager, "The Early Years of London's Ashkenazi Community," *Yerushaseinu: The Annual Journal of Toras Ashkenaz* Fifth Year (2011): 24–26.
[109] Roth, *The Great Synagogue, London, 1690-1940.*, 114.
[110] Roth, 116–19.
[111] The foundation stone with the date "3rd Sivan 5485, in the reign of George I" was recovered during the demolition of the synagogue of 1808 in 1893.

building's architecture survives, as it was entirely rebuilt in 1808.[112]

A New Generation: The First Expansion of the Great Synagogue, 1765-66

Following the death of Moses Hart in 1756, his son-in-law Aaron Franks became warden

of the congregation of the Great Synagogue. The Ashkenazi community of London had shifted

drastically from the earlier generation. By the mid-18th century, some 6,000 Ashkenazim had

settled in London, arriving mainly from the Netherlands, Germany, and Poland.[113] In contrast, as

the population of Ashkenazi Jews in England grew, the Sephardim remained relatively the same,

still around 2,000 at the end of the 18th century. A generation earlier, Moses Hart had attempted

to retain authority over the entirety of London's Ashkenazim, petitioning against the

establishment of the Hambro Synagogue. English authorities supported this, for similar reasons

that singular Sephardic and Ashkenazic congregations in Amsterdam were maintained: they

wanted synagogue leaders able to regulate their own communities and keep them out of conflict

with Christian society. The new generation of the Great Synagogue under Aaron Franks

continued the practice of interfamilial marriage, keeping the families' social and economic

positions secured and maintaining their status as communal leaders in the eyes of London

authorities.

This authority was again threatened in 1761 when another faction of the community

splintered to form a new synagogue. Led by Moses Jacobs, the new congregation, later known as

the New Synagogue, built a house of worship on Leadenhall Street on the site of Bricklayers'

Hall. With the growing size of the London Ashkenazim and the risk of further schisms, the

leaders of the Great Synagogue, under Aaron Franks, undertook a large-scale expansion and

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[112] Prager, "The Early Years of London's Ashkenazi Community," 28.
[113] Endelman, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History, 1656-1945*, 37.

remodeling of the synagogue at Duke's Place. In 1763, a building fund was started for construction costs, with fifteen members accounting for £2,000 of the total collection. The top donations belonged to Aaron Franks with £500, his nephews Naphtali and Moses Franks, with £250 each, Simon Jacobus Moses, Aaron Goldsmid, Joel Levy and Alexander Isaacs with £100 each.[114] The three Franks along with Aaron Goldsmid together purchased the property adjacent to the extant synagogue from Edward and Elizabeth Holmes in Broad Court for the expansion, finalized March 23rd, 1765. Aaron Goldsmid was a wealthy merchant and recent arrival to the community from Amsterdam, which by the mid-18th century had lost their significant foothold on global capital to London and the English colonial trade markets.

The new generations of the Ashkenazi elite in England maintained their social position through the 18th century and continued to purchase and construct lavish mansions in the English countryside. The architectural commissions of these wealthy Jewish landowners increasingly placed them in the circles of England's most prominent architects of the period. In one example, the estate in Teddington where Moses Franks and his wife Phila, daughter of his uncle Aaron Franks, lived was designed by architect Sir William Chambers in 1765, who was at that same time building the Kew Royal Gardens.[115] These types of associations likely helped the Great Synagogue congregation in securing the commission of City Surveyor, George Dance Sr., to design the remodeled synagogue in 1765. Dance Sr. was the first professional architect hired to construct an English synagogue. His son, George Dance Jr. was at that time actively involved in his father's commissions, and it has been argued that it was the younger Dance who took on the synagogue remodeling project.[116]

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[114] Roth, *The Great Synagogue, London, 1690-1940.*, 134.
[115] Epstein, "Compromising Traditions in Eighteenth Century London: The Architecture of the Great Synagogue, Duke's Place," 64.
[116] Epstein, 65.

A number of drawings of the Great Synagogue's renovation over 1765-66 have been uncovered from the City Surveyor's collection and the Soane Museum Dance Portfolio.[117] They show that the synagogue's footprint was nearly doubled, with almost fifty feet added to the length of the building (Image 4.11); from the plan, the footprint of 1722 is easily identified, now with an addition approximately equal in size, and an overall square footage larger than Bevis Marks. The space was oriented east-west, with the main entrance in the center of the west facade, and ark along the eastern interior wall. In the plane where the original eastern wall had stood, were now two large Corinthian columns, reaching the full height of the space, accentuated by Corinthian pilasters on the walls, with a molded cornice along the ceiling (Image 4.12). Along the north and south walls of the older portion of the synagogue were two women's galleries supported by Doric columns with standing-height screens; these did not extend the full length of the new space (Image 4.13). The wall parallel to Duke's Street to the north featured eight large round-headed windows, with the corresponding wall to the south continuing this pattern using blind arched niches in the windowless wall. The ceiling was coved, with six skylights for additional light, and a total of ten rosettes from which hung the chandeliers (Image 4.14). In the center of the space, between the two large columns, sat the *bimah*, bridging the old and new spaces of the synagogue.

The reconsecration of the Great Synagogue in August 1766 was reported in *The Annual Register*:

> This afternoon, the ceremony of the dedication of the new-built synagogue in
> Duke's Place was performed with the greatest pomp and solemnity in which the
> chief and other eminent rabbis belonging to the Portuguese Jewish nation assisted;
> when the prayer for their Majesties and the Royal Family, which was always read

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[117] Dorothy Stroud, *George Dance, Architect, 1741-1825*. (London: Faber and Faber, 1971); Images of drawings printed in Epstein, "Compromising Traditions in Eighteenth Century London: The Architecture of the Great Synagogue, Duke's Place."

in their liturgy, was at this time pronounced in English by the Chief Rabbi.[118]

The rabbi, David Tevele Schiff, had been appointed in 1765 before the building renovation. He came from a family of rabbinical scholars and had been unhappy with the state of Jewish practice in England, believing the prominent men of the congregation were more interested in their secular pursuits than their commitment to Judaism. However, he must have come to terms with the Anglicization of the congregation, reading prayers in English, as noted above, and also allowed for Handel's Coronation Anthem to be played during the dedication ceremony.[119] The presence of the Sephardic rabbis of Bevis Marks at the opening of the Great Synagogue in 1766 demonstrates the continued connection between these two neighboring congregations in the 18th century. As more Ashkenazi Jews arrived in England, the congregation of the Great Synagogue became the central communal home of the British Ashkenazim, which extended into the colonies. Rabbi Schiff, who served the congregation until his death in 1792, held the title "Chief Rabbi of London and the Provinces."[120]

A Generous Legacy: The Great Synagogue, Reconstruction of 1788-90

Towards the end of the 18th century, England's most wealthy and prominent Jews, both Sephardic and Ashkenazic, had reached nearly full assimilation into the English upper class.[121] For some of these families, including the Franks, this assimilation also meant separation from the Jewish identity. Whereas the generations of Moses Hart and Aaron Franks were still socially restricted in some areas, the younger members of the family began marrying into Christian

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[118] Quoted in Epstein, "Compromising Traditions in Eighteenth Century London: The Architecture of the Great Synagogue, Duke's Place," 70.
[119] Roth, *The Great Synagogue, London, 1690-1940.*, 140.
[120] Epstein, "Compromising Traditions in Eighteenth Century London: The Architecture of the Great Synagogue, Duke's Place," 70.
[121] Endelman, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History, 1656-1945.*

families and leaving Judaism all together.[122] Although some of the Franks family did remain

members of the congregation—following Aaron Franks' death in 1677, his nephew Naphtali

became warden—their authority within the synagogue was no longer so concentrated. Among

the new influencers within the Great Synagogue were two sons of Aaron Goldsmid, Abraham

and Benjamin. The Goldsmid brothers amassed a considerable fortune in the late 18th century as

financiers, securing large loans to the government, and had considerable political influence;

Admiral Lord Nelson counted both among his close friends.[123] Both had lavish residences,

Abraham in Morden and Benjamin at Roehampton, the latter designed by architect James Spiller

in 1792.[124] It is unclear how closely they adhered to Jewish customs, but they remained closely

tied to the Great Synagogue congregation during their lifetimes, serving in leadership positions

and managing congregational charities.

In 1774, the Great Synagogue congregation represented by Naphtali Franks was forced to

mortgage the synagogue to the property's land owner, Edward Holmes. Still in debt to Holmes

for £1,600, the congregation initiated plans for a full-scale reconstruction of the synagogue in

1787.[125] In a petition to the city of London to renew their lease, Naphtali Franks argued that the

older portion of the synagogue that was on the city's land, "was in dangerous condition, and

necessary to be rebuilt."[126] The congregation was not in a good financial position and required

the help of benefactors in paying the cost of the reconstruction. Accounts show that the

Goldsmids had loaned the congregation over £800 for the project, but the vast majority of the

building fund was contributed by Judith Levy née Hart.

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[122] Endelman, 37–38.
[123] Endelman, 40.
[124] Epstein, "Compromising Traditions in Eighteenth Century London: The Architecture of the Great Synagogue, Duke's Place," 71–72.
[125] Epstein, 71.
[126] Text of the city's response to the request to renew the synagogue lease in Epstein, 82.

Judith Levy, also known as "The Queen of Richmond Green," was the daughter of Moses Hart, and widow of Elias Levy, son of the original founder of the congregation, Benjamin Levy. Having no sons, she inherited the substantial wealth of her husband when he died in 1750, as well as her father's following his death in 1756.[127] With an annual income of £6,000, Judith Levy spent her time within London high society, estranged from the Jewish community. Following the death of her daughter, she moved out of her home in the Jewish quarter to live in Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, a fashionable area where few Jews lived at the time. Most of her time, however, was spent at her home in Richmond, where she gained her nickname. Levy was known for her charity, and at eighty-one years old in 1787, she donated £4,000 towards the renovation of the Ashkenazi Great Synagogue in Duke's Place. No longer an observant Jew, her contribution was likely spurred by her familial loyalty to the congregation.

James Spiller was hired to design the reconstructed synagogue, which was built beginning in 1788 and opened in March 1790. The Great Synagogue was a relatively early commission in the architect's career. Following the synagogue's construction, Spiller designed the larger St. John's Church, Hackney, built 1792-97, as well as the 1801 villa at Roehampton for Benjamin Goldsmid, and became a close associate of Sir John Soane.[128] Between 1788 and 1790, the architect was Surveyor to the Royal Exchange Assurance Company, where he may have met the Goldsmids, leading to his work on the synagogue. His brother, John Spiller, was also active in his commissions. At the Ashkenazi synagogue, John Spiller was listed in the Synagogue Building Accounts as the director of the project and was paid slightly more than his

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[127] Endelman, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History, 1656-1945*, 38.
[128] Epstein, "Compromising Traditions in Eighteenth Century London: The Architecture of the Great Synagogue, Duke's Place," 72.

brother James.[129]

The plan of the synagogue from 1790 reveals a brand new structure that was far more accessible than the previous synagogue space (Image 4.15). Additional property had been purchased by the congregation, including three houses owned by John Weston and other land belonging to the city, but the interior dimensions of the new prayer hall remained roughly the same as the previous space built in 1766. The newly acquired property became administrative, storage and social facilities.[130] The main sanctuary of the Great Synagogue could now be accessed via five entrances, two at the east end and three at the west. This is drastically different from the siting of Bevis Marks built nearly a century prior, whose main entrance sat within a sheltered courtyard, reflecting the insecurities of the period. By the late-18th century, the neighborhood was a well-established Jewish center of London, and there was no need to mask the presence of the synagogue or its congregants. On the exterior, the synagogue was relatively unadorned, probably due to the position of the building. A gated arched portico in Duke's Place led to a passageway and from there, the west end of the synagogue's prayer hall (Image 4.16). The only facade of the building facing a public street was to the north, on Duke's Street: a two-level brick facade, each with a row of rectangular and round-headed windows, visually separated by a band-course (Image 4.17).

The Great Synagogue's interior was far more impressive than its exterior. As seen in an engraving by Pugin, the prayer hall was a large, galleried basilica featuring full-height Ionic columns, four along each side of the nave (Image 4.18). Clerestory windows brought additional

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[129] From the account ledger "Account of Moneys Recieved and Paid to Mr. L de Symons Treasurer for Building the Great Synagogue in Duke's Place London under the Direction of Mr. Jon Spiller Surveyor." In the list of payees "Jon Spiller Mason" was paid £621.07 and "James Spiller Surveyor" wsa paid £541.15. In footnote in Epstein, 1996, p. 83

[130] Epstein, "Compromising Traditions in Eighteenth Century London: The Architecture of the Great Synagogue, Duke's Place," 74.

light into the space from the tall, coved ceiling, from which hung large brass chandeliers. On the

east wall, the ark sat in a semi-circular niche with a coffered half-dome, behind Corinthian

marble columns with gilded capitals. A large, raised *bimah* sat in the center, enclosed by

balustrades. The women's galleries, which wrapped three sides of the space, were fully

incorporated, reminiscent of Wren's iconic basilican designs over a century before. Behind the

standing-height brass latticed screen, Judith Levy was provided a designated seat of honor.[131]

The sanctuary was highly ornate with classical entablatures above the colonnades, sculptural

festoons and rosettes, and additional molded details.

In 1793, Remnant's London published a description: "In Duke's Place, the Jews'

Synagogue has been lately rebuilt, in a beautiful style of the simplest Grecian architecture, by

Mr. Spiller, architect."[132] A longer description praising the architecture was printed in C.F.

Partington's Views of London, published in 1834:

> The synagogue belonging to the German Jews was a substantial building…
> finished about the year 1790, in a very superb and expensive manner… furnished
> similarly to the former, except that here the utmost magnificence is exhibited…
> the whole building is well worthy of inspection; and the beholder is always
> treated by the congregation with civility and respect.[133]

Based on the reception of the newly-rebuilt Great Synagogue, outsiders appeared to associate the

"expensive manner" of the Jewish space with the congregation's wealthy patrons. Judith Levy

and her "immense property" was also mentioned in descriptions of the building.[134] When the

synagogue opened, there was a section in the back designated for poorer congregants, and

strictly-enforced regulations barred anyone improperly dressed from entering the main

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[131] Roth, *The Great Synagogue, London, 1690-1940.*, 172.
[132] Roth, 169.
[133] Charles Frederick Partington, ed., *National History and Views of London and Its Environs, Vol. II* (London: Simpkin & Marshall, Stationers' Hall Court, 1834), 207–8.
[134] Partington, 207.

sanctuary.[135] In a space that sat approximately 500 men and 250 women, one wonders what proportion of the London Ashkenazim, a population of well over 6,000 by this point, could afford a seat in the synagogue. A large majority of the new immigrants during the 18th century were impoverished and came from Jewish communities on the continent that were culturally and socially isolated from the non-Jewish world. The nearly assimilated wealthy Ashkenazi patrons of the Great Synagogue did not associate with the poorer members of their community. Their synagogue's architecture reflected the interests of the elites and their continued push for acceptance into English society.

Conclusions: English Synagogue Architecture in the 18th Century

There was widespread cultural acceptance of Jews in both Amsterdam and in London during the 17th and 18th centuries, but the different approaches of the two communities to their environs are reflected in the architecture of their synagogues. In Amsterdam, and elsewhere in the Netherlands, there was a communal cohesiveness that was reproduced in architectural form through the 18th century. This Dutch-Jewish architectural mode was applied to the ritual spaces of both the Dutch Sephardim and Ashkenazim, due to the fact that the mode itself had in many ways stemmed from the concurrent constructions of the Esnoga and Grote Sjoel. In England, the atmosphere differed in important ways. For the Sephardic congregation in London, priorities lie not in maintaining strict social boundaries within their synagogue, but in maintaining their precarious legal position with English authorities, that allowed them to participate in England's colonial trade economy. Although attempts had been made to keep the London Ashkenazim united, the congregation saw multiple schisms during the 18th century. Both congregations, Sha'ar Hashamayim and that of the Great Synagogue, were headed by the wealthiest members of

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[135] Roth, *The Great Synagogue, London, 1690-1940.*, 169.

their communities, who participated in the social and economic circles of England's upper classes. The assimilation of Jews into English society has been well documented in prior scholarship, and as this chapter demonstrates, the architecture of their synagogues supports the degree to which efforts were made towards acceptance into English society.[136] Because of these priorities, a specifically Jewish form of English architecture did not appear during the 18th century.

The lack of a cohesive Jewish architecture in 18th century England is confirmed by network analysis applied to this question. Figure 4.8 below displays a building-element network that includes the London synagogues of the 17th and 18th centuries, as well as the Dutch-Jewish constructions in the Netherlands. This network is focused on the synagogues' interior layouts, as the exterior facades of most English synagogues were remodeled spaces, lack documentation, or were limited in visibility, resulting in graphs with uninteresting analysis at this time. For the set of Dutch synagogues, the Rotterdam synagogue built in 1725 is not included here, as its interior layout was not representative of the Dutch-English mode of architecture (see Figure 3.17). What is abundantly clear in the below figure is the different partitions of the Dutch and English synagogues:

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[136] On assimilation, see: Endelman, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History, 1656-1945*.
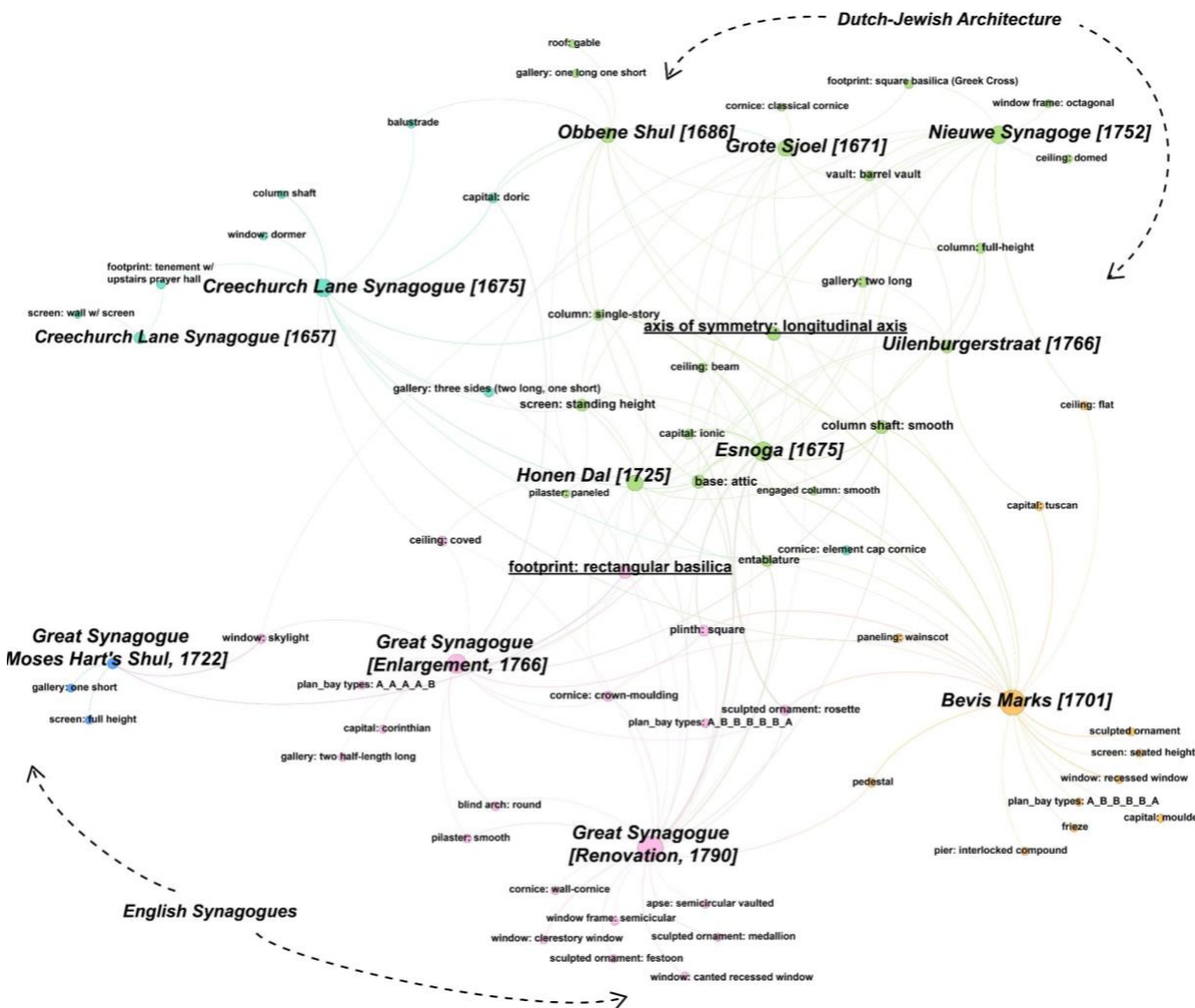
Figure 4.8: English and Dutch synagogues: interior and plan network with community detection

The Dutch-Jewish architectural mode is distinct, represented by the green cluster in the upper left. Contrasting this cohesion are the English synagogues, seen in four separate clusters. Not only is there clear difference between the English synagogues and their Dutch counterparts, but there is also limited shared lineage within the English constructions. The nodes of the 1766 enlargement of the Great Synagogue and it's 1790 renovation share enough edges to make its own partition, but it is clear here that the established site of Bevis Marks was not a primary source of influence. The London synagogues were frequently compared to one another by people at the time, one writing "the Synagogue belonging to the German Jews is in Broad Court, not far

from the former [Bevis Marks implied]; but tho' it is built after the same Model."[137] Commenters of these spaces were clearly influenced by the shared ritual between the two Jewish rites, specifically in their foreignness to Christian viewers. While the Sephardim and Ashkenazim saw themselves as culturally distinct groups, there is evidence that the wider Christian population of London was either unable or unwilling to differentiate between the two.[138]

Further isolating these two major sets of synagogues in Figure 4.8, those of the Dutch and English, provides more insight into the different character of form between the two. The following approach also illustrates both the clearly defined Dutch-Jewish architectural mode, and the lack of such a cohesive pattern in England. Figure 4.9 displays an element-element network and corresponding measures of betweenness centrality for the building set representing the Dutch-Jewish architectural mode. Here, we can clearly identify the most representative features of this pattern:

Architectural Elements	Betweenness Centrality	
axis of symmetry: longitudinal axis	32.290152	
column shaft: smooth	32.290152	
gallery: two long	25.582071	
base: attic	25.582071	
vault: barrel vault	22.558009	
screen: standing height	18.168723	
column: full-height	13.917532	
capital: ionic	11.797547	
footprint: rectangular basilica	11.160714	
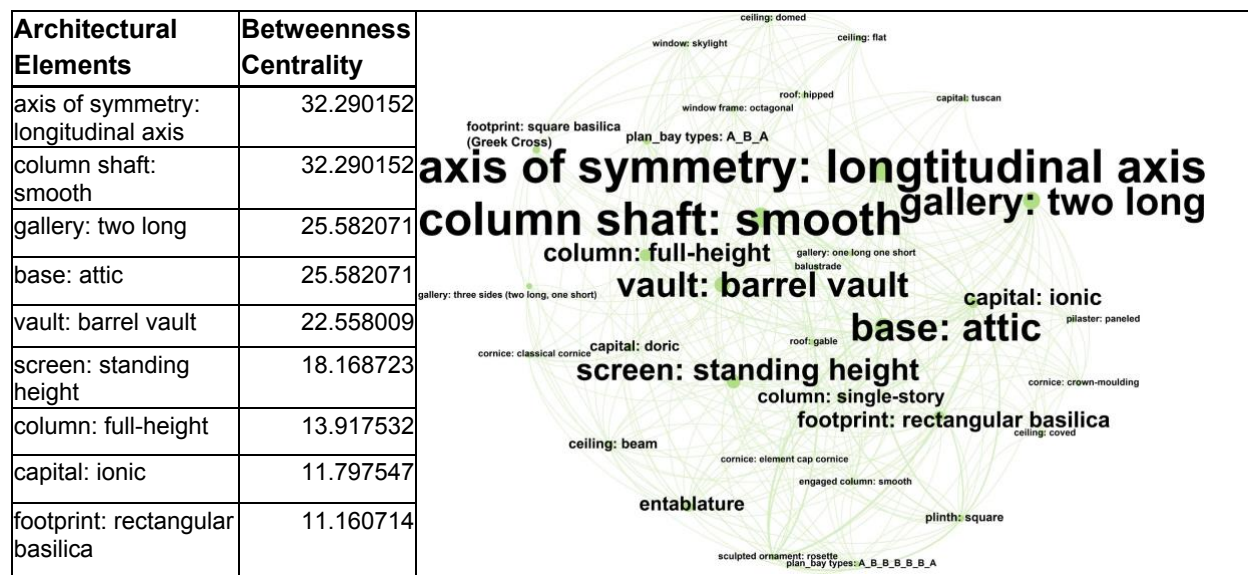
Figure 4.9: Dutch-Jewish architectural mode: interior layout element-element network with betweenness centrality measures

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[137] From D'Blossiers Tovey in 1738, full quote in: Roth, *The Great Synagogue, London, 1690-1940.*, 52.

[138] Anti-Jewish pamphlets referred to "Portuguese Jews" in regard to London community, well into the 18th century. Vine, "'The Cursed Jew Priest That Ordered the Woman and Her Child to Be Burnt,'" 356.

Among the highest centrality measures are the two-side galleries and barrel vault, both features

that were not present in either the synagogues of the London Sephardim or Ashkenazim. Let's

compare this directly to the corresponding element-element graph of the London synagogues

(Figure 4.10):

Architectural Elements	Betweenness Centrality
footprint: rectangular basilica	97.095138
base: attic	48.730852
gallery: three-side (two long, one short)	33.827389
axis of symmetry: longitudinal axis	27.095138
column shaft: smooth	27.095138
plinth: square	27.095138
sculpted ornament: rosette	27.095138
cornice: crown-molding	27.095138
ceiling: coved	26.265917
screen: standing height	26.265917
window: skylight	16

Figure 4.10: English synagogues: interior layout element-element network with betweenness centrality measures

Here we see a significant jump in value between the element with the highest centrality

measure (referring to its highly representative value to the set) and the other elements. The

rectangular basilica was highly central to the Dutch-Jewish network as well, as was the

longitudinal axis of symmetry. Given that Anglican churches also often preferred this

orientation, as well as their frequent use of the three-side galleries, it is difficult to assert that the

English synagogues chose this form due to cultural associations with the Dutch congregations,

instead of more local sources. Other elements with high-ish centrality measures in Figure 4.10,

including columns, coved ceilings with rosettes, and crown moldings do not make for a clearly

defined architectural language. Visually, we can see the proportional application of the elements

featured in buildings following the Dutch-Jewish mode (Figure 4.9). For the English set in Figure 4.10, a comparable clarity does not exist.

These figures support the argument that the London synagogues built in the 18th century were seen as more aligned with English constructions than with their coreligionists in Amsterdam. In many ways the communities remained connected to each other and to the wider Sephardic and Ashkenazic diasporas, as will be explored in the next chapter, but during this period it is clear the central authority of Amsterdam was diminishing in the English sphere. The wealth of England's Jews meant they were not dependent financially on the Dutch congregations. Additionally, England's growing prominence in global trade, and the enforcement of the Navigation Acts, meant loyalty to England and acceptance into English society was a critical priority. As argued in part one of this chapter, Bevis Marks presented as an English space, for English-Jewish congregants. When the opportunity to remodel the Great Synagogue arose, it was not to the previous forms that inspiration was drawn, but instead in developing contacts with fashionable English architects. The wealthy benefactors and synagogue leaders took charge in determining the path of their synagogues' designs, using their social and commercial contacts to hire the office of George Dance and James Spiller. These architects, early in their careers, used their synagogue commissions to further develop their own architectural ideas. London's Jewish congregations often hired builders and architects with experience in church design. Jewish representation in the field of architecture did not exist in England until the 19th century, so there were no professional architects familiar with Jewish religious and cultural traditions. This certainly impacted the synagogue architecture, maybe even more so in an environment keen on converting Jews to Christianity. All of these reasons are likely deterrents of the creation of a specifically English-Jewish mode of architecture during the 18th century.

Images: Chapter Four
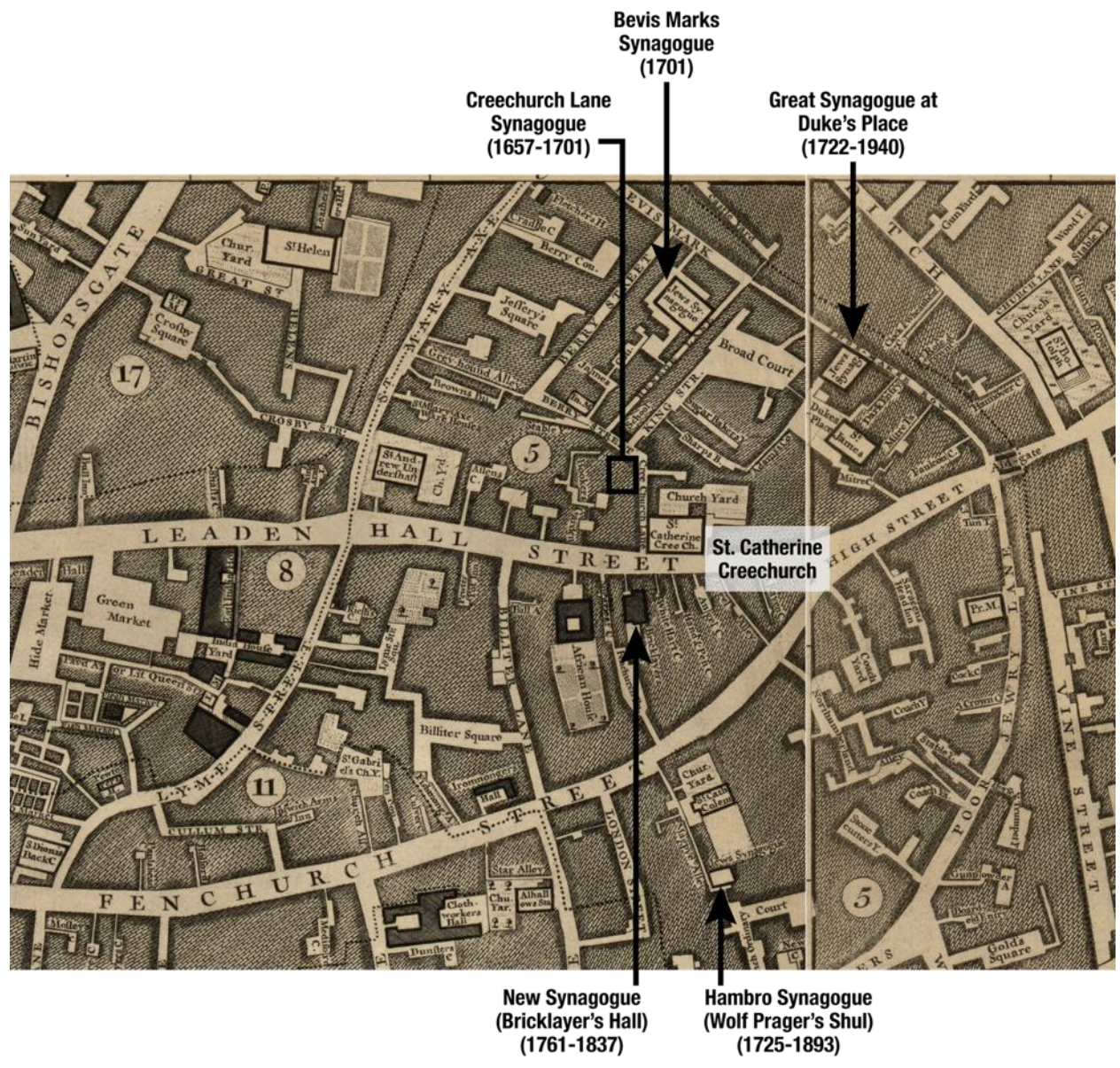
Image 4.1: Detail Map of London, Aldgate and Duke's Place, with 17th-18th c. synagogue sites highlighted. Map panels from: John Rocque's Map of London [*A plan of the cities of London and Westminster, and borough of Southwark*], 1746. Sheets 2E and 2F. Library of Congress. https://lccn.loc.gov/76696823
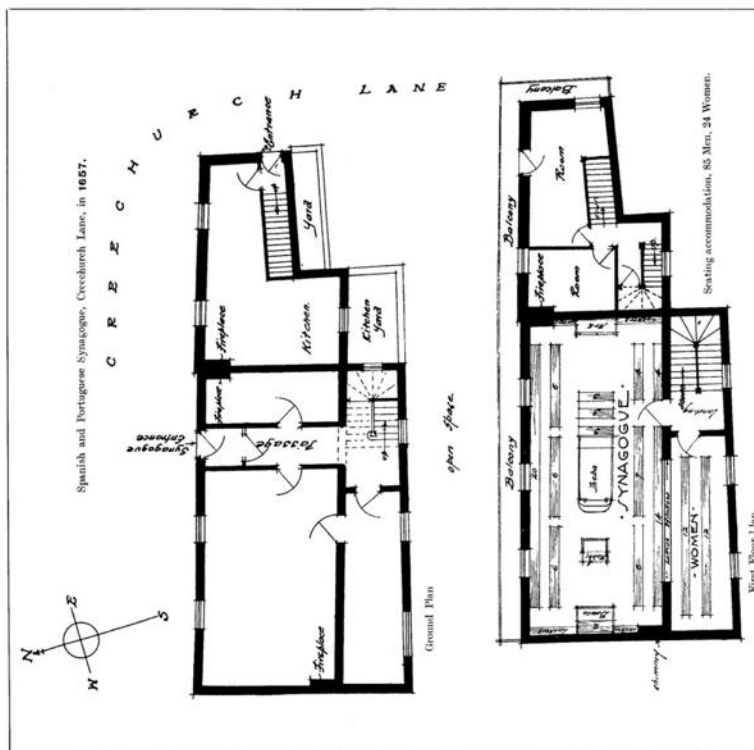
Image 4.2: Creechurch Lane Synagogue, 1657 floor plans as developed by Manuel N. Costello, A.R.I.B.A. for the study by Wilfred S. Samuel, 1924
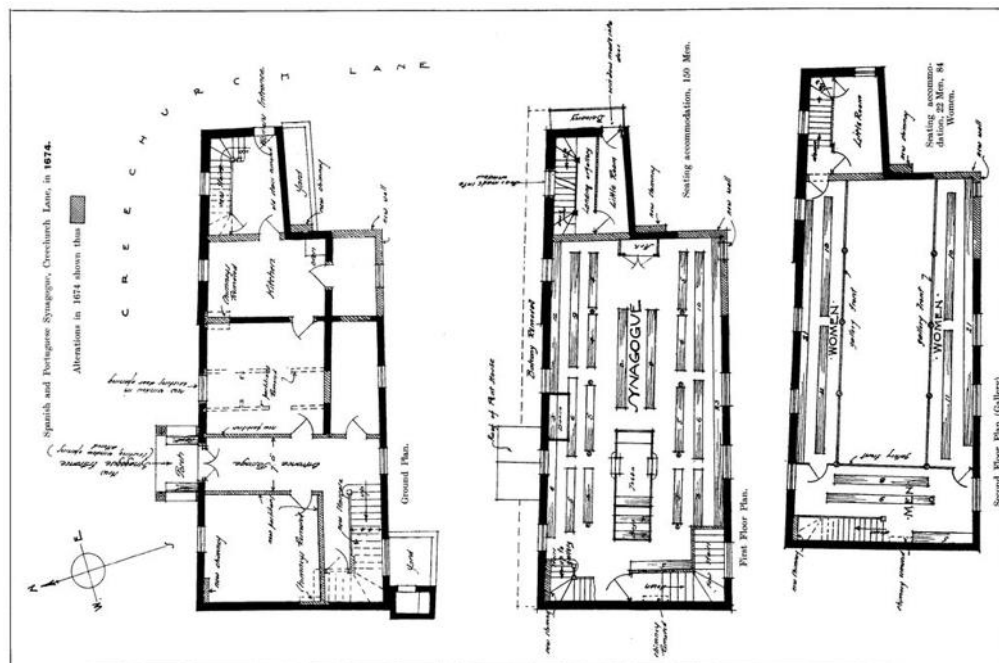
Image 4.3: Creechurch Lane Synagogue, 1674-75 Renovation, floor plans as developed by Manuel N. Costello, A.R.I.B.A. for the study by Wilfred S. Samuel, 1924
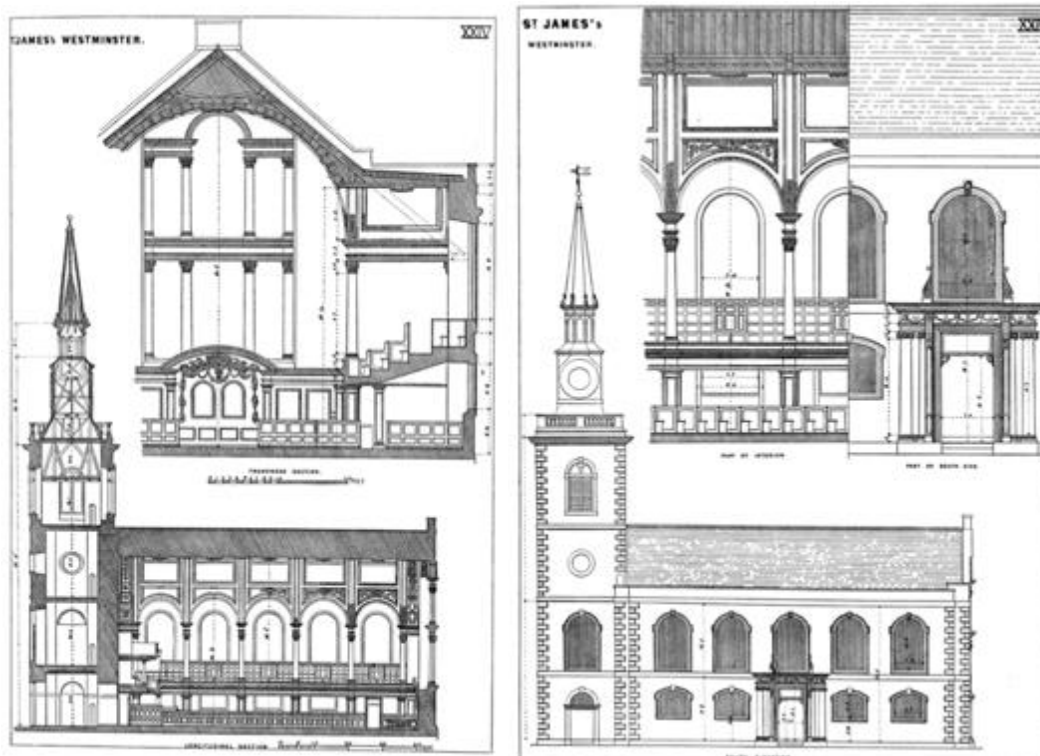
Image 4.4: St. James, Piccadilly; Interior Sections (left), Exterior (right), from The Parochial Churches of Christopher Wren 1666-1718
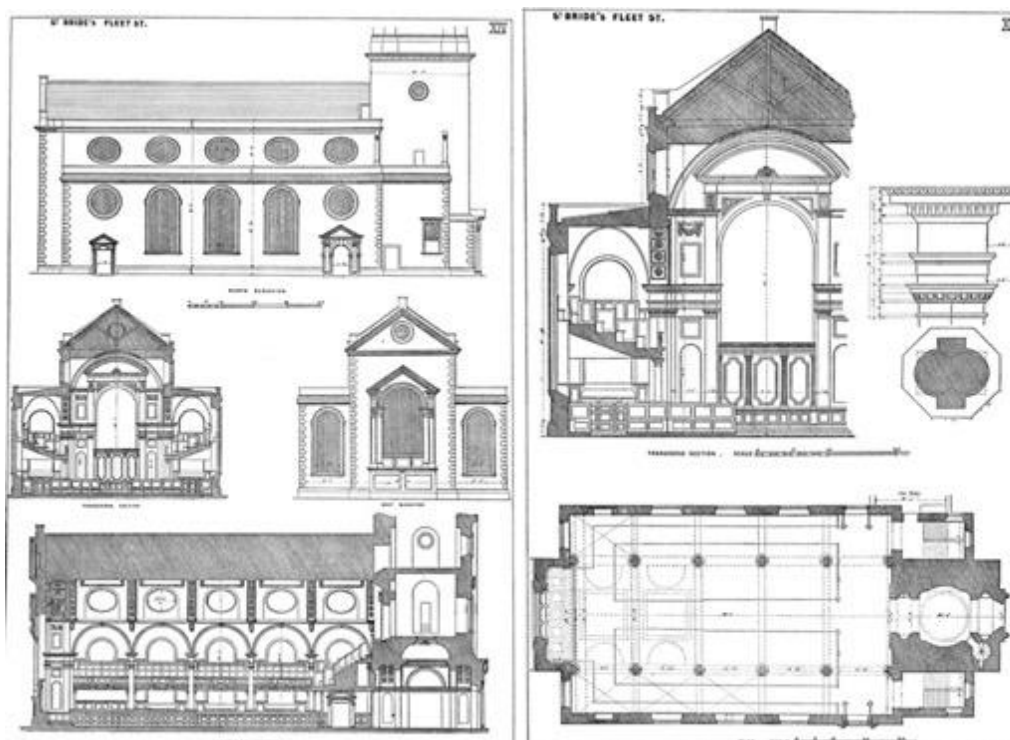
Image 4.5: St. Bride's, Fleet Street, from The Parochial Churches of Christopher Wren 1666-1718

Image 4.6: Bevis Marks Synagogue front facade. Photo by author, 2014; All Rights Reserved.

Image 4.7: St. Benet's exterior. Photo by author, 2014; All Rights Reserved.

Image 4.8: Bevis Marks interior. Photo by author, 2014; All Rights Reserved.

Image 4.9: St. Benet's interior. Photo by author, 2014; All Rights Reserved.
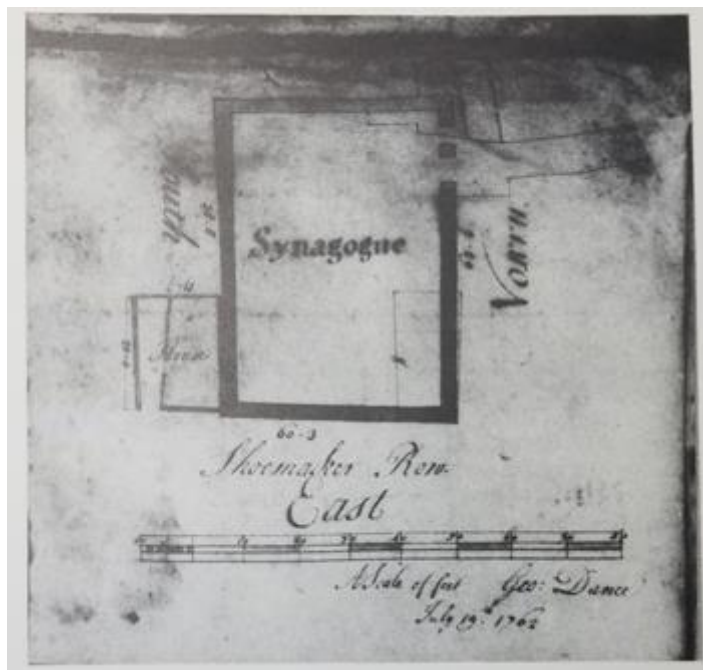
Image 4.10: Duke's Place Synagogue, plan, 1722. Drawing from lease. In Epstein, 1996.
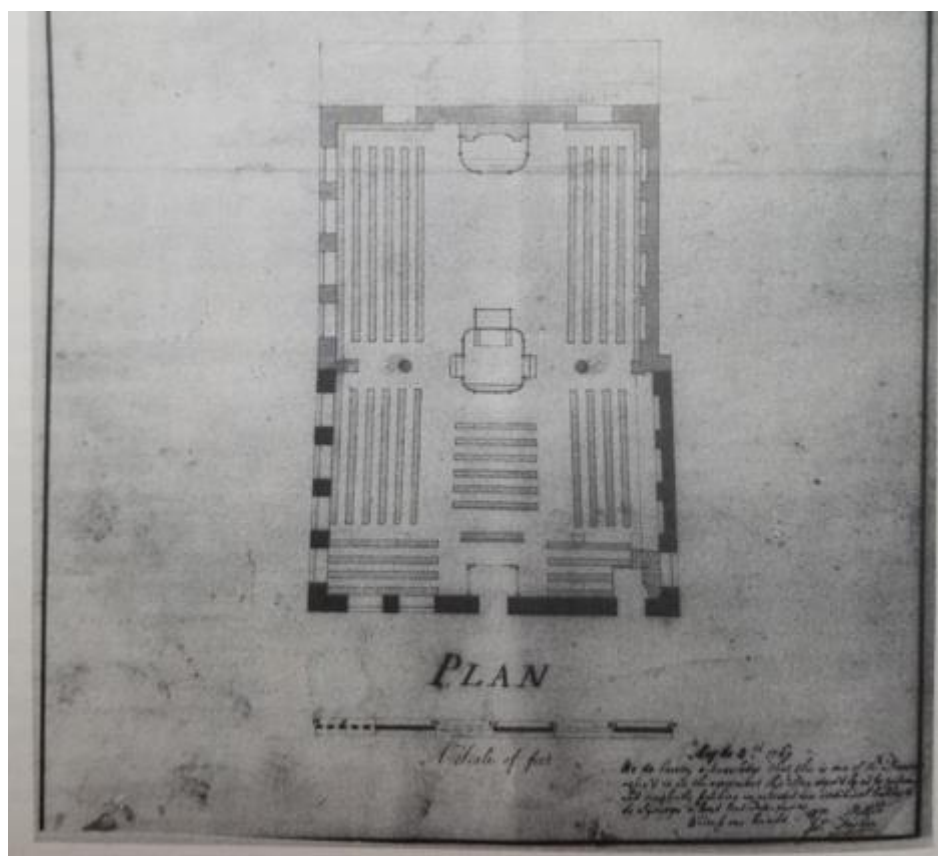
Image 4.11: Duke's Place Synagogue, plan, 1766. In Epstein, 1996.
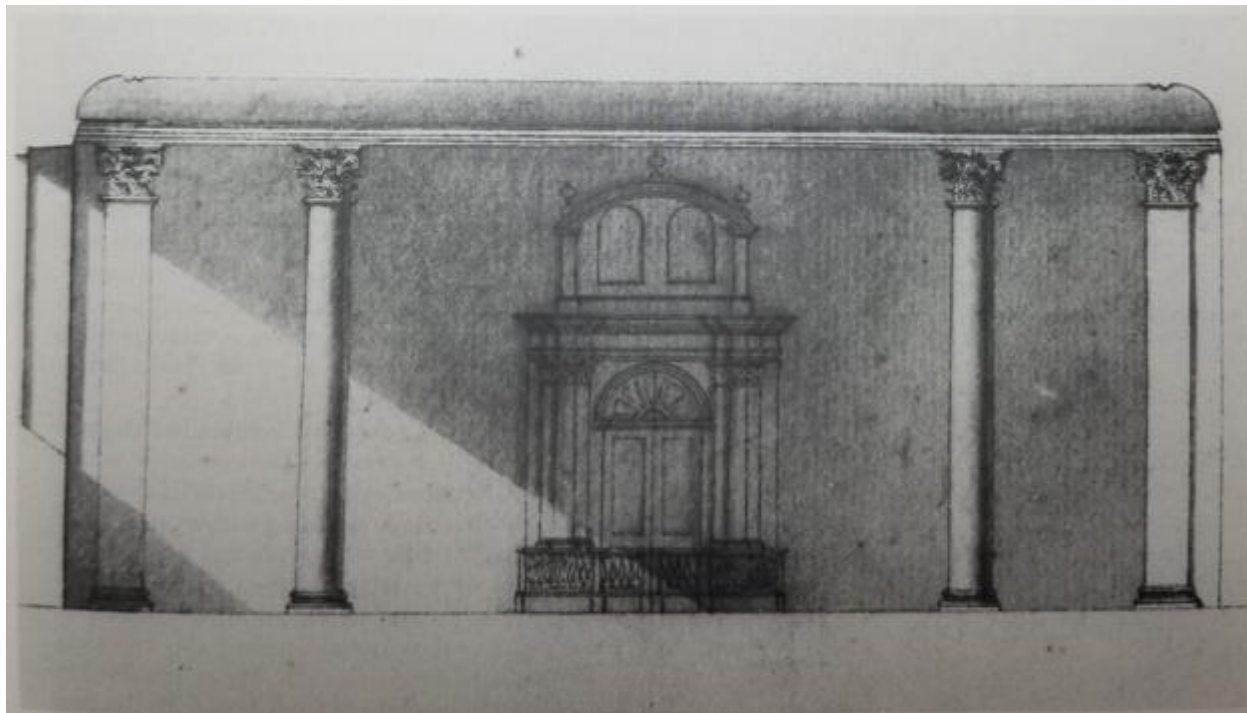
Image 4.12: Duke's Place Synagogue, section facing the east end, 1766. In Epstein, 1996.
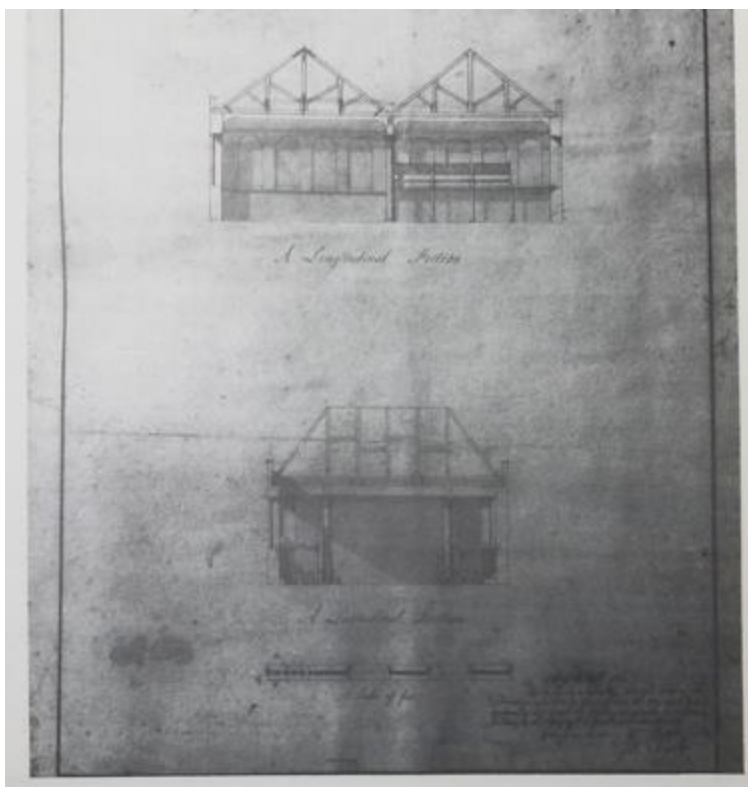
Image 4.13: Duke's Place Synagogue, longitudinal and lateral sections, 1766. In Epstein, 1996.
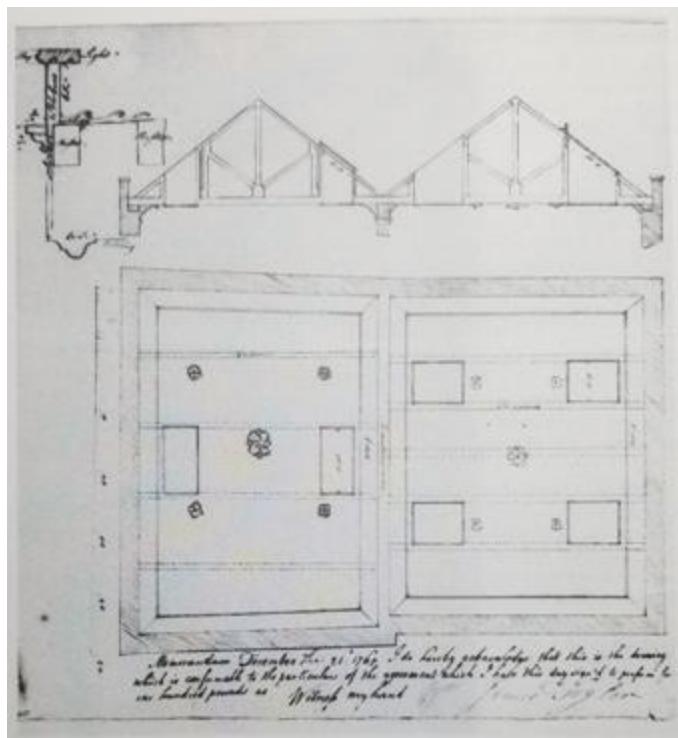
Image 4.14: Duke's Place Synagogue, ceiling drawing, 1766. In Epstein, 1996.
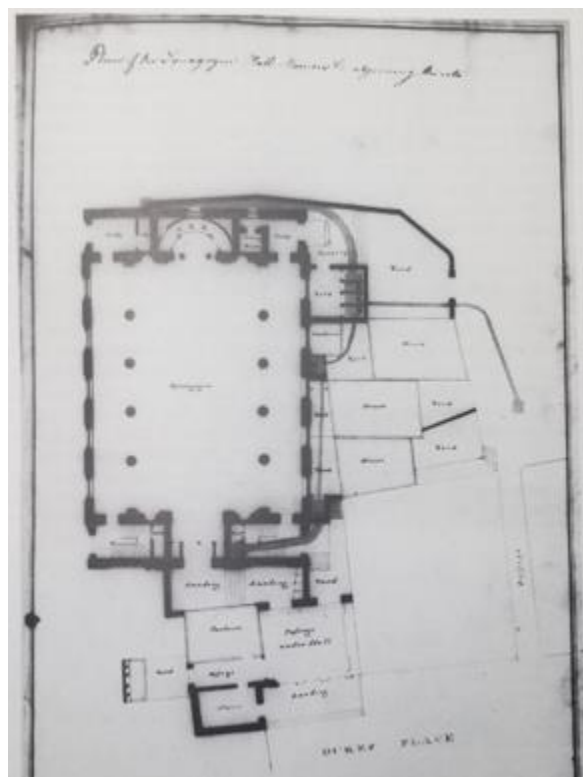
Image 4.15: Duke's Place Synagogue, floor plan, 1790. In Epstein, 1996.

Image 4.16: Duke's Place Synagogue, entrance from Duke's Place. Steps and archways led to west entrances. In Roth, 1950.
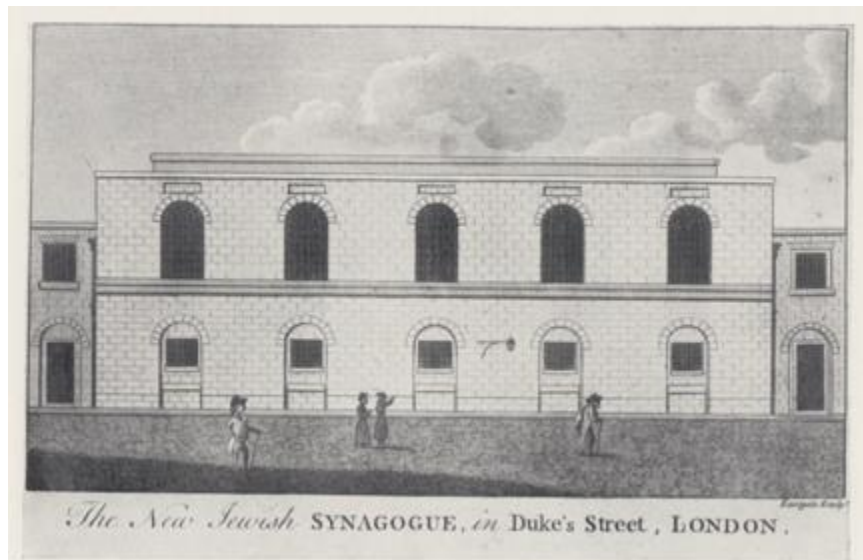
Image 4.17: Duke's Place Synagogue, view from Duke's Street, west façade. In Roth, 1950.

Image 4.18: Duke's Place Synagogue, interior. Augustus Pugin, 1808-1811, in Microcosm of London. Source: New York Public Library, Digital Collections

Chapter 5

Jewish Life in the Atlantic Colonies: Inter-communal Communication and the
Continuity of the Synagogue

Introduction

Over the course of the 17th and 18th centuries, Jews joined other European colonists in

profiting off the resources of the New World. Entrepreneurs of the Dutch and English

Sephardim, as well as Ashkenazi merchants, participated in the development of colonial

agricultural and trade economies in South America, the Caribbean, and in North America. In

these dispersed locations, Sephardic congregations were established and a network of inter-

communication between colonial Jews and the synagogues in Amsterdam and London provided

continuity in religious practice and reinforced the Sephardic identity.

Life in the European colonies was precarious, and the inter-communal communication

networks that developed in the Atlantic between diaspora congregations became essential

lifelines in the survival of Judaism in the New World. The networks linking colonial

communities—religious, commercial, and social—encompassed a system that produced

synagogues; these built forms reflected the endurance of public Jewish life in the Atlantic.

Settlers in the commercial ports and plantation colonies in the Americas faced hardships

including natural disasters, foreign occupations, and shifts in industry centers. Jews were not the

only colonists who took significant risks migrating to the New World, but the prejudice they

faced brought additional instability to their lives.

This is clear in the example of St. Eustatius, where during the 18th century the Jewish

community endured numerous trials, eventually leading to their dispersal. Jews on the Dutch-

controlled island formed a relatively stable community by the 1730's, attracting Sephardic and

Ashkenazic merchants from Amsterdam and nearby Curacao with opportunities for trans-Atlantic trade. With support from Jewish communities abroad, the St. Eustatius congregation, Honen Dalim, built a synagogue in 1739, and then again in 1772, after the island was hit by a devastating hurricane. Later in 1781, the Jewish community faced significant animosity when British troops seized the island in an attempt to disrupt the shipment of arms to American revolutionaries. British Admiral George B. Rodney ordered all Jewish men to the city weigh house, where they were arrested, imprisoned and stripped of all possessions, tearing out the lining of their coats in search of hidden valuables.[1] Of the 101 Jewish men present, 30 were deported, leaving behind their wives and children, and the remaining watched as their property was looted and sold. Following this harsh treatment, several Jewish merchants petitioned parliament, leading to an investigation that resulted in costly lawsuits for Rodney, but for the most part, St. Eustatius' Jews did not recover their stolen property.

The St. Eustatius Jewish community survived, but beginning in 1795, successive occupations by the French and English, both instituting heavy taxes on imports and exports, effectively ended the island's trade economy. Most of the remaining Jews left for the Danish colony of St. Thomas around 1800. Their presence on St. Eustatius lasted less than a century and was impacted by successive hardships. The fate of the St. Eustatius Jewish community was a possibility, if not a reality, faced by practically all Jews living in the Atlantic colonies during the 17th-18th century (Figure 5.1).

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[1] Dr. J. Hartog, *The Jews and St. Eustatius* (Aruba, Netherlands Antilles, 1976), 11–14.
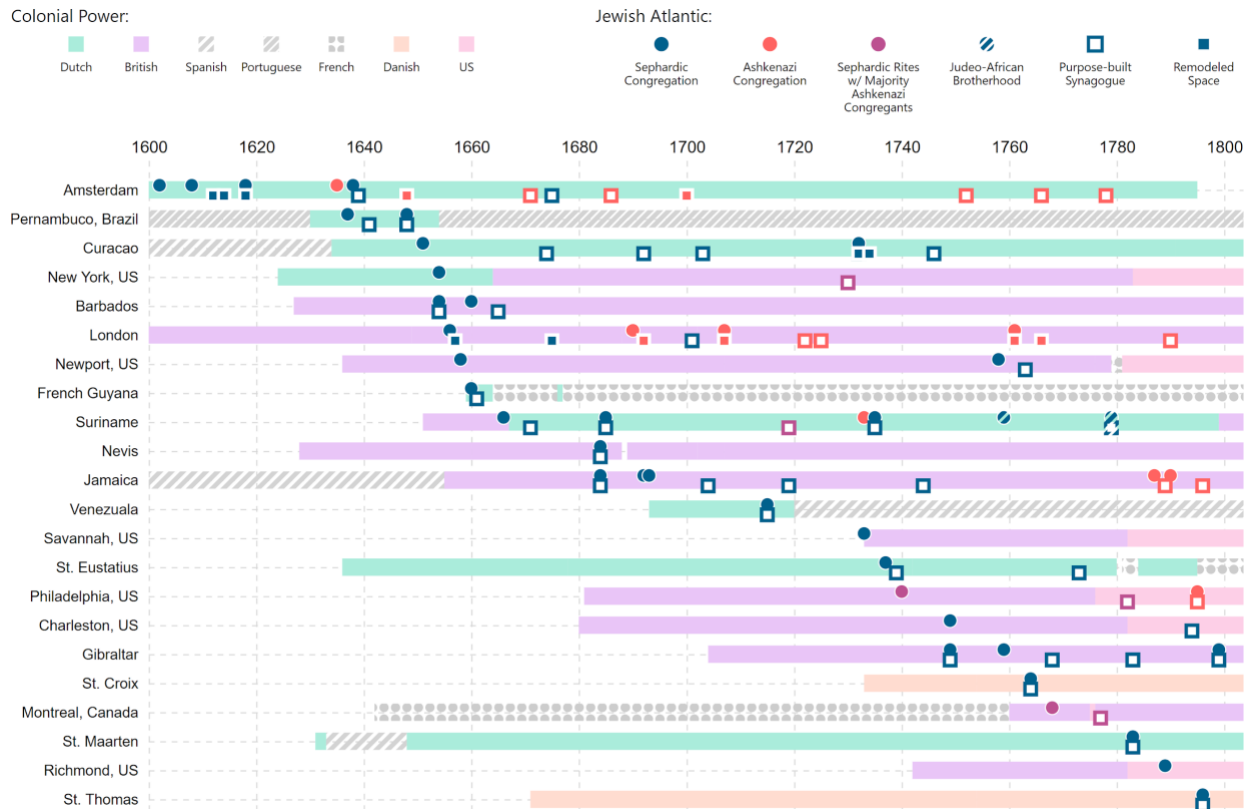
Figure 5.1: Timeline of Jewish congregations and synagogues, with colonial ruling powers, 1600-1800; locations on left axis arranged by date earliest public congregation formed.

Chapter Two provided an exploration of two systems that impacted the lives of the Dutch Sephardim during the 17th century: the colonial economic system that *la Nação* participated in and the system through which religious identity was formed, which for the Dutch Sephardim was encapsulated in the concept of *Bom Judesmo*. Chapters Three and Four responded to the question of how the architectural designs of major synagogues in Amsterdam and London were perceived by their congregations and to the wider public. Chapter Three argued that the Esnoga came to be understood through the lens of a Dutch-Jewish architectural mode, a pattern of design that was recognizable as a Jewish form of Dutch classicism. This Dutch-Jewish architecture was a direct output of the Dutch Sephardim's attention to a comprehensive cultural identity that united the post-Inquisition Iberian Sephardic diaspora. By the late-17th and early-18th century, the Sephardim and Ashkenazim in England, now financially entwined with the colonial commerce

of the burgeoning British empire, prioritized their acceptance into English society in both legal and social domains. Their synagogues, Bevis Marks and the Great Synagogue in Duke's Place as discussed in Chapter Four, were outputs of these interests by the community of being perceived as upstanding English subjects, and a cohesive English-Jewish architectural mode did not emerge.

This chapter brings together these preceding arguments in a study of the colonial congregations and synagogues in the Dutch and British holdings in the Atlantic. Both systems of colonial trade and religious identity formation extended into the Jewish settlements in the Americas and Caribbean. Their synagogues represent a physical output at the intersection of these systems. One major goal of this chapter is to understand the relationships between the architecture of colonial synagogues and those of Amsterdam and London, known as the "mother congregations" to their colonial counterparts. In the Dutch Atlantic colonies, the question is whether the specific Dutch-Jewish architectural mode extended to the colonial synagogues in the same way other synagogues in the Netherlands exhibited this form. For the British Atlantic, the question is if the design of Bevis Marks impacted colonial Sephardic synagogue constructions, and if so, whether this qualifies as a recognizable architectural mode, a form identified with Jewish space during the 18th century. The colonial Jewish settlements in the Dutch and British Atlantic were also heavily impacted by a related, but distinct system defined by the interrelations that directly connected colonial congregations to one another. This system led certain colonial congregations to exert levels of influence on their colonial counterparts that matched or, in some ways, was larger than that of the mother congregations. To what degree these relationships among colonial congregations impacted their synagogues, is another question explored later in this chapter.

In order to bring clarity to these questions, this chapter is organized into three parts. The first is centered on the system that reinforced the religious and cultural authority of the mother congregations of Talmud Torah in Amsterdam and Sha'ar Hashamayim in London to the dispersed Jewish settlements across the Atlantic. This section explores the circumstances leading to the establishment of colonial congregations, the impact of Amsterdam and London educated rabbis, and the cultural dominance of the Sephardim in the colonial sphere during the 17th and 18th centuries. The second part of the chapter is focused on the financial system of the Atlantic colonies and the impact of the slave trade, both direct and indirect, on the construction of Atlantic synagogues. Building off part one, this section shows how two locations in the Americas became new centers of influence in the Jewish world: the Caribbean congregation, Mikveh Israel in Curacao, and Shearith Israel in New York. The final part of this chapter is focused on the architecture of the colonial synagogues, and their relationships with the architecture of their mother synagogues in Amsterdam and London. All three parts utilize the methods put forward in this dissertation on data organizational structures and network analysis, to illustrate their ability to communicate the complexities of systemic thinking and provide analysis of these systems.

Part I: Religious Dissemination in the Atlantic Diaspora: Jewish Colonial Settlements and their Rabbinical Leadership in the 17th-18th Centuries

Recife, Brazil: The First Synagogue in the Western Hemisphere

When the Dutch seized Pernambuco and the port of Recife from the Portuguese in 1630, a wave of Sephardic merchants from Amsterdam migrated to Brazil to join their Portuguese New Christian counterparts in the colony. Some New Christians, including one of Recife's wealthiest businessmen Balthasar da Fonseca, publicly revealed their Jewish identity and joined those arriving from Amsterdam in establishing a Sephardic congregation, Zur Israel (Rock of Israel).

Their synagogue in Recife became the first public synagogue in the Western Hemisphere, spurring messianic interest in the colonial congregation.

The Jews of Dutch Brazil prospered under Governor Johan Maurits van Nassau, who granted permission for the public practice of Judaism. In Brazil, they could also own property and engage in retail trade, rights that were not permitted to Jews in the Dutch Republic.[2] The Jewish residents of Recife, and the nearby town of Mauricia on the island of Antonio Vaz, were foundational in turning the small port into a valuable commercial asset for the Dutch West India Company. Over the course of Dutch occupation, Jews settled in Brazil in numbers nearly equaling the contemporaneous population of Jews in Amsterdam (Figure 5.2). At their peak in 1645, scholars estimate there were between 1,000 to 1,450 openly-practicing Jews living in Dutch Brazil, which even at the lowest end of the range accounted for nearly 25% of the non-enslaved population.[3] In the Dutch colony, Jews participated in nearly every segment of society. In addition to their prosperous commercial and planting ventures, they engaged in military activity against the Portuguese and were involved in enlarging the west bank of Recife's isthmus through landfills.[4] On the reclaimed land, as well as other land purchased from the Dutch West India Company, Jews established their presence on the portion of the city's main thoroughfare known as the "Rua dos Judeos," where they built residences and their synagogue.[5]

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[2] Wim Klooster, "Networks of Colonial Entrepreneurs: The Founders of the Jewish Settlements in Dutch America, 1650s and 1660s," in *Atlantic Diasporas: Jews, Conversos, and Crypto-Jews in the Age of Mercantilism 1500-1800* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 34.

[3] Different numbers have been estimated by scholars over the past century of research on Dutch Brazil, with foundational scholar Wiznitzer reporting the highest numbers.. Klooster, "Networks of Colonial Entrepreneurs: The Founders of the Jewish Settlements in Dutch America, 1650s and 1660s"; Arnold Wiznitzer, *Jews in Colonial Brazil* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960).

[4] Marcos Albuquerque and Veleda Lucena, "SINAGOGA KAHAL ZUR ISRAEL RETORNANDO À VIDA DO RECIFE," *Revista de Arqueología Americana*, no. 22 (2003): 71.

[5] The synagogue's site was revealed to be on ground that was the result of landfill during the archeological excavations that took place from October 1999 to January 2000. Albuquerque and Lucena, 70., 2003.
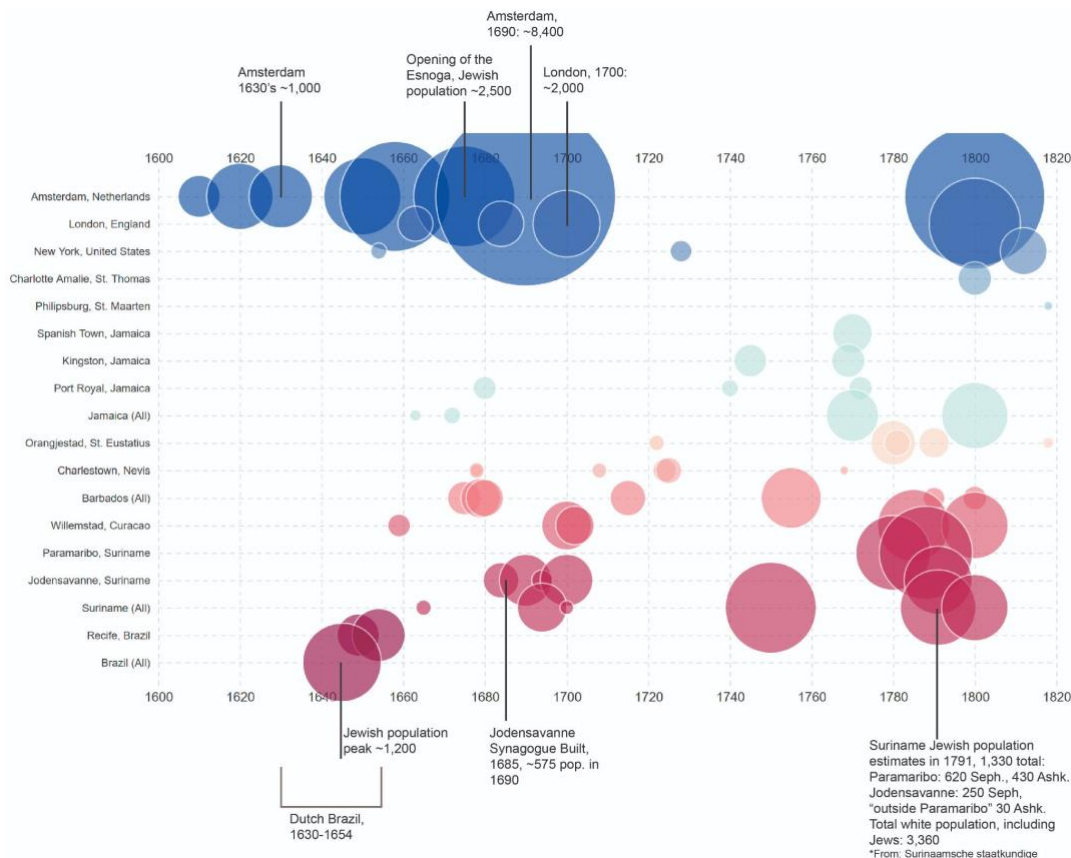
Figure 5.2: Estimates of Jewish populations in the Atlantic, 17th-18th centuries; y-axis arranged by latitude, north to south

Congregation Zur Israel (Rock of Israel) was founded in Recife in 1638, with the synagogue constructed sometime between 1640-41. Their *ascamot* was modelled off the bylaws of Talmud Torah, with the Recife *mahamad* exerting high levels of control over the community's activities. A satellite congregation in Mauricia was formed in 1648, with documentation of a synagogue built following initial years of gathering in members' homes for services. Scattered throughout the Dutch controlled state of Pernambuco, plantation communities of Jews met within homes, under the authority of Zur Israel's *mahamad*, in Dutch occupied Paraiba, Olinda, Itamaraca, Ipojuca, and Goiana.[6] In 1642, Rabbi Isaac Aboab da Fonseca arrived in Recife from Amsterdam to act as chief *haham* (rabbi), and with him, Amsterdam-trained rabbi Moses

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[6] Stiefel, *Jewish Sanctuary in the Atlantic World: A Social and Architectural History*, 108.

Raphael de Aguilar as *hazan* (cantor). These rabbis were the first to set the trend of Amsterdam-trained officiants serving colonial congregations, directly tying the dispersed communities to the communal religious authority of Talmud Torah. When they returned to Amsterdam following the reconquest of Brazil by the Portuguese in 1654, Rabbi Isaac Aboab da Fonseca succeeded Rabbi Mortiera as chief *haham* of Talmud Torah, where he later led the campaign for the construction of a monumental new synagogue, the Esnoga.

Little is known about the physical appearance of the Zur Israel Synagogue; its location, however, was confirmed by an archeological excavation at today's numbers 197 and 203 Rua do Bom Jesus.[7] The archeological team found that the Recife synagogue was built with a ground level split in length by a central wall, similar to two adjacent buildings, with the prayer hall likely in a combined upper story. During the building's initial use as a synagogue, the two parallel sides of the ground floor were each split into three consecutive rooms, the two street-facing rooms each with three entrances. These front rooms, listed as "stores" in a later Portuguese Building Inventory in a possible reference to their use as commercial spaces, were connected by a doorway on the shared interior wall.[8] In addition to the front rooms, the back rooms were also connected by a doorway. A religious school was known to have been established in Recife, and these downstairs rooms could have been used towards this purpose. The floors were composed of Dutch bricks, not unusual for this period as bricks imported from the Netherlands were commonly sold in Recife, having arrived as ballast in ships, which returned from Brazil loaded with sugar. Inside one of the center rooms, a small mikvah ritual bath used

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[7] Albuquerque and Lucena, "SINAGOGA KAHAL ZUR ISRAEL RETORNANDO À VIDA DO RECIFE," 72.
[8] Listings from the Portuguese Inventory of Buildings taken in 1654 in: Breda, "Vicus Judæorum: Os Judeus e o Espaço Urbano Do Recife Neerlandês, 1630–1654," 113.

for ritual objects was also unearthed.[9]

Jewish immigration to Brazil declined in 1645, when Portuguese planters in Pernambuco rebelled against the Dutch West India Company. The rebellion was never suppressed, and in 1654 the Portuguese reconquered Recife and the entirety of the Dutch holdings in Brazil. During the years of unrest, between 1646 and 1655, nearly two hundred families migrated to Amsterdam, many leaving Brazil with the Dutch defeat in 1654.[10] As discussed in Chapter Four on the Readmission of Jews to England, there was now an urgent need for finding new settlements for Jews and in re-establishing trade routes in the Atlantic for the network of Sephardic merchants. Enterprising Jewish merchants looked to Dutch and British holdings in the Caribbean, the "Wild Coast" of Guiana, and North America for opportunities.

Curacao: The Authority of Talmud Torah in the Caribbean

One of these industrious merchants was João de Yllán, a prosperous Portuguese-born Jew who had spent time in Dutch Brazil and was an established merchant in Amsterdam and active member of Talmud Torah. He had business relationships in Antwerp, Hamburg, and maintained a partnership with his Catholic cousin in Lisbon, Garcia de Yllán Barraza.[11] In 1651 Yllán obtained a charter from the Dutch West India Company to settle on the undeveloped island of Curacao, a Dutch holding since 1634, with little more than a fort. He promised to bring fifty families but recruited no more than twelve from Amsterdam. They settled around the developing port of Willemstad, where congregation Mikveh Israel (Hope of Israel) was established on Yllán's arrival, one year after the publication of Menasseh ben Israel's messianic text of the

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[9] Following the reconquest of Recife by the Portuguese, the synagogue building was given to the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. Breda, "Vicus Judæorum: Os Judeus e o Espaço Urbano Do Recife Neerlandês, 1630–1654."
[10] Klooster, "Networks of Colonial Entrepreneurs: The Founders of the Jewish Settlements in Dutch America, 1650s and 1660s," 36.
[11] Klooster, 41.

same name. However, Yllán himself was back in Amsterdam in 1655, relinquishing all his possessions in the colony to his brother-in-law. Yllan's messianic beliefs were apparent in 1666 when he arranged a ship for himself and other Jews of Amsterdam to embark to Jerusalem, where "God in his mercy has begun to gather the scattered people."[12]

In 1659, another member of the Amsterdam Sephardim, Isaac da Costa obtained a contract with the WIC, that included terms regarding the free exercise of their religion, protection by Dutch authorities, and the privilege to build houses.[13] He arrived in Willemstad with a group of Jews that included previous directors of Talmud Torah organizations in Amsterdam, and men who had served as *parnassim* in Recife, including Eliau Namias de Crasto. Da Costa brought with him from Amsterdam a *sefer torah* with some ornaments, provided to him by Talmud Torah's *mahamad*.[14] Around 1659 a burial ground, Bet Chayim Bleinheim, was established in an area noted in early maps as "Joden Kwartier." This Jewish Quarter consisted of plantations with the names "Judio", "Rozentak", and "De Hoop" ("The Hope"), with the cemetery situated to the west.[15]

Curacao's earliest synagogue is often dated to 1674, the year of the arrival of Mikveh Israel's first rabbi, Josiah Pardo. Rabbi Pardo held deep ties to Talmud Torah and the Amsterdam Sephardim. His grandfather was Rabbi Joseph Pardo of the first Amsterdam congregation, Beth Israel. His father, Rabbi David Pardo, served the Amsterdam congregations

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[12] This quote is taken from a request written by Yllan to the English king asking for safe passage of his ship, due to the Anglo-Dutch war. 18 July 1666 was the date of the supposed "Judgement Day" prophesized by rabbi and Kabbalist Shabbetai Zevi, who claimed himself the returned Messiah, gaining a large number of followers. Klooster, "Networks of Colonial Entrepreneurs: The Founders of the Jewish Settlements in Dutch America, 1650s and 1660s," 42.

[13] Isaac Samuel Emmanuel and Suzanne A. Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles* (Cincinnati: American Jewish Archives, 1970), 48.

[14] The resolution of the Amsterdam Talmud Torah granting Isaac da Costa a Sefer Torah for Curacao in 1659 is included, in original Portuguese with English translation, in Emmanuel and Emmanuel, 1970; pg. 748

[15] René Maduro, ed., *Our "Snoa", 5492-5742* (Willemstad, Curaçao: Congregation Mikvé Isreal-Emmanuel Curaçao, 1982).

of Beth Israel and Talmud Torah. Rabbi Josiah Pardo had studied under Rabbi Mortiera, as a classmate of Baruch Spinoza at the Amsterdam Ets Haim Yeshiva, and was married to Mortiera's daughter, Sara.[16] He served the Curacao congregation for nine years, establishing a religious school during his tenure. In the summer of 1683, Rabbi Pardo left for unknown reasons and went to the British port of Port Royal, Jamaica.

The Curacao congregation of Mikveh Israel maintained close ties to Talmud Torah and modeled their community regulations off those of the Amsterdam congregation. Like in Amsterdam, the Curacao *mahamad* was dedicated to the cohesion and unity of their community and expected congregants to strictly adhere to their regulations. Yosef Kaplan attributes the congregation's success in this endeavor to two factors: the oligarchic nature of Curacao's community leadership, and their willingness, under all circumstances, to accept the leadership and authority of Talmud Torah.[17] One of the primary ways that the influence of Amsterdam was disseminated to Mikveh Israel was through the congregation's deference to Talmud Torah for rabbinical leadership. During the 17th and 18th centuries, eight rabbis served Mikveh Israel, with all but one having arrived from Amsterdam. The exception was Rabbi Isaac Carigal, the well-traveled rabbinical emissary discussed later in this chapter.

British Outposts in the Caribbean: Barbados and Jamaica

Elsewhere in the Caribbean during the 1650's, Jewish colonists had established a community on the British-held island of Barbados. Conquered by the English in 1625, the earliest Jewish migrants to Barbados were merchants, who had come from neighboring Caribbean communities as early as the 1640's. They were joined by exiles from Dutch Brazil in

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[16] Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, 53.
[17] Yosef Kaplan, "The Curaçao and Amsterdam Jewish Communities in the 17th and 18th Centuries," *American Jewish History* 72 (1982): 203, https://doi.org/10.2307/23882528.

the early 1650's, who brought their knowledge of sugar production and extensive trade network with them. These assets were valuable enough that the Barbados Assembly officially allowed Jewish settlement in 1655, earlier than London, stating: "On the petition of several Jews, it is ordered that, behaving themselves civilly and doing nothing to disturb the peace, they shall enjoy the privileges and laws of the Island relating to foreigners and strangers."[18]

Congregation Nidhe Israel (the Scattered of Israel), named with messianic reference, was founded in Bridgetown, Barbados in 1656, with the synagogue likely built shortly after.[19] In the 1660's, a satellite congregation, Semah David (Branch of David), was founded in Speightstown, with a synagogue constructed sometime in the later 17th century. This synagogue was torn down by an angry mob in 1739, in one of the most violent acts against Jews in the Caribbean, and no evidence remains of its architecture. The earliest record of the purpose-built synagogue in Bridgetown comes from a 1664 deed that mentions the "Jewes synagogue" in defining the extent of a neighboring property boundary (Image 5.1).[20] The Nidhe Israel synagogue sat within a walled Jewish complex, on the outer edge of Bridgetown's urban center. The Jewish cemetery sat within the gates of the synagogue complex, in stark contrast to Jewish tradition, suggesting that officials in Barbados were insensitive to Jewish customs, or prohibited purchase of additional land for burial use.[21] The 17th century synagogue was badly damaged in a hurricane in 1831 and was rebuilt in 1833, leaving minimal evidence of the original's architecture.[22]

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[18] Quoted in Stiefel, *Jewish Sanctuary in the Atlantic World: A Social and Architectural History*, 90.
[19] Stiefel, 117.
[20] Derek Miller, "The Bridgetown Synagogue Pathway Archaeological Project: A Preliminary Report," *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* 56 (2010): 87.
[21] Michelle M. Terrell, *The Jewish Community of Early Colonial Nevis: A Historical Archaeological Study* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005).
[22] The roof was blown off during the hurricane, and minutes from the Synagogue Building Committee 5 March 1832 include a note from the architect, Mr John Herbert, who advised "it would be a waste of money to commence new work upon the old walls and at the same time advised them to build from the foundation." The old walls were deemed too weak to hold the new roof, and were torn down and rebuilt.

A survey done in 1806 provides limited evidence of the earlier synagogue's site plan (Image 5.2).[23] The plan confirms that the rebuilt synagogue shares a footprint with the earlier structure, and also shows the original entrance near the south-west corner was moved to the facade's center in the reconstruction. Recent excavations within the synagogue complex uncovered fragments of yellow bricks in the earliest soil layers, likely imported from the Netherlands when Barbadian traders circumvented trade restrictions, as was done during the years of civil war.[24] However, most bricks found were made of red earthenware, and it is unlikely the Jewish residents in Barbados would construct a synagogue of Dutch yellow bricks, a highly visible way of challenging English authority. Unlike other areas of Bridgetown, where Italian and Spanish wares have been found, the items excavated on the Jewish communal site suggest the Jews of Barbados bought and used English and locally produced ceramics as a means of asserting their place as English subjects.[25]

The first rabbi to serve the Nidhe Israel community was Eliahu Lopez, a student of Rabbi Isaac Aboab da Fonseca, who arrived from Amsterdam in 1679. Although a British colony, the Caribbean congregation was still at that time closely religiously and culturally tied to the Dutch Sephardim. This communal allegiance shifted in the later 18th century to the London congregation Sha'ar Hashamayim, which supplied the Barbados community with rabbinical leadership and other religious positions well into the 19th century.[26] Rabbi Lopez left Barbados in 1693 for Curacao, where he was appointed *haham* to the Mikveh Israel congregation. After

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[23] Karl Watson, "1806 Plat of the Nidhe Israel Synagogue in Bridgetown, Barbados," *The Journal Ofthe Barbados Museum & Historical Society* LXI (2010): 82–85.

[24] Miller, "The Bridgetown Synagogue Pathway Archaeological Project: A Preliminary Report," 97.

[25] Derek Miller, "The Scattered of Israel: The Material Culture of Trans-Atlantic Jewish Identities on Colonial Barbados," in *Society for American Archaeology & European Association of Archaeologists Joint Thematic Meeting: Connecting Continents: Archaeological Perspectives on Slavery, Trade and Colonialism* (Curacao, 2015).

[26] Edwd. S. Daniels, "Extracts from Various Records of the Early Settlement of the Jews in the Island of Barbados, W. I.," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 26 (1918): 251–52.

Rabbi Josiah Pardo left Curacao in 1683, the *mahamad* had struggled to fill his position. They made a request to Rabbi Aboab da Fonseca in Amsterdam to send someone to fill the position, offering an annual salary of 400 florins and free lodging, but none were interested.[27] After 11 years, it appears Rabbi Eliahu Lopez took the offer from Mikveh Israel, who provided him with a salary of 800 florins, lodgings, and various other benefits.[28] The congregation also paid the fare for him and his large family to relocate to Curacao. At this point in the late-17th century, Rabbi Pardo was the only other Ets Haim trained rabbi in the New World, and it still remained a frontier with limited attraction for European rabbis. The move of Rabbi Lopez from the Barbados congregation to Mikveh Israel may also suggest the growing opportunities that the Curacao community provided: as an extension of Talmud Torah in the Caribbean it was a devout congregation and had significant wealth as a major commercial port. In the 18th century, Curacao would further develop into a hub of Jewish learning in the Americas.

Elsewhere in the British-occupied Caribbean, Jewish merchants from London began arriving in Jamaica in 1663. They established a Jewish community that eventually grew to become the largest in the British colonies during the 18th century (see Figure 5.2).[29] The Jewish colonists settled first in Port Royal, one of England's wealthiest ports during the late 17th century, where there were ample opportunities for trade, as well as tolerance towards non-Protestants. Directed by the English crown, the Governor of Jamaica declared religious liberty to Jews and Protestant dissenters in 1670, with the intention of profiting off existing trade networks and encouraging settlement in the colony.[30] The traveler John Taylor wrote in 1687:

> [In Port Royal], and also in all other parts of the island, they allow of a free toleration of all sects and religions, for here on this port we find a Portiestant

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[27] Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, 89.
[28] Emmanuel and Emmanuel, 90.
[29] Faber, *Jews, Slaves, and the Slave Trade*, 49.
[30] Mirvis, "The Gabay Dynasty: Plantation Jews of the Colonial Atlantic World," 571.

church govern'd according to ye doctrin of the Church of England, also a
Presbeterian metting house, a Romish chappell, a Quackers' meeting house and a
Jewe's synagogue: all which sects live quietly and peaceable one among
another.[31]

Taylor also concluded that Port Royal, with its infamous reputation for pirates, alcohol, and

prostitutes, was "allmost impossible to civillize."[32]

Congregation Neve Zedek (Dwelling Place of Justice) was founded in Port Royal

sometime before 1683, that year employing Amsterdam-trained *haham* Josiah Pardo who arrived

in Jamaica following his tenure at Curacao's Mikveh Israel.[33] The reference of the "Jewe's

synagogue" by John Taylor suggests the congregation had some form of a public worship hall.

Possible evidence for purpose-built synagogue is a Deed of Conveyance, dated January 29th

1676/77, "for the purchase by the Jews of Port Royal, of a lot of land in that Ancient City from

John Peeke, measuring 63 foote in length and 26 foote in breadth…."[34] The deed for Jewish

communal land listed boundaries "South on Cannon Street, North-West on New Streets, East on

George Pattison and West on Michael Marriot." The grantees were Salamão Gabay, Abraham de

David Gabay, and Moses Jessurun Cardosa, who "were acting [on behalf of] the rest of the Jews

belonging to and residing in Port Royal, as well as on their own behalf."[35] Salamão Gabay was

born in Portugal, returning to Judaism in Amsterdam before embarking to Recife in the 1640's.

Following the loss of Dutch Brazil, Salamão returned to Amsterdam before settling on Jamaica,

where he received his endenization from the English crown in 1672.[36] As was the case in

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[31] John Taylor, *Jamaica in 1687: The Taylor Manuscript at the National Library of Jamaica* (Kingston, Jamaica, 2008), 240.
[32] Taylor, *Jamaica in 1687*.
[33] Jacob A.P.M. Andrade, *A Record of the Jews in Jamaica from the English Conquest to the Present Times.* (Kingston Jamaica: Jamaica Times Ltd., 1941), 60.
[34] Andrade, 40.
[35] Andrade, *A Record of the Jews in Jamaica from the English Conquest to the Present Times.*
[36] Mirvis, "The Gabay Dynasty: Plantation Jews of the Colonial Atlantic World."

Barbados, Jewish colonists in the British-controlled colonies in the Caribbean during the 17th

century carried ties to Amsterdam and the Dutch Sephardim; there was limited to no cultural

distinction at this point between Jews in the English and Dutch Atlantic colonies.

The earthquake of 1692 devastated Port Royal, bringing with it a malaria epidemic that

took more lives in the year that followed. A French invasion in 1694 and a widespread fire in

1703 practically confirmed that the port city would never return to its former glory. Many Jews

left in 1692 for the mainland towns of Spanish Town and Kingston, where they established

congregations Neve Shalom (Dwelling Place of Peace) and Shaar Ha Shamayim (Gates of

Heaven), respectively. The small congregation left in Port Royal rebuilt the Neve Zedek

Synagogue, and remained in the minds of Jamaican Jews, noted by the regular bequeathments

made to the Port Royal synagogue in wills dating into the 19th century. In Spanish Town, Jacob

Alvares, son of David Alvares, and Moses Mendes Quixano purchased a plot of land in 1704 for

forty pounds for the Neve Shalom Synagogue.[37] Constructed that year, the synagogue was sited

on Monk Street, closing its doors in 1900 with the ritual objects sent to Shaar Ha Shamayim in

Kingston. The Shaar Ha Shamayim congregation may have also constructed their synagogue

sometime around 1704, although little evidence exists about this early building.[38] In 1744 the

congregation built a lasting synagogue, on a new site on Princess Street, where it stood until a

fire in 1882.[39]

Figure 5.3, shown below, illustrates the early network of rabbinical leadership in the New

World during the 17th century. From the mapped network, already certain nodes in the Atlantic

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[37] Deed printed in: Andrade, *A Record of the Jews in Jamaica from the English Conquest to the Present Times.*, 195.
[38] There is an image titled "Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue" that is sometimes attributed to the first Shaar Ha Shamayim Synagogue in Kingston, but at the moment, I do not have enough evidence to confidently include this in the study.
[39] Stiefel, *Jewish Sanctuary in the Atlantic World: A Social and Architectural History*, 252.

emerge in the Caribbean, South and North America. During much of the 17th century, the

London Sephardim was still young, and like the other sites appearing on this map, remained

dependent on Amsterdam for religious guidance. Seen in the example of Rabbi Lopez in

Curacao, congregations paid the expenses of rabbis' travel costs, provided lodging, salary, and

other provisions, which not all colonial communities could afford. With the exception of

Shearith Israel in New York, to be discussed next, Figure 5.3 highlights which colonial

congregations in the Atlantic had established foundations during the 17th century and already

had enough resources to attract professionally trained rabbis from Amsterdam to serve their

communities.
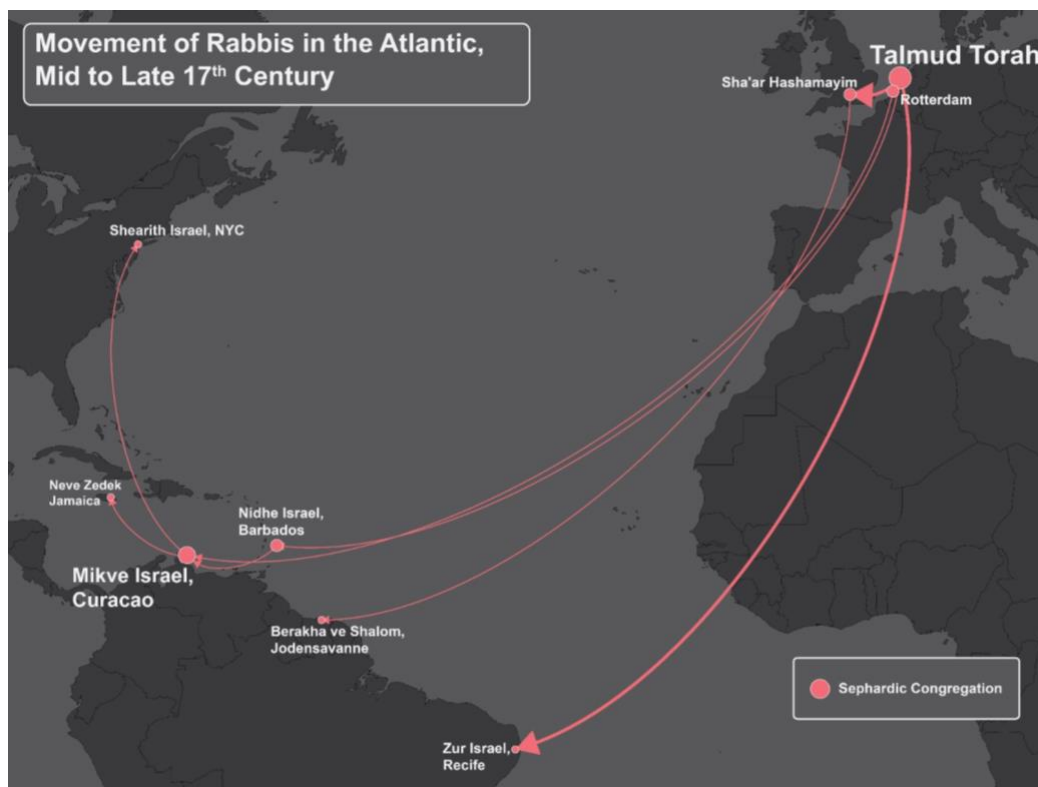
Figure 5.3: Rabbis in the Atlantic, 1642-1685

This figure, and the following figures in this chapter, represent only the data that was

capable of being retrieved in the course of this study, so may not be entirely representative. In

some locations, congregational records have been lost; in the case of the Jamaican Sephardim, a

fire in the 19th century burnt their synagogue and what remained of their communal records. Correspondences occurred between communities, and in some cases letters and congregational account books from one side still remain. In one example, Mikveh Israel's records provide the data point for Rabbi Josiah Pardo departing for the Port Royal congregation in 1683, although it is unknown how long he stayed, or if he survived the earthquake or malaria outbreak. Despite the potential lack of information, these networks can still provide clarity in understanding the communication system that developed between colonial synagogues and the congregations in Amsterdam and London.

The South American "Wild Coast:" Jewish Entrepreneurs in Dutch Guiana and Suriname

As the Dutch colony in Curacao was developing, additional holdings across the Atlantic were explored for Jewish settlement. An associate of Yllán and fellow member of the Amsterdam Sephardim, David Cohen Nassy, aka Joseph Nunes da Fonseca, made several arrangements during the 1650's with the Dutch West India Company. Following the failure of a contract to join Yllán in Curacao in 1652, Nassy continued to pursue commercial opportunities, eyeing the area of the South American mainland known as the "Wild Coast." In 1657 Nassy signed a contract with the Estates of Zeeland to develop an agricultural settlement on the Essequibo River in the Dutch Guianan colony, Nova Zeelandia. The charter allowed Jews the freedom to practice their religion publicly, to judge small claims within their own court, and to purchase land, build a synagogue and establish a religious school.[40] Like other settlers, they were exempt from paying taxes for seven years. Nassy's charter circulated within the Sephardic diaspora, attracting Jews from Livorno, many who were likely former refugees of Dutch Brazil,

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[40] Yosef Kaplan, "Jerusalem on the Banks of the River Suriname: The Golden Age of Jewish Settlement in Suriname," in *Tzedek Ve-Shalom: A Synagogue from Suriname in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem*, ed. Tania Coen-Uzzielli (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 2010), 98–99.

to the settlement in Dutch Guiana. Two years later Nassy agreed to found another settlement on the nearby island of Cayenne, recently occupied by the Dutch. More Jews from Livorno sailed to Cayenne, establishing a congregation there in the 1660's. However, the Dutch colony was short-lived, with the French invading in 1664. Some of the settlers migrated to the mainland, joining the Essequibo colony, until the region was invaded by the English in 1666. Others migrated to Port Royal, Jamaica.[41] The prospects of the Wild Coast must have remained attractive, as many of the Jewish colonists found their way to the colonial settlement in Suriname, where they would establish long-lasting communities on the Suriname River.

Following the English surrender of their colony in Suriname in 1667 to the Dutch Province of Zeeland, Jewish settlers established sugar plantations on the Suriname River at Cassipora Creek, near the colony's then-capital of Torarica. In 1685 the Dutch moved the capital to Paramaribo, and the communal site at Cassipora Creek was abandoned for a new one known as Jodensavanne, Jewish Savannah, where the synagogue Berekha ve Shalom (Blessing and Peace) was constructed in the town center (Image 5.3). Jodensavanne, listed on maps of the time as "Jews' Village" (Joods Dorp), along with the city of Paramaribo, became a major center of Jewish life and home to the largest Jewish population in the Americas during the 18th century (Figure 5.2). Referred to as "Jerusalem on the Riverside," Jodensavanne was settled by Sephardic Jews, who continuously migrated between Suriname and Amsterdam until the region's sugar industry declined in the late 18th century. Paramaribo, on the other hand, attracted both Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews, many of whom were merchants of modest origins. At the end of the 17th century, the Ashkenazim made up some 13% of the Surinamese Jewish population,

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[41] Stanley Mirvis, "The Alvares Family Patriarchs and the Place of Pre-1692 Port Royal in the Western Sephardic Diaspora," *American Jewish Archives*, 1-46, LXVII, no. 2 (2015): 6.

which increased to 40% by the mid-18th century.[42] As the communities grew, Suriname developed into a center of Jewish culture and religious education, while remaining tied to Amsterdam through the 18th century.

Jodensavanne's first *haham* was the Amsterdam-trained rabbi, David Pardo, who arrived in 1685 (seen in Figure 5.3). Rabbi David Pardo had been teaching at the London seminary prior to departing for Suriname, seemingly following his father Rabbi Josiah Pardo's example in serving a Jewish congregation on the colonial frontier. In 1731, another *haham* was welcomed from Amsterdam, Abraham Gabay Izidro. The Jodensavanne *mahamad* presented Izidro with generous gifts on arrival, which included 1,542 guilders, 25 hogsheads each of sugar and cacao, several hundred guilders' worth of coffee, five cows, and an enslaved valet.[43] The gifts had the intention of displaying the wealth of the *mahamad*, and to encourage the new rabbi to stay. Izidro's successor, Aaron Ledesma, was also recruited from Amsterdam in 1736, as was the rabbi who followed in 1764.[44]

Colonial Synagogues in North America: The Domination of Sephardic Rites

In the years following the fall of Dutch Brazil, Jewish migration toward Dutch controlled ports in the Atlantic included the North American colony of New Amsterdam. In September 1654, twenty-three Jews, including women and children, arrived in New Amsterdam on a ship that had possibly departed from Brazil. They were not the first Jewish settlers in New Amsterdam, as earlier that same year three Dutch Ashkenazi merchants, Jacob bar Simon, Asser Levy, and Solomon Pieterson, were documented as living in the colony. However, the new influx of arrivals set off a contentious relationship with the xenophobic Governor Pieter Stuyvesant,

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[42] Kaplan, "Jerusalem on the Banks of the River Suriname: The Golden Age of Jewish Settlement in Suriname," 105.

[43] Ben-Ur, *Jewish Autonomy in a Slave Society*, 52–53.

[44] Ben-Ur, 53.

who petitioned to the Dutch West India Company to have them removed from the colony.

Despite his attempts, Stuyvesant was not successful, and by 1655 enough Jews lived in New

Amsterdam to form a congregation. Congregation Shearith Israel (Remnant of Israel) was

founded that year, following Sephardic rites despite the portion of Ashkenazi Jews that made up

the founding congregants. Evidence of the community's attempts to open a public synagogue as

early as 1656 appears in a letter written by Governor Stuyvesant to the directors of the WIC:

> Considering the Jewish nation with regard to trade, they are not hindered, but
> trade with the same privilege and freedom as other inhabitants. Also, they have
> many times requested of us the free and public exercise of their abominable
> religion, but this cannot yet be accorded to them.[45]

In response, the WIC wrote that Jews were to "exercise in all quietness their religion within their

houses."[46] Under Stuyvesant, these limitations on religious freedom were extended to any group

outside of the Dutch Reformed Church, the official state church. This demonstrates the variable

degrees to which Jews were afforded freedom to worship publicly, as well as other legal rights,

in the Dutch and British colonies.

In 1664, New Amsterdam was surrendered to the English under terms that allowed Dutch

residents to remain and maintain their religious freedoms. Numerous Sephardic and Ashkenazi

families from Amsterdam and London continued to migrate to the now English colony of New

York. Under the English, public worship of Judaism remained illegal. After the community

petitioned to the governor in 1685, an official statement was made from the Mayor and Common

Council of New York "that noe publique Worship is Tolerated by act of assembly, but to those

that professe faith in Christ, and therefore the Jews Worship not to be allowed."[47] The earliest

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[45] Letter in Dutch and translated in: David de Sola Pool and Tamar Hirshensohn de Sola Pool, *An Old Faith in the New World: Portrait of Shearith Israel, 1654-1954* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), 27.
[46] David de Sola Pool, *The Mill Street Synagogue (1730-1817) of the Congregation Shearith Israel (Founded in the City of New York in 1655)* (New York, 1930), 7.
[47] Pool, 8.

evidence of a public synagogue appears ten years later in 1695, from a New York chaplain, John Miller, who wrote a description of New York from memory while held captive in a French jail.[48] If his memory is to be trusted, he identified a spot on his map as "The Jews Synagogue," at the south side of Beaver Street, between Broadway and Broad Street, and estimated around twenty Jewish families in the colony. A real estate document from 1700 describes a lot on the north side of Mill Street as being bounded "east by the house and ground of John Harperding, now commonly known by the name of the Jews' synagogue." In the decades before constructing their first purpose-built synagogue in 1729, known as the "Mill Street Synagogue," congregants appear to have met in this house, or other rented spaces.

In 1685, Saul Pardo arrived in New York from Curacao via Newport, becoming Shearith Israel's first religious leader (Figure 5.3). He was not technically a professionally-trained rabbi but belonged to the distinguished Pardo family.[49] Probably the same "Saul Brown" that John Miller mentioned as the Jewish minister in 1695, Pardo led the community until his death in 1702 or 1703.[50] Saul Pardo held the official title of *hazan*, or cantor, a reader of services whose primary function was leading the congregation in song. The religious leaders that succeeded Pardo were also *hazanim*; Shearith Israel did not employ a full rabbi, or *haham*, until the 19th century. Like Pardo, several of New York's *hazanim* held familial connections to Amsterdam and Curacao. This included Hazan Moses Lopez de Fonseca, a descendent of Amsterdam-trained Haham Eliahu Lopez of Curacao, who left Shearith Israel in 1737 after accepting a position at Mikveh Israel. De Fonseca wrote to the New York *mahamad* that both his family ties to the island and Curacao's more rigorous religious practice were reasons for his departure.[51] It is clear

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[48] Pool and Pool, *An Old Faith in the New World: Portrait of Shearith Israel, 1654-1954*, 39.
[49] Conflicting sources describe Saul Prado as either the son or brother of Curacao and Jamaican rabbi Josiah Pardo.
[50] Pool and Pool, *An Old Faith in the New World: Portrait of Shearith Israel, 1654-1954*.
[51] Pool and Pool, 161.

that by the early 18th century, Curacao's Mikveh Israel had emerged as a center of Jewish

practice and learning in the Americas. With its close adherence to the practices in Amsterdam,

Mikveh Israel often acted as the bridge between the authority of Talmud Torah and other

colonial congregations. This can be observed in the network map, seen in Figure 5.4 below, of

the movement of religious leaders in the early to mid-18th century:
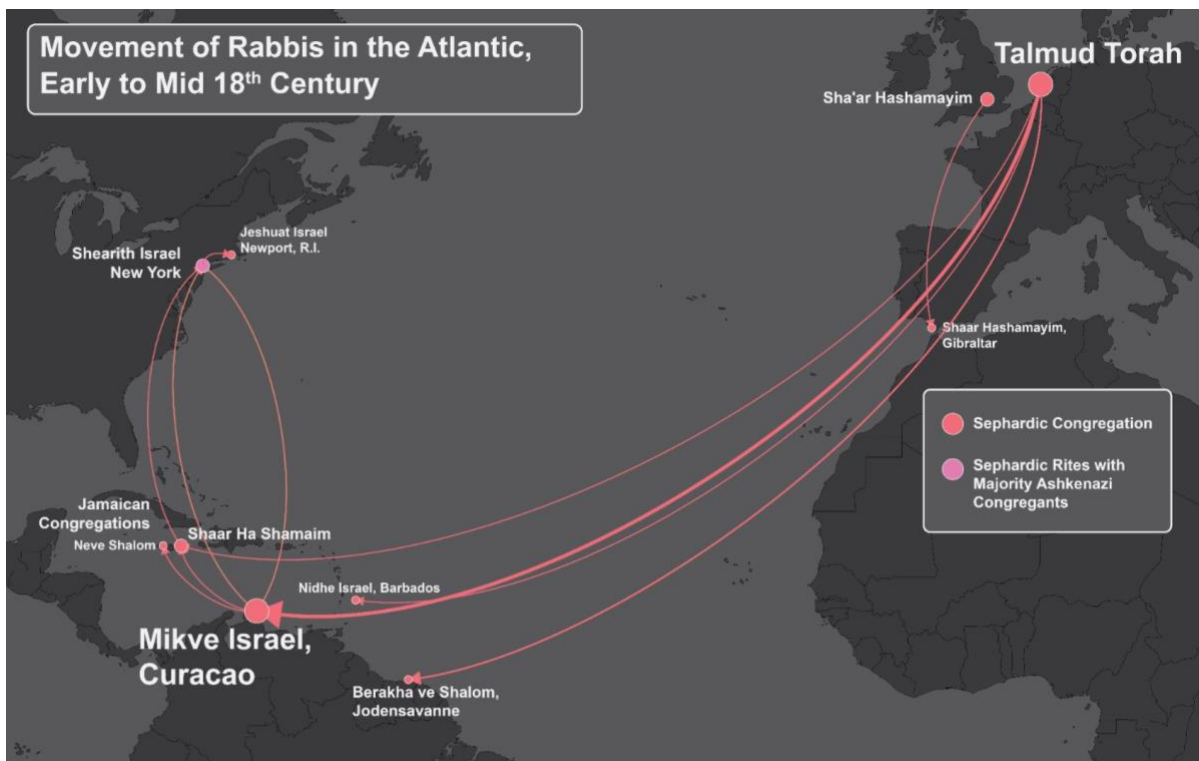
Figure 5.4: Rabbis in the Atlantic, early to mid-18th century. Nodes sized by the number of outgoing edges, so Talmud Torah and Mikveh Israel had the largest number of rabbis departing from these locations over this time span

Shearith Israel often looked to members of their own community for *hazanim*; De Fonseca, his

predecessor Abraham Haim de Lucena, and his successor David Mendes Machado, all appear to

have been residents of New York when they accepted the position of *hazan*. However, requests

were also made to London's Sha'ar Hashamayim for religious leadership, although some

declined the offer.[52] One recommendation included Hazan Joseph Jessurun Pinto, who served in

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[52] Pool and Pool, 165.

New York from 1758 to 1766; Pinto was a relative of Amsterdam-trained Haham Raphael Jessurun who led the Curacao congregation from 1717-1748.

Despite the growing numbers of Ashkenazim in the congregation, Shearith Israel's religious leadership continued to lead the congregation in Sephardic rites. The proportion of Ashkenazi Jews had already outmatched the Sephardic congregants before the synagogue on Mill Street was constructed in 1729. The personal letters of New York *hazan* Gershom Mendes Seixas, who gained his religious training in New York and served the congregation from 1768 until his death in 1816, provide insights into the culture of this mixed community. Seixas was a Sephardic-trained rabbi, whose son-in-law was Ashkenazi; his letters contained frequent German and Ashkenazi expressions, and also included descriptions of meals he'd enjoyed of both Ashkenazic and Sephardic culinary traditions.[53] Shearith Israel remained New York's only Jewish congregation until 1825, when an influx of Ashkenazi Jews from England and Germany made their current synagogue's size unsustainable, and the new immigrants found it "difficult to accustom themselves to. . . the Portuguese minhag."[54]

During the mid-18th century especially, a number of Jewish congregations were established in North America that followed Sephardic rites but had overwhelmingly Ashkenazi membership. With the exception of Paramaribo, Suriname, Sephardic rites were practiced in colonial synagogues until the very end of the 18th century. This domination of Sephardic ritual in the Atlantic in the 17th-18th centuries can be explained through the lens of the systems impacting these colonial congregations. The livelihoods of Jewish merchants in the colonies

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[53] David de Sola Pool, "GERSHOM MENDES SEIXAS' LETTERS, 1813-1815, TO HIS DAUGHTER SARAH (SEIXAS) KURSHEEDT AND SON-IN-LAW ISRAEL BAER KURSHEEDT," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 35 (1939): 191–92.

[54] From a letter written to the Shearith Israel Parnass and Trustees, informing them of a new Ashkenazi synagogue to be constructed in NYC. In: Pool and Pool, *An Old Faith in the New World: Portrait of Shearith Israel, 1654-1954*, 437.

depended on participation in the wider economic network of the Sephardim, and for the Ashkenazi merchants in North America and the Caribbean, this access was often granted through membership in Sephardic synagogues. The Jewish population in North America also remained relatively small until the 19th century, and these congregations heavily relied on wealthier Sephardic communities for financial support in building and maintaining their synagogues, as will be discussed at length in the following section (see Figure 5.2 for populations). In the case of the New York Mill Street Synagogue of 1729, the substantial financial contribution from the Curacao congregation came with a significant stipulation: that Shearith Israel keep Sephardic minhag, which it does to this day.

This pattern can be seen in Montreal, Canada, where a Jewish community established themselves in the 1760's, after the British claimed the Canadian territory from the French. The small group of merchants had ties to both London and New York, and though they were all of Ashkenazi descent, named their congregation Shearith Israel, after the New York congregation, and maintained Sephardic minhag.[55] Montreal's Shearith Israel received support from both Sha'ar Hashamayim in London and Shearith Israel in New York, receiving their Torah scrolls as a gift from the London congregation.[56] In 1777 the Montreal congregation wrote to Sha'ar Hashamayim requesting recommendation for a religious leader; they provided the London-educated Jacob Raphael Cohen, who served the community as *hazan* and *shochet* from 1778 to 1782. With intentions of returning to England, Cohen was left stranded in New York City after his ship had been rerouted by British troops as a result of the American Revolution. In New York, he filled the position of *hazan* left open when Gershom Mendes Seixas, who supported the American cause, fled to Philadelphia. On Seixas' return at the close of the war, Cohen took his

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[55] Malcolm H Stern, "Portuguese Sephardim in the Americas," *American Jewish Archives*, no. 44 (1992): 169.
[56] Stiefel, *Jewish Sanctuary in the Atlantic World: A Social and Architectural History*, 163.

place as *hazan* of the Mikveh Israel Synagogue in Philadelphia.

We can view these movements in the network of religious leaders in the colonies during the latter half of the 18th century, seen below in Figure 5.5. Again, this network is probably not fully inclusive, but it illustrates the connections that colonial synagogues maintained with their mother congregation, as well as other colonial synagogues. By this point in the 18th century, there was a clearer separation between the English communities and their Dutch counterparts. London's Sha'ar Hashamayim had a well-established yeshiva at this point, and British colonial congregations requested referrals from their *mahamad*. In Figure 5.5, we can see that certain North American and Caribbean congregations received religious leadership from Sha'ar Hashamayim, even where the Jewish populations had become overwhelmingly Ashkenazic. The strength of the relationships between the Caribbean congregations with those in North America are also apparent.
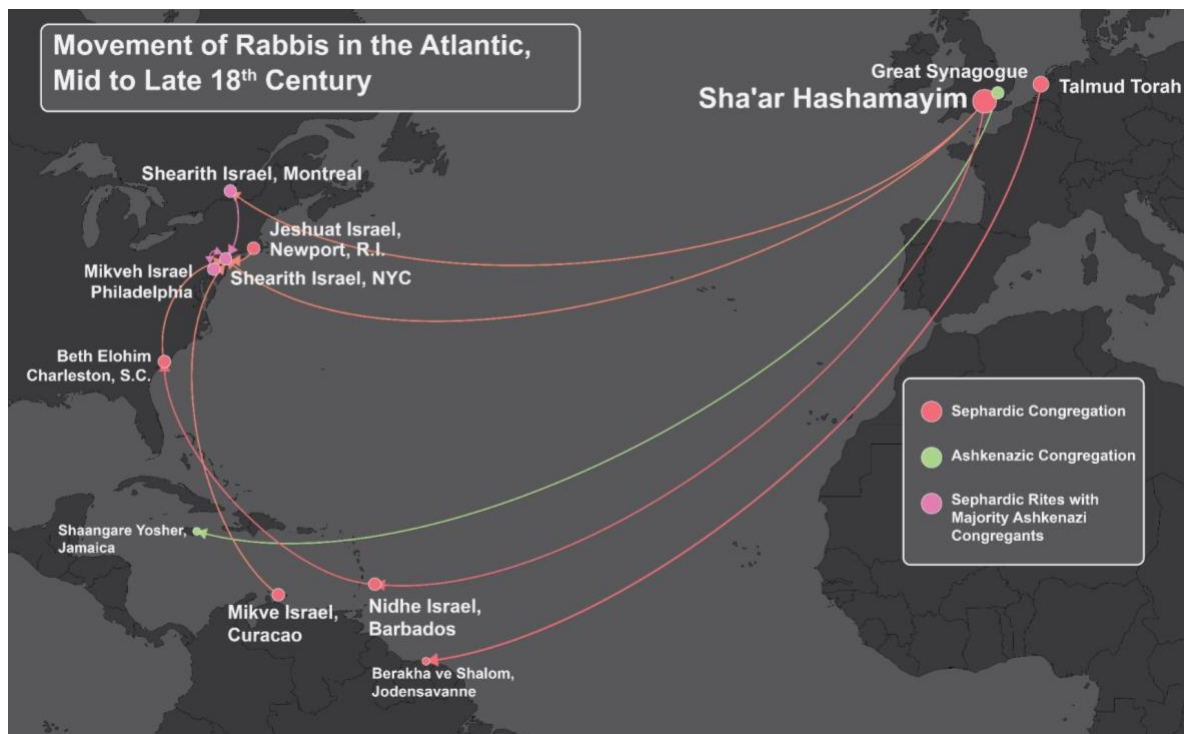
Figure 5.5: Religious leadership in the Atlantic, mid to late 18th century

Rabbinical Emissaries in the Atlantic

Over the course of the 18th century, the Atlantic colonial synagogues were the destination of numerous itinerant rabbis representing the Holy Land, known as *shadarim*. *Shadarim* were dispatched from the Ottoman Empire to diasporic communities in Europe, North Africa, and across the Atlantic, with the goal of collecting funds in support of the Ottoman Jewry, who faced various crises during the early modern period. As Stanley Mirvis has argued, these rabbinical emissaries had the effect of strengthening the inter-communal connectivity of the Atlantic congregations.[57] Before a community was asked to either provide financial support or host *shadarim*, their identity and credentials required verification. This process, where congregations of Amsterdam and London vetted emissaries, then sent recommendation letters to colonial synagogues across the Atlantic, resulted in reinforcing ties between colonial communities and the mother congregations. The congregations in the Atlantic colonies also referred *shadarim* to one another, and pooled resources for their travel. Figure 5.6 shows the network that arose from these communications; *shadarim* traveled from one community to another, based on the references provided by each preceding host. Between 1750 and 1800 at least thirteen *shadarim* travelled across the Atlantic, significantly less than the number that visited Europe and North Africa, but their impact on colonial congregations was significant.

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[57] Stanley Mirvis, "Shadarim in the Colonial Americas: Agents of Inter-Communal Connectivity and Rabbinic Authority," *American Jewish History* 102, no. 2 (2018): 221–36.
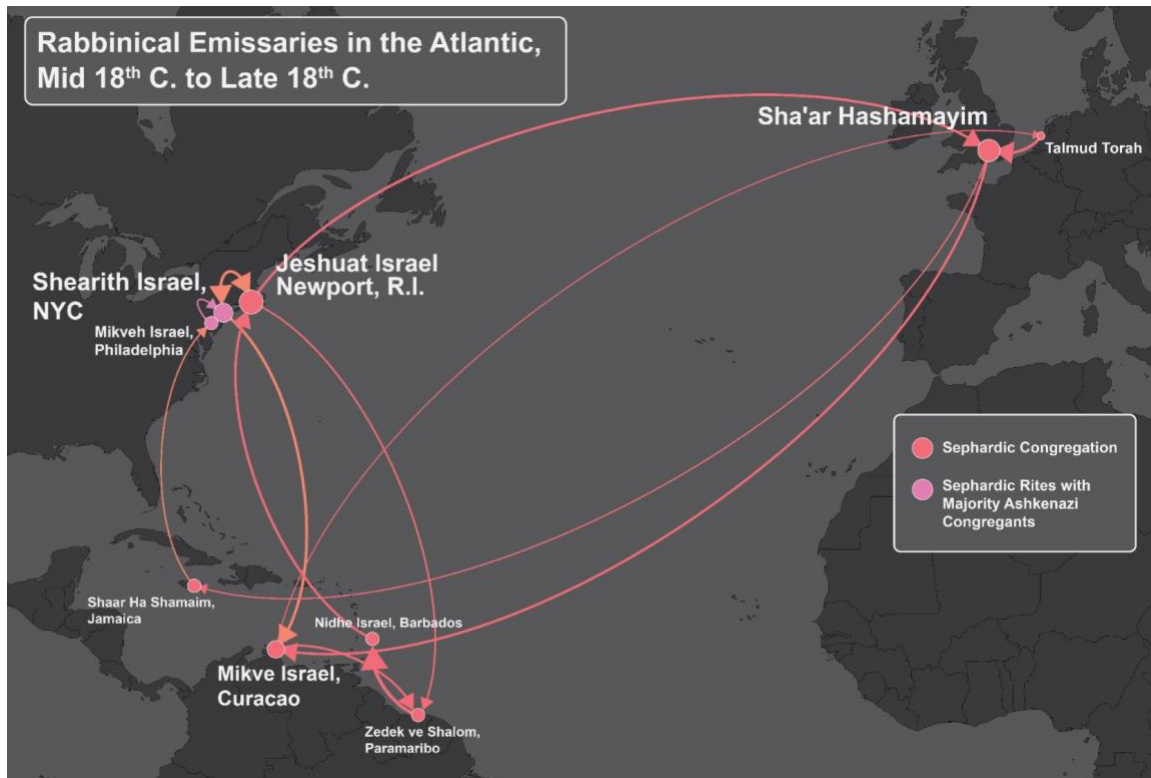
Figure 5.6: Rabbinical emissaries in the Atlantic, 1750-1800

Rabbinical emissaries held additional functions for 18th century congregations in North America and the Caribbean. In the Caribbean, *shadarim* provided continuity in rabbinical authority when gaps in leadership arose. When the well-traveled emissary from Hebron, Rabbi Haim Isaac Carigal, arrived in Curacao in 1761, Mikveh Israel had no *haham* after some years of internal conflicts between the *mahamad* and previous *hahamin*. Carigal accepted the position, with ample pay, and during his short tenure instituted changes to the liturgy, the structure of the yeshiva, and methods used in ritual slaughter.[58] After further missions in the Caribbean, North America, and Suriname, Carigal arrived in Bridgetown, Barbados, where the community had been without rabbinical leadership for twenty-two years. The rabbi served as chief rabbi of Nidhe Israel, where he kept correspondence with contacts in North America, until his death in

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[58] Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, 249.

1777. Carigal provides an example of the more expansive role *shadarim* could play in the Americas, compared to in Europe and North Africa, where their presence as outsiders never superseded or supplemented the established rabbinical authorities.[59]

In North American synagogues, there were no formally trained rabbis until later centuries, making *shadarim* the only rabbinical authority present. In return for the support of their missions, *shadarim* delivered sermons, offered halakhic rulings, and intervened in communal conflicts. As Figure 5.6 illustrates, Shearith Israel in New York, Mikveh Israel in Philadelphia, and Jeshuat Israel in Newport hosted numerous *shadarim* in the second half of the 18th century. The correspondences required in coordinating these visits likely also helped cultivate the close relationships of these three communities. The six itinerant rabbis that visited Newport, Rhode Island between 1759 and 1775 are particularly well documented in part by Reverend Ezra Stiles, who noted conversations with each in his diary. Due to his interests in Judaism and the Hebrew language, Stiles was closely acquainted with the Newport congregation, Jeshuat Israel (Salvation of Israel), established in 1756, and its religious leader Hazan Isaac Touro. The Reverend was especially taken with Rabbi Haim Isaac Carigal when he visited in 1773, taking careful notes of his sermon and their conversations. The sermon that Carigal gave to the Jeshuat Israel congregation—focused on uniting the Sephardim, upholding traditional hierarchies, and messianic ideals—was published in English in 1773.[60] Stiles kept a copy of the sermon, and continued his correspondence with the rabbi after he departed New England. Hazan Isaac Touro's journey to Newport is also somewhat characteristic of the religious leaders in the Americas. He was born in Amsterdam, and was in Kingston, Jamaica by at least 1651, where he

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[59] Mirvis, "Shadarim in the Colonial Americas," 235.
[60] Laura Leibman, "From Holy Land to New England Canaan: Rabbi Haim Carigal and Sephardic Itinerant Preaching in the Eighteenth Century," *Early American Literature* 44, no. 1 (2009): 71–93.

held the position of *hazan* at Shaar Hashamayim for nearly ten years before departing for North America. Touro first arrived in New York in 1760, where he served briefly, before leaving later that same year for Newport, Rhode Island. Following the American Revolution, and the dispersal of the Newport Jewish community, he returned to Jamaica.

From the mid-17th century and into the 19th century, the American colonial congregations maintained close relationships with Amsterdam, London, and with their fellow colonial counterparts through the movement of religious leaders and *shadarim*. Among the colonial congregations, two emerged during this period as significant hubs of religious leadership, playing a central role in connecting the dispersed communities in unified religious practices. These new, critical nodes of Jewish life across the Atlantic can be seen in Figure 5.7 below. This network, showing congregations linked to one another through the movements of religious leaders over the 17th and 18th centuries, shows how Mikve Israel in Curacao and Shearith Israel in New York played prominent roles in the transference of Sephardic religious practice and identity.
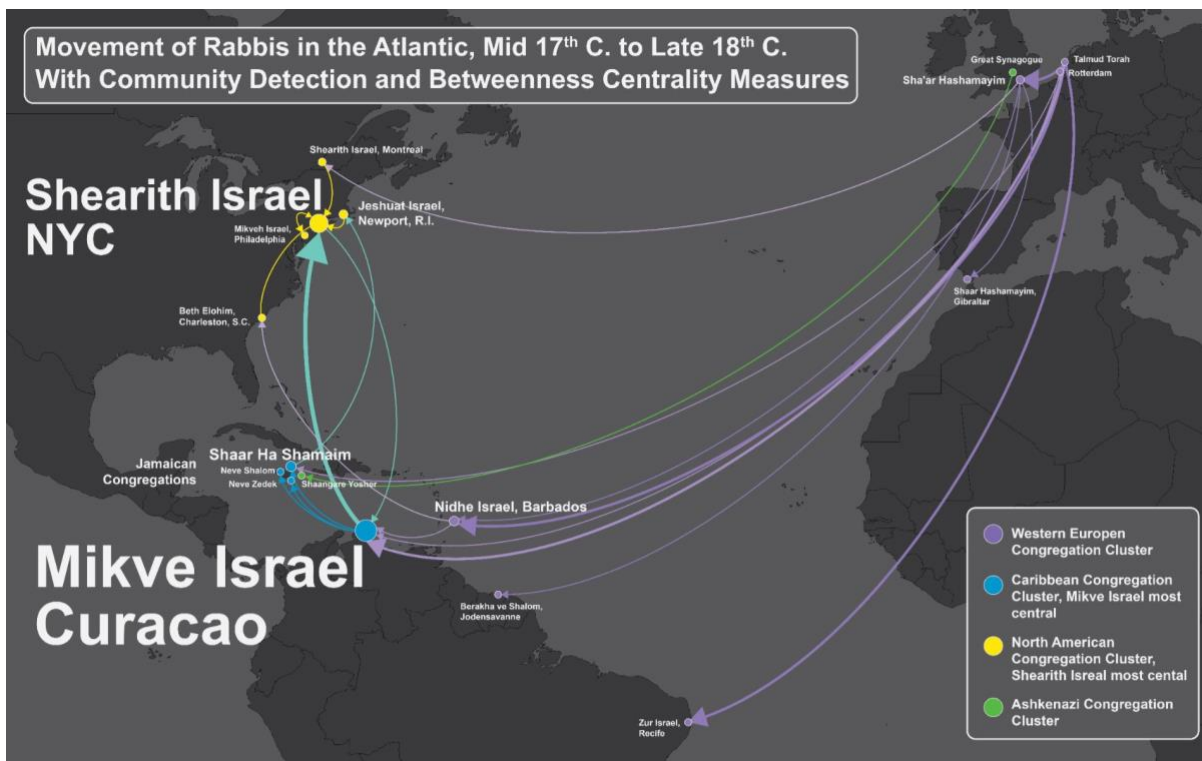
Figure 5.7: Movement of rabbis in the Atlantic, showing new centers, 17th-18th centuries

Both community detection and betweenness centrality measures are applied to the one-mode network in Figure 5.7. The partitions reveal the presence of two important clusters, in North America and in the Caribbean (in yellow and blue, respectively). At the center of these clusters are the Curacao and New York congregations, seen with significantly higher betweenness centrality scores than other nodes. Since betweenness centrality measures the role a node plays in the flow of information within a network, the high centrality of these two congregations indicates their critical position in the movement of rabbis, and religious practice and authority, in the Atlantic. These new centers of Jewish life, in Curacao and New York, also played an essential role in financing the construction of colonial synagogues and is the topic explored in the next section.

Part II: Financing the Colonial Synagogue: New Sephardic Centers and the Atlantic Slave Trade

Jewish Participation in the Atlantic Slave Economy

The history of the Atlantic colonial trade economy is unquestionably a history of enslaved people, brought from the African continent to be bought and sold to work on the New World plantations that produced goods shipped to European and North American commerce centers, with shares traded in the commodities markets. In no location were Jews the primary drivers of this economy, but like their Christian counterparts, they profited directly and indirectly from the trade and labor of enslaved people. Some of this wealth was directed towards communal funds, in commissioning fine ritual objects for the synagogue, and in directly financing the construction of the synagogue. In a few documented cases, enslaved laborers were used to physically build these spaces. Seen in Figure 1.1, Jewish congregations were scattered throughout the European holdings in the Caribbean, North and South America. As explored in the first section of this chapter, these communities relied on one another and the European congregations for religious leadership. The inter-communal communication that occurred as a result reinforced their ties to one another and to a unified Sephardic religious identity. Directly intertwined with this communication network was another network of material support. The more firmly established Jewish congregations in the Atlantic—like those of Curacao, Suriname, and New York—provided the resources for smaller communities to maintain ritual practices and build synagogues. As was the case for any group within the colonial environment of the 17th and 18th centuries, the material wealth of Jewish communities in the Atlantic was directly and indirectly impacted by the market for enslaved laborers.

It is important to state that in terms of direct involvement in the Atlantic slave trade—as stockholders in companies like the Royal African Company, owners of slave ships and

plantations—Jews represented an extremely small minority of participants.[61] There are various examples of Jewish traders involved in the import and export of enslaved people and Jewish plantation owners who bought and sold enslaved laborers. For the former, these ventures represented a negligible part of the overall number of transactions. For the latter, Jews owned enslaved laborers at rates no higher than Christians. Even where their involvement in a particular location stood out, as in the case of Alexandre Lindo, a major slave factor in Jamaica, the overall impact of Jews in the Atlantic slave economy remained exceedingly limited. Contemporary anti-Semitic libels have suggested otherwise, leading historians of Jewish history to either overlook or minimize Jewish participation in the colonial slave economy. However, to do so erases the histories of enslaved people and the way their lives intersected with the Jewish world.

Jewish Planters in the Caribbean and Suriname

The Atlantic ports of the 17th and 18th centuries gained their prominence as locations where goods produced from slave-based agricultural ventures were imported and exported. One of the most important crops in this economy was sugar cane, which during the 16th and early 17th century, was primarily produced in the Portuguese colonies in Brazil. New Christians were highly involved in running these sugar plantations, so when the Dutch West India Company took possession of Pernambuco, one of the primary reasons for allowing freedom of religion was to encourage Catholic planters to stay in the now Dutch territory, declaring: "The liberty of Spaniards, Portuguese and natives, whether they be Roman Catholics or Jews will be respected."[62] Despite the absence of barriers, Jews in Dutch Brazil did not play a dominant role in sugar production, accounting for only six percent of plantation owners. Instead, they worked

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[61] Faber, *Jews, Slaves, and the Slave Trade*, 143.
[62] Arnold Wiznitzer, *The Records of the Earliest Jewish Community in the New World* (New York: American Jewish Historical Society, 1954), 1.

as financiers in the sugar industry: as brokers and exporters of sugar, as well as suppliers of enslaved laborers, purchasing large numbers of people to resell to Brazilian plantation owners.[63] When the Dutch lost their territory in Brazil, the WIC, as well as English authorities, continued to view Jewish merchants as assets in the sugar trade and were especially interested in supporting agricultural development in other holdings in the New World.

Their support of João de Yllán in Curacao stemmed from these motives, but also revealed a growing anti-Semitic image of Jews as deceitful merchants who engaged in illicit trade, in direct opposition and harmful to colonial planters. Yllán's contract with the WIC allowed for only the development of plantations, but it seems they did not believe this was his primary intention, writing to the New Holland Governor, Pieter Stuyvesant in 1651:

> [Yllán] intends to bring a considerable number of people to settle and cultivate, as he pretends, the land, but we begin to suspect that he and his associates have quite another object in view, namely, to trade from there to the West Indies and the [Spanish] Main. Be that as it may, we are willing to make the experiment, and you must therefore charge [Vice Director in Curacao] Rodenborch to accommodate him.[64]

Although Yllán himself does not seem to have become a planter, other Jewish settlers in the Caribbean and South American colonies did engage in agricultural development, especially among those who had previous commercial involvement in the plantation culture of Brazil. During the years of colonization in the Americas, it was not unusual to encounter Jewish planter-merchants who owned and operated plantations, often in sugar production, and also engaged in trade.[65] However, as seen in the letter to Governor Stuyvesant, Jews were accused of causing the tension between trade and the colonial desire for agricultural development in the New World.

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[63] Wiznitzer, *Jews in Colonial Brazil*, 70.
[64] Letter from the Directors of the Dutch West India Company 21 March 1651 included in: Maduro, *Our "Snoa"*, 5492-5742.
[65] Mirvis, "The Gabay Dynasty: Plantation Jews of the Colonial Atlantic World," 570.

The depiction of Jews as untrustworthy, single-minded merchants persisted in the Netherlands, England, and throughout the colonial settlements in the Americas.

In Barbados and Jamaica, these prejudices led Christian merchants to submit petitions, full of anti-Jewish language, accusing Jewish merchants of violating the Navigation Acts and providing intelligence to England's colonial rivals. Their Dutch connections had been valuable to the island during the years of the English Civil War, when supply of basic goods from England had been disrupted and many Barbadian merchants flouted trade regulations. But now, the hostile environment towards Jews in Barbados would have made any such transgressions dangerous for those who settled there. Archeological evidence suggests Jewish consumer choices in Barbados were well within the boundaries of the colony.[66] The authorities in London continued to encourage Jewish merchant activity in the English colonies, but local assemblies responded to petitions by imposing taxes on Jews on the islands. In Jamaica, the tax persisted until 1740; Governor William Beeston justified the Jewish tax based on the idea that Jews refused to engage in planting in the colony.[67] This was patently untrue. In one example, Salamão Gabay, one of the founders of the Port Royal congregation, had transferred his experience in Recife, Brazil into sugar cultivation in Jamaica. Gabay and three generations of his descendants owned and operated profitable sugar plantations across the island, epitomizing the merchant-planter identity seen in the Jewish Caribbean. In 1692, Gabay, David Baruh Alvares (another prominent Port Royal merchant and plantation owner), along with ten other Jewish planters submitted a petition to the English crown defending themselves from accusations that Jewish traders damaged the colony's agricultural efforts.[68] Despite the fact that Port Royal's Jewish

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[66] Miller, "The Scattered of Israel: The Material Culture of Trans-Atlantic Jewish Identities on Colonial Barbados," 8.
[67] Mirvis, "The Gabay Dynasty: Plantation Jews of the Colonial Atlantic World," 572.
[68] Mirvis, "The Alvares Family Patriarchs and the Place of Pre-1692 Port Royal in the Western Sephardic Diaspora."

population accounted for less than 4% of the white population in the late-17th century, their presence, and their wealth, was well observed and judged; The traveler John Taylor noting "many Jewes, very wealthy merchants having free commerce with our English factory."[69] Identifying Jews only as merchants reinforced the image of Jewish deceitfulness, ignoring contributions to the colonial plantation economy.

In Suriname, Sephardic settlers predominantly made their livings owning and managing plantations, mainly sugar and to a lesser extent, coffee. The early arrivals under English rule established plantations along the Suriname River, near the then-capital of Torarica; a map from 1667 lists estates on both sides of the river with owners of Sephardic surnames including da Silva, de Casseres, Pereira, Mesa, Nunes, de Fonseca, and da Costa.[70] In 1682, Jodensavanne was founded through a donation of twenty-five acres of land from Samuel Cohen Nassy, son of David Cohen Nassy, the entrepreneur who founded the Jewish settlement in Cayenne and Essequibo. Nassy also provided funds for the construction of a brick synagogue in the town center, Berekha ve Shalom, opened in 1685. Jodensavanne was a Jewish plantation community, where at its peak in 1737, was surrounded by potentially ninety-three Jewish-owned plantations, out of a total of 401 in the Dutch colony.[71] Sugar cultivation was labor intensive, and to support Suriname's plantations significant numbers of enslaved laborers were brought from Africa. In 1684, there were roughly 4,000 enslaved people and 800 white colonists, including Jews, living in the colony. These numbers grew to 40,000 by the 1730's, and 60,000 by 1774, accounting for nearly 90% of the colony's population.[72]

In Jodensavanne and elsewhere in Suriname, plantation ownership was a risky and costly

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[69] Taylor, *Jamaica in 1687*, 240.
[70] Ben-Ur, *Jewish Autonomy in a Slave Society*, 43.
[71] Vink, *Creole Jews: Negotiating Community in Colonial Suriname*, 48.
[72] Ben-Ur, *Jewish Autonomy in a Slave Society*, 66.

endeavor, not a guaranteed path to wealth. Poverty was an ongoing issue in the colony, where

taxes were high and commodities expensive. In the Surinamese Jewish community this was

amplified by the large number of *despachados* that arrived during the 18th century; these

impoverished or problematic Jews were sent abroad by the Amsterdam congregation to lessen

their economic impact on Talmud Torah's charity institutions, but the practice added to the

transient nature of many Atlantic Jewish populations and added financial burdens to communal

charity. In Suriname, and elsewhere in the Americas, the smaller proportion of elite Jews, and

the assumption of Jewish wealth by Christians, shaped the image of the Jewish community. As

seen in the generous gifts by the Jodensavanne *mahamad* to arriving *hahamin*, Jewish communal

leaders encouraged this image, often to reinforce their position to colonial authorities, who

granted them autonomy over their own community. In Suriname, the salary provided to their

rabbinical leaders was not a sufficient livelihood in the colonial environment, and many engaged

in planting, trade or other professions while they served the community, sometimes leading to

conflict with the *mahamad*. Elsewhere in the Americas and Caribbean, it was also common for

religious leaders to act as merchants, as was the case for Saul Prado and many of the other

hazanim in the small congregations in North America.

Curacao and New York: Jewish Merchant Network in the Dutch and English Colonies

During the mid-17th century, the Dutch port of Willemstad, Curacao became a critical

link in trans-Atlantic trade, importing and exporting goods and people between the Americas and

Europe. The WIC supported the settlement of Jews on the island, and with the port's prominence

lasting through much of the 18th century, Curacao's Jewish community flourished economically,

culturally, and religiously. The Mikveh Israel Synagogue, built in 1730, was one of the largest

buildings in the Caribbean, and by far the most monumental synagogue in the western

hemisphere well into the 19th century. The synagogue itself represented the central position the Curacao congregation held in the Jewish Atlantic world during the 17th and 18th centuries.

The Willemstad port played a key role in connecting the Netherlands, West Africa and the Spanish colonies in the Americas. Illicit trade between the Dutch port and Spanish holdings in nearby Venezuela, Nueva Granada, Cuba, Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico and Buenos Aires began around the 1650's, but was made semi-legal in 1662 through an agreement allowing Spanish slave factors to purchase enslaved people in Curacao.[73] There is no clear evidence of Jewish merchant participation in the import and export of enslaved people in Curacao, but these practices stabilized the traffic in and out of the Willemstad port, benefitting all merchants residing there. Curacao's trade links eventually expanded in the 18th century to include the French, Danish and English Caribbean colonies, and the English colonies in North America, although these ventures were still illegal. One English observer noted of this illicit trade in 1704, that:

> [Curacao] loads home for Holland in one year about 50 sail of ships, and most of them are richly laden, and a great part of their loading comes out of English plantations, chiefly sugar, cotton, tobacco, indigo and ginger; of their own produce by trade with Spaniards, cocoa, hides, tobacco, logwood, stockfish, wood and money.[74]

The Sephardim on the island dealt predominantly with other Sephardic merchants, maintaining commercial connections, often through family ties, throughout the Atlantic and in Amsterdam.[75] This economic network overlapped with the religious network discussed earlier in this chapter, and positioned Curacao at the center of another inter-communal network that provided material support for Sephardic communities in the Caribbean and North American colonies.

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[73] Israel, *Diasporas Within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews, and the World of Maritime Empires (1540-1740)*, 513–15.
[74] Israel, 530.
[75] Israel, 531.

The New York congregation was another critical node in this commerce network, continually reinforcing the inter-communal communication between Shearith Israel and Mikveh Israel. During the 18th century, New York's kosher butchers provided an essential service to Jewish communities in the Caribbean. There was an active market in the export of kosher beef from New York to Curacao, Jamaica, Barbados, and likely the other islands of the British West Indies, including Nevis. In 1752, Shearith Israel's records indicate complaints within the New York Jewish community of frequent shortages of kosher beef, as a result of large amounts being exported to other locations. The *mahamad* determined that anyone who exported beef on any Friday or on the eve of holidays were liable to fines of forty shillings for each offence.[76] Twice, in 1753 and 1758, the leaders of Mikveh Israel raised issues over possible negligence in preparing their shipments of kosher beef, but these seem to have been resolved, as they continued to receive kosher products from New York until at least 1833.[77] Maintaining these inter-communal networks serviced Atlantic Jewish communities in countless ways over the 17th and 18th centuries.

Preserving the Sephardic Identity: Inter-Communal Financial Contributions

The inter-communal communication network between Atlantic diaspora communities provided even more than trade opportunities and in conveying religious practice. These networks reinforced relationships between congregations and offered opportunities for individuals and congregations to give material support directly to other synagogues in the diaspora. These contributions were especially critical in funding the construction of synagogues and in maintaining Jewish ritual, through donations of objects like *sefer torah* and ritual ornaments and

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[76] Pool and Pool, *An Old Faith in the New World: Portrait of Shearith Israel, 1654-1954*, 239–40.
[77] Pool and Pool, 414.

furniture. Much of this monetary funding came from the Jews in the local community, through collections of *nedabot*, free-will offerings made to the *sedeca*, and *finta*, emergency loans raised to meet deficiencies in the *sedaca*, that were specific fundraising efforts that differed from the twice yearly *imposta*, an income tax paid to the congregation. Due to the regular migrations of Jews within the Atlantic Diaspora, monetary and ritual donations also came from individuals abroad, who remained connected to the congregation.

Some Atlantic congregations were large enough and wealthy enough to support the construction of their synagogues—this was certainly the case in London and Amsterdam—but others were not. The inter-communal communication network that helped dispersed congregations recommend rabbis and *shadarim* was also used to make requests for support in building synagogues. Figure 5.8 below shows the network of monetary contributions in the Atlantic Sephardic diaspora over the course of the 17th and 18th centuries. From this network, we can see which synagogues were built through a majority of funds raised locally. This included the Esnoga, and the London synagogues at Creechurch Lane and Bevis Marks, but also the Mikveh Israel Synagogue in Curacao and Berekha ve Shalom in Jodensavanne. Elsewhere, congregations received support from others within the network of the Atlantic Sephardim. Shearith Israel in New York requested support for their first two synagogues, in 1730 and 1818, while also providing financial contributions to others.
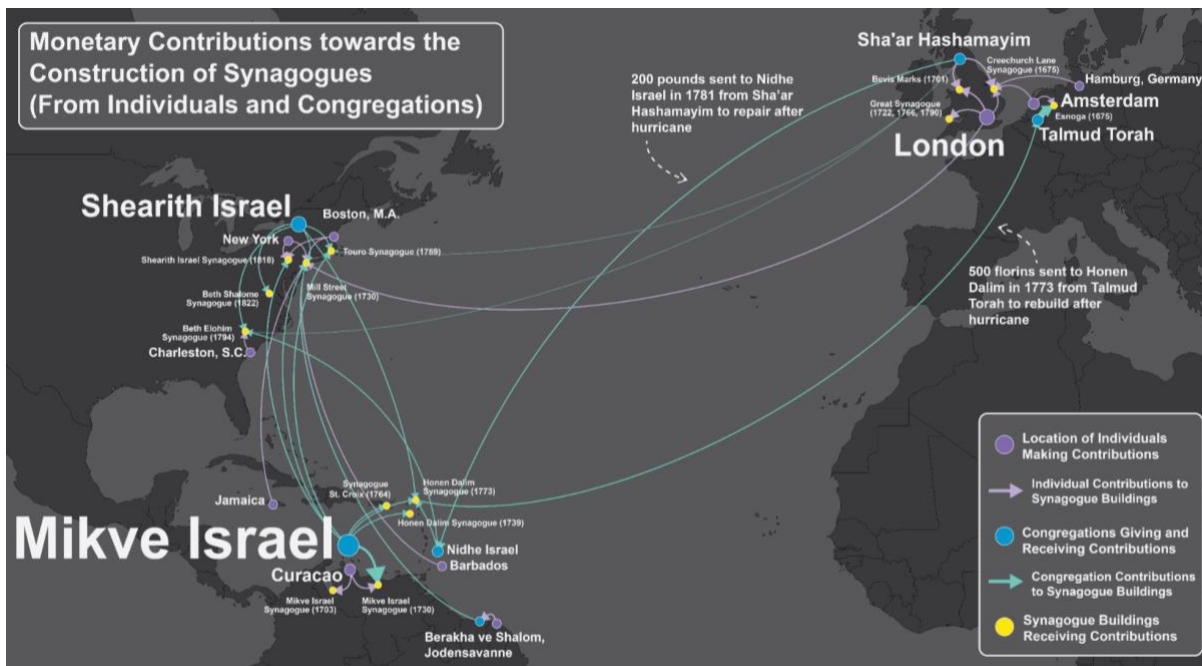
Figure 5.8: Monetary Contributions to the construction of Atlantic synagogues, 17th-18th c.; Blue nodes represent funding provided by congregation funds (*sedaca*); Purple nodes represent money gifted from individual donors, labeled by the donor's location; Yellow nodes represent synagogues that received monetary contributions.

As with the previous network maps in this chapter, these contribution networks are not fully inclusive of all donations made to diaspora synagogues. Only shown here are the contributions confirmed and collected during the period of research for this dissertation, from sources that remain available. Communal account records listing individual *nedabot* or *finta* payments, as well as payments made and/or received from other congregations, were the primary sources for this data.[78] In cases where I was unable to access these records myself, the valuable research of other scholars over the past century, were also used as reference.[79]

Figure 5.8 clearly shows that congregation Mikveh Israel was a central node in the inter-

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[78] This includes: Lionel Barnett, *El Libro de Los Acuerdos* (Oxford: Univ. Pr., 1931); "THE EARLIEST EXTANT MINUTE BOOKS OF THE SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE CONGREGATION SHEARITH ISRAEL IN NEW YORK, 1728-1786," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 21 (1913): 1–82.

[79] Authors who published significant amts of archival research includes Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*; Pool and Pool, *An Old Faith in the New World: Portrait of Shearith Israel, 1654-1954*.

communal network of synagogues in the Americas and Caribbean. Over the course of the 18th century, they responded to requests for financial aid in no less than six cases: three to Caribbean synagogues, and three in North America. To their fellow Caribbean congregations, Mikveh Israel sent funds to the St. Eustatius congregation Honen Dalim in 1738 for their synagogue, and in 1674, 200 pesos were contributed from the *sedaca* towards the synagogue in St. Croix.[80] The account books of Shearith Israel in New York note three payments received from the Curacao community towards their synagogue on Mill Street; the first noted October 13th, 1729, for 264 pieces of eight weighing 229 ounces, a second on February 23rd, 1730 of over 43 ounces of "Marcht Silver," and on August 26th, 1730 of 24 pieces of eight weighing over 20 ounces and 19 oz. of "small money."[81] In total the contributions from Curacao, collected from the congregation by Haham Jessurun, accounted for close to £140. With a total cost of the small synagogue around £600, Curacao's contributions accounted for over 20% of the funds raised.[82] A letter from the Curacao *haham* to the New York *mahamad,* following receipt of the donation in 1729, acknowledged that the majority of congregants of Shearith Israel at that point were Ashkenazi Jews, and requested that they not "have any More Votes nor Authority then they have had."[83] Maintaining the Sephardic minhag in New York was a condition of the support from congregation Mikveh Israel.

To the Newport congregation, Mikveh Israel sent several donations of £100 in 1759, 1761, and 1768; in 1762, Jeshuat Israel asked for a loan of £200 to help pay off the synagogue's

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[80] Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, 131,167.
[81] "THE EARLIEST EXTANT MINUTE BOOKS OF THE SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE CONGREGATION SHEARITH ISRAEL IN NEW YORK, 1728-1786," 22–24.
[82] The pieces of eight and silver were sold for £100 7s., £18 11s. 11d., and £17 7s. 10d., respectively. Another 5 shillings is listed in relation to the silver.
[83] Israel Joel, Abraham Isaacs, and Jonas N. Phillips, "ITEMS RELATING TO CONGREGATION SHEARITH ISRAEL, NEW YORK," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, no. 27 (1920): 3–4.

mortgage, which was paid back in 1768.[84] The congregation in New York also held a collection

for the Newport synagogue in 1759, amounting to a total of £149 6d.[85]

The letters written by the leaders of the Atlantic congregations to one another speak to

the closeness between these communities, and the degree of importance that constructing

synagogues were to the Sephardim at large. The New York parnassim wrote to Newport

regarding their "pious design" and hoped that the contribution collected from congregants of

Shearith Israel "may enable you to go on with the Holy building and that you maybe a Religious

& prosperous Congregation."[86] In 1818, the New York congregation again reached out to

Mikveh Israel for support in building a new synagogue. The Dutch economy in the Caribbean

was significantly diminished at that point, and the Curacao community was no longer in a strong

financial position; still, they sent 600 pieces of eight, accounting for $400, and a note

apologizing for not being able to send more:

> We beg to assure you that this is by far not what our Congregation desirous to
> cooperate with efficiency in your praise-worthy undertaking would have wished
> to contribute. But considering the dulness of times and the total stagnation of
> commerce, the only Spring of prosperity of this Colony, We hope that this small
> gift will prove to you, our good will and friendly disposition towards you.[87]

By the 19th century, the Mikveh Israel congregation no longer held their central role in the

Americas, but this gesture suggests they remained at least culturally and socially tied to the New

York congregation at this later date. It doesn't appear they shared this same relationship with

North American congregations established in the later part of the 18th century, after their

influence had significantly waned. When the Beth Elohim congregation in Charleston, South

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[84] Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, 166.
[85] Letters written between the mahamad in Newport and New York in Manuel Josephson, "ITEMS RELATING TO THE JEWS OF NEWPORT," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 27 (1920): 178–80.
[86] Josephson, 179.
[87] Pool and Pool, *An Old Faith in the New World: Portrait of Shearith Israel, 1654-1954*, 414.

Carolina built their first synagogue in 1794, no records suggest contributions were received from the Curacao congregation directly, also the case for Richmond, Virginia's Beth Shalome, which began collecting funds for their synagogue in at least 1809. Both the Charleston and Richmond Jewish communities received support from Shearith Israel in New York, signifying that influence in North America had shifted to New York by this period.

By the end of the 18th century, the relationships between North American and Caribbean congregations with their mother synagogues in Amsterdam and London had changed as well, although evidence suggests they remained, at least symbolically, connected. As populations in these metropolis communities grew, the amount of charity required to support the large number of destitute congregants also increased. There is no documentation of financial support from European congregations to synagogues in the Americas during the 17th century and first half of the 18th century, but as the following section demonstrates, they contributed numerous *sifrei torah* to colonial congregations. In the latter half of the 18th century, requests for financial help from Atlantic communities were either declined, or relatively small amounts were sent.

In 1759, the Newport congregation reached out to the London *mahamad* for assistance in building their synagogue. The request was denied and the congregation's treasurer, Moses de Jacob Franks responded that "at present time it would not be convenient for us." In 1768, £30 was sent to assist with outstanding expenses, with another letter blaming the Sha'ar Hashamayim's poor finances as the reason for the small amount. When Haham Isaac Touro wrote again following the American Revolution, after the synagogue in Newport had been used as a British hospital and required repair, the London *mahamad* expressed regret for being unable

to help, "the community not being as [he] knew it years ago."[88] Similarly, Sha'ar Hashamayim

sent a small amount of £20 to the Beth Elohim congregation in Charleston, South Carolina

towards the construction of their first synagogue in 1793.

However, in 1781, the London *mahamad* voted to send £200 to Nidhe Israel in Barbados,

to help repair some damage caused by a hurricane, as well as three *sepharim*, as gifts from

Sha'ar Hashamayim.[89] It may have been the urgency of the situation in Barbados that resulted in

such a large sum, or representative of an older, closer connection with the congregation in the

British Caribbean. In the case of St. Eustatius' Honen Dalim synagogue, which required

rebuilding after a hurricane in 1772, the London *mahamad* seems to have drawn a line on

supporting the congregation in Dutch territory, denying the request for support.[90] Four other

congregations sent financial contributions to St. Eustatius, including the Dutch congregations of

Talmud Torah, Mikveh Israel in Curacao, and two British congregations, Nidhe Israel in

Barbados, and Shearith Israel in New York, who sent over £38 (see Figure 5.8). This is the only

evidence found of the Talmud Torah congregation sending financial contributions towards a

synagogue in the Americas, although there certainly may have been other cases. In 1772, their

own finances were limited by the failing Dutch economy but sent 500 florins as a token of their

support, along with a letter apologizing for the small amount.[91]

The monetary exchanges that occurred over the 17th and 18th centuries suggest certain

patterns in communal relationships. Curacao, during its height as a religious center in the

Americas in the early 18th century, supplied significant sums to the New York synagogue in

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[88] R. D. Barnett, "The Correspondence of the Mahamad of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Transactions (Jewish Historical Society of England)* 20 (1959): 16–17.
[89] Barnett, 13.
[90] Barnett, 14.
[91] Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, 522.

1729, and Newport between 1754 and 1768. Given the time frame, we can assume the amounts sent to Honen Dalim in 1739 and to St. Croix in 1764 were proportionally similar amounts that would have covered a significant portion of the costs for these relatively small communities. Later, in the early 19th century, Mikveh Israel could no longer afford such generosity, but still sent a symbolic donation towards the second Shearith Israel synagogue in 1818. The same was the case for Sha'ar Hashamayim and Talmud Torah in the late-18th century. These symbolic contributions are more reflective of an interest in maintaining the inter-communal connections within the Atlantic Sephardim, and recognition of their shared history and culture, rather than being serious sources of funding.

There is also a significant amount of give-and-take in this network of contributions, with monetary donations of various amounts travelling back and forth between the diaspora at any given time during the 17th and 18th centuries. Into the 19th century, a unified Sephardic religious identity continued to connect the Atlantic congregations. Even as relationships within the Sephardim and the Jewish world at large changed, there was a responsibility felt within these congregations in helping one another construct lasting synagogues—physical outputs of their Sephardic identities—and continue public Jewish worship. Jews in the Atlantic colonies knew exactly how precarious the existence of their communities was during the 17th and 18th centuries. Many had personal experience with this insecurity, having migrated their families between colonial communities and Europe, some on many occasions. The Inquisitions on the Iberian peninsula were not officially disbanded until the early 19th century, so Portuguese and Spanish born *converso* Jews also continued to arrive in Jewish communities throughout the diaspora.

Like David Nassy's colony in Cayenne, there is evidence of numerous short-lived Jewish

congregations in the New World that were uprooted by the near-constant conflict between colonial powers. When the Dutch established a trade post in Tucacas on the Venezuelan coast, Jews from nearby Curacao were among the early colonists. Their numbers were likely very small, but enough to establish a congregation, Santa Irmandade, by 1715, and a purpose-built synagogue.[92] By the time the Spanish raided in November of 1720, they found the Dutch had already abandoned and burned the settlement. On the Danish island of St. Croix, a small Jewish community was present in 1764, with an established congregation and synagogue. An official communication of the St. Croix colonial council wrote in reference to the island's Jews in 1765:

> They have their regular meetings in the west end of the town in a little specially constructed building, separated from other houses, where nobody can be disturbed by their shouting.[93]

Their synagogue was built with support from Curacao's Mikveh Israel but burnt down at the end of 1765. Despite plans to rebuild, for reasons unknown the synagogue was never replaced, although a dwindling Jewish presence on the island remained into the early 19th century. This may have been due to the growing Jewish community on St. Thomas, another property of the Danish, where the congregation Beraka ve Shalom ve Gemilut Hasadim (Blessing and Peace and Acts of Piety) was founded in 1796.

Some settlements did not survive long enough, or maintain enough support, to build synagogues or establish congregations with any lasting evidence. In the mid-17th century, a number of Jews are noted to have settled on the French-controlled islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, originating from Amsterdam, Bordeaux and Bayonne.[94] However, when Louis XIV

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[92] Stiefel, *Jewish Sanctuary in the Atlantic World: A Social and Architectural History*, 239.
[93] Dated 12 July 1765 and quoted in: Mordehay Arbell, *The Jewish Nation of the Caribbean: The Spanish-Portuguese Jewish Settlements in the Caribbean and the Guianas* (Jerusalem, Israel; New York: Gefen Pub, 2002), 272–73.
[94] Arbell, 38.

signed the "Code Noir" in 1685, expelling Jews from all French colonies, the remaining Jews on the islands left for Curacao.[95] Throughout the Atlantic diaspora, Jews were connected to one another through the various networks that supported their survival.

Expressions of Status and Authority: Donations of Ritual Objects and Sifrei Torah

Inter-communal support also came in the form of ritual objects for the synagogue. As mentioned in Chapter Four in the discussion of the inventory of the London synagogue at Creechurch Lane, synagogues held a number of valuable items used during regular prayer services and on holidays, as well as for general decoration. Ritual objects reveal a great deal of information about community members' affiliations and economic status. In some cases, a synagogue's objects are all that remains, as is the case for the Sephardic synagogues in Suriname, but they can still reveal information about connections with other Jewish communities. The Sephardim in Amsterdam were well known for the beauty of their ritual objects, which were a part of the Christian fascination with the Jewish practice.[96] Members of the community often gifted fine objects from Portugal to Talmud Torah, like the large 16th century gilt silver water basin presented to the Amsterdam congregation by Abraham and Sarah Herrera in the mid-17th century.[97] Other fine objects were commissioned by Christian silversmiths in Amsterdam, of their own designs or reproductions of earlier objects. These Dutch commissions also made it into the synagogues across the Atlantic. In an example of the close connection between Amsterdam and the Suriname Sephardic community, many of the ritual objects from the

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[95] Arbell, *The Jewish Nation of the Caribbean: The Spanish-Portuguese Jewish Settlements in the Caribbean and the Guianas*.

[96] The early-18th century Amsterdam publication, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* (1723-1743), featured illustrations by Bernard Picart of Torah ornaments, silver vessels and other Jewish ritual objects

[97] Chaya Benjamin, "From Holland to Suriname: Precious Ceremonial Objects in the Tzedek ve-Shalom Synagogue," in *Tzedek Ve-Shalom: A Synagogue from Suriname in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 2010), 67.

Surinamese synagogues—twelve pairs of rimmonim (torah finials), torah crowns, a Hanukkah lamp, a spice box—were all made in the Netherlands and brought to the South American colony.[98] The styles of rimmonim that were popular in Amsterdam, modeled after Dutch tower forms or in the shape of apples and pomegranates (after their namesake), could be found throughout the Atlantic Diaspora. In England, wealthier members of London's Sephardim had local silversmiths replicate Dutch designs; one early-17th century commission kept in Bevis Marks is an exact copy of Dutch rimmonim from 1692.[99]

In addition to monetary contributions, donations of ritual objects and texts were collected for this project, to further identify inter-communal relationships in the Atlantic Diaspora. Figure 5.9 below shows the network of these contributions. Again, it is not a complete representation of the sacred objects donated to synagogues, but it does provide an interesting comparison against monetary contributions.
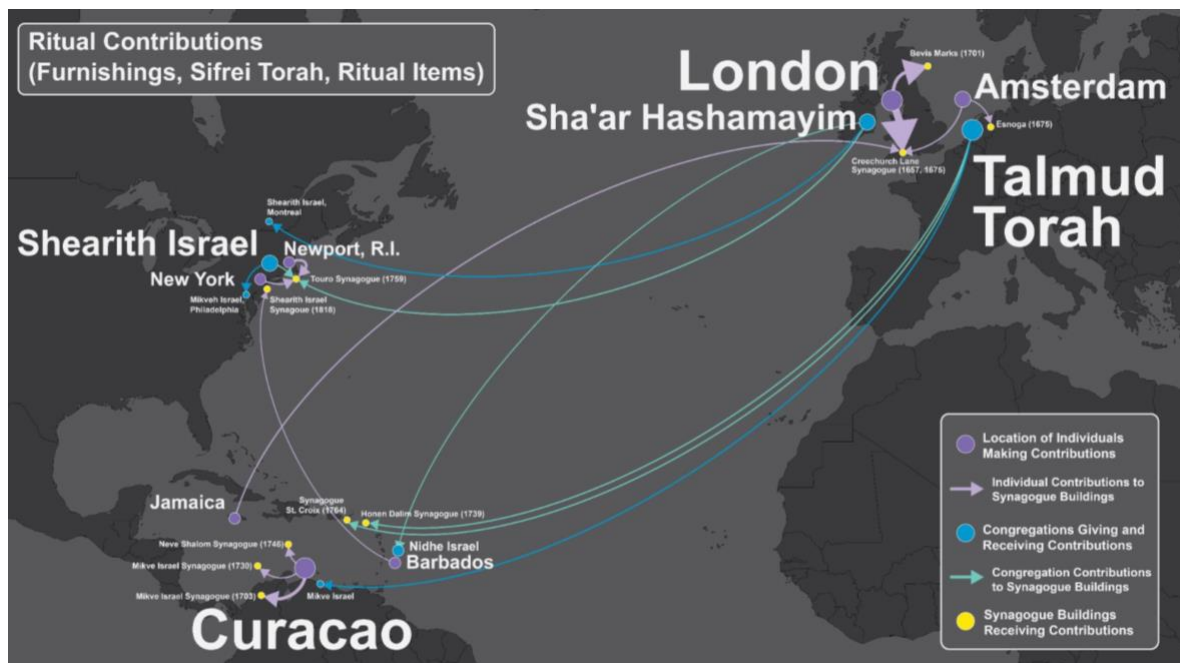
Figure 5.9: Ritual Contributions to Atlantic Synagogues, 17th-18th centuries

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[98] Benjamin, "From Holland to Suriname: Precious Ceremonial Objects in the Tzedek ve-Shalom Synagogue."
[99] Benjamin, 70.

What this network illustrates is that compared to financial contributions, ritual objects were predominantly donated from within the local Jewish population. These contributions provided a method of displaying status within the community and were often done to mark certain events and rituals. The London Sephardic congregation's inventory includes several objects gifted on being made "Bridegroom of the Law" (Hatan Torah), a privileged reader of the Torah on Simhat Torah.[100] Objects were also bequeathed through wills, as seen in the case of Deborah Israel of the Creechurch Lane community, who requested part of the legacy given to the synagogue in 1669 go towards commissioning two pairs of silver rimmonim.[101] Across the Atlantic, the close associations of the New York and Newport communities extended beyond financial contributions. Several donations from New York residents were used in the Newport Touro Synagogue, including candlesticks and the ner tamid (eternal light), gifted by Samual Judah of New York in 1762.[102] The Sha'ar Hashamayim congregation in London had been unable to provide financial support for the Newport synagogue in 1759, but sent two wooden charity boxes and a clock, commissioned by the English-Jewish clockmaker Judah Jacobs, in 1769.

An important pattern revealed in Figure 5.9 confirms the position of the London and Amsterdam congregations as "mother synagogues" to their connections across the Atlantic. Other than the gifts from London to the Touro Synagogue, all of the other edges linking Sha'ar Hashamayim and Talmud Torah to colonial synagogues represent *sefer torah*, the handwritten text of the Five Books of Moses that is the most sacred object within the synagogue. As the fundamental object required for communal prayer, *sifrei torah* were essential items for newly

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[100] Barnett, *El Libro de Los Acuerdos*.
[101] Barnett.
[102] Josephson, "ITEMS RELATING TO THE JEWS OF NEWPORT," 184.

established congregations. Strict laws surrounded the creation of new torah scrolls, and the New

World communities were unable to produce their own. Talmud Torah provided *sefer torah* to at

least three colonial congregations near the date of their founding, including Mikveh Israel in

Curacao, Honen Dalim in St. Eustatius, and the congregation in St. Croix.[103] Sha'ar Hashamayim

did the same in the case of the Montreal congregation, Shearith Israel, and Nidhe Israel in

Barbados, following a hurricane in 1781 that damaged their previous scrolls. The congregation in

New York lent torah scrolls to the congregations in Philadelphia and Newport. Shearith Israel

also appears to have been entrusted with scrolls for safe keeping; when the Savannah community

became unable to maintain itself, they sent their *sefer torah* to New York.[104] All three of these

examples demonstrate the role played by the more established communities for their younger

counterparts. During the 18th century, St. Eustatius sent their scrolls to Curacao for repair, in

1750, 1752 and 1770, demonstrating again the role Mikveh Israel held for the Honen Dalim

congregation. Arguably Jewish congregations in the position to maintain, gift, and lend sacred

torah scrolls to younger, or more unstable, congregations, put them in the position of authority

and respect as "mother synagogues." By the mid-18th century, the congregations of Mikveh

Israel in Curacao and Shearith Israel in New York had become major centers of influence—

economically, religiously, and in preserving Sephardic cultural identity—for Jewish

communities in the Americas. Amsterdam and London, as the respected senior congregations,

both continued to be seen as the "mother congregations" of the Sephardic diaspora, but two new

major nodes of Jewish life also emerged across the Atlantic in Curacao and New York.

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[103] See Appendix
[104] Pool and Pool, *An Old Faith in the New World: Portrait of Shearith Israel, 1654-1954*, 520.

Part III: The Architecture of Colonial Synagogues: Impacts of the Esnoga and Bevis Marks in the Dutch and English Atlantic

Dutch Colonial Synagogues: Suriname, Curacao, and St. Eustatius

The final section of this chapter addresses the architectural design of colonial synagogues over the course of the 17th and much of the 18th century. Their construction could not have been funded without the financial support received through the inter-communal religious and economic networks, and this section will explore whether the forms of colonial synagogues were impacted by these networks. Out of the numerous public synagogues documented in the Atlantic, primary evidence on architectural form currently exists only for a limited number of sites. The colonial synagogues included in this analysis represent those with traceable histories of their architecture to the time of construction. The same methods in data structure and network analysis used in Chapters Three and Four to examine the systems of architectural production are applied in this section. The analysis in this chapter is fundamentally interested in the relationships between Jewish worship spaces, based on analysis of the previous two chapters. Christian architecture in the colonies has not been included here, but further studies would benefit from the inclusion of colonial churches.

To begin, I will provide an introduction to the synagogues included in the network analysis that follows. The details of the first public synagogue in the Atlantic colonies, Recife's Zur Israel, was provided earlier in this chapter, and is not included here due to the lack of information on its prayer space. Although the site was purpose built, archaeological evidence provides little on the exterior architecture of this synagogue and suggests the building was constructed in a similar fashion to others in Recife. In regard to constructions in the Dutch territories, the earliest to be included here is Berekha ve Shalom, in Jodensavanne, Suriname, consecrated in 1685. The Jodensavanne synagogue, and the town itself, was singular within the

colonial Jewish world, as a site founded and run by Jewish settlers. Dutch colonial authorities, interested in attracting and retaining colonists, extended Jews a territorial and communal autonomy that was unparalleled in the Jewish diaspora at the time.[105] The arrangement obligated all Jews in the colony to be a member of the Jewish community and gave authority to the *mahamad* to administer their own population, not unlike in Amsterdam. What this meant for Jodensavanne was a town planned around the synagogue.

The Berekha ve Shalom Synagogue sat on the top of a hill in the center of the town, visible from the nearby Suriname River (Image 5.4). The building was sited in the village square, at the intersection of four cross streets, and was enclosed by an outer perimeter wall with four entrances. The plots surrounding the synagogue were parceled out to leading members of the community, who mainly lived on their plantations in the surrounding area.[106] Slavery defined every aspect of life in Suriname, including within the synagogue. Berekha ve Shalom had a separate door reserved for enslaved laborers, who were not permitted to participate in prayer, but were tasked with the upkeep of the building.[107] Given the dependence on the labor of enslaved people, it can be argued that enslaved laborers most likely completed the construction of the Jodensavanne synagogue.

According to illustrations from the period and the remaining ruins, the synagogue was a brick building with a rectangular floor plan and a steep, Dutch-gabled roof. Two primary entrances into the prayer space were located on the north and south lengths, each with a rounded, stepped platform. In 1828, Dutch Christian Marten D. Teenstra visited the nearly deserted site, and described the building's interior:

At the western end is a gallery a man's height above the ground floor, containing

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[105] Ben-Ur, *Jewish Autonomy in a Slave Society*, 5–6.
[106] Ben-Ur, 51–59.
[107] Ben-Ur, 65.

seats for the women. Below this gallery are three chambers, in one which sat the Tribunal of the Jews… In the chamber to the left, there is a large chest of books, where children are instructed in the divine services. On the eastern side is a large Ark in which are eighteen scrolls… the sticks, upon which these holy laws are rolled, have splendid crowns of silver and gold, while each scroll is wrapped in an embroidered silk covering. On the north side are seats of the officers… The quantity of copper crowns and chandeliers is the best witness to the former prosperity of this community.[108]

As previously mentioned, the synagogue was adorned with opulent objects, projecting a wealth that was not shared among all of the congregants. Jodensavanne itself did not have any kind of export economy, even before the community left in the 19th century. The village functioned primarily as an administrative center and was practically empty on days without religious services. Haham Izidro complained in the 1730's that the *mahamad* were never on hand for consultation. Instead, the community lived on their plantations or spent non-holy days in Paramaribo attending to various business.

In 1716 the Jodensavanne *mahamad* established a second "Casa de Oracao" (House of Worship) in Paramaribo, to separate the Ashkenazi Jews from the Berekha ve Shalom synagogue.[109] In 1735, this synagogue, Neve Shalom, was transferred to Paramaribo's Ashkenazim, after continued tensions led colonial authorities to permit the official separation of the two Jewish communities.[110] Less than a year later, Tzedek ve Shalom (Justice and Peace), a satellite of Berekha ve Shalom, was built in Paramaribo. The building of the Tzedek ve Shalom Synagogue still remains intact today, but has undergone many alterations over the years, and is no longer used as a religious space (Image 5.5). The synagogue's interior is often compared to

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[108] Quoted in Günter Böhm, "The Synagogues of Surinam," *Journal of Jewish Art* 6 (1979): 100.

[109] Vink, *Creole Jews: Negotiating Community in Colonial Suriname*, 197.

[110] The first Neve Shalom synagogue was a wooden building that underwent a series of enlargements, although limited details of its architecture survives. It was replaced by the current Neve Shalom synagogue in Paramaribo, built in 1835, which is outside the scope of this project.

the Esnoga in Amsterdam, but the building's central barrel vault and galleries were results of renovations in 1813 and 1854 (Image 5.6).[111] These 19th century alterations significantly changed the space's interior, as well as the exterior facades, and are responsible for the building's current appearance. Tracing the original attributes of the Tzedek ve Shalom Synagogue provides an image of a building of fairly similar appearance to the one in Jodensavanne.

The Paramaribo synagogue is a rectangular wooden structure that rests on a brick foundation. Like in Jodensavanne, there are two entrances with rounded stepped platforms on the north and south lengths of the building. The synagogue underwent some kind of enlargement in 1754 based on records of payments to carpenters, although it's unclear what work was involved.[112] The building's original windows were likely simple rectangular frames; the current fan windows and shutters date to 1854.[113] The prayer space is oriented longitudinally, towards the ark on the eastern wall. There were no galleries in the space originally, the balcony on the west side was installed in 1813. Unless there was space in the back designated for women, it is unlikely they participated in services in Paramaribo before 1813. As in Berekha ve Shalom, large brass chandeliers hung from the ceiling, along with other lamps and objects likely made in the Netherlands and donated to the synagogue. When the Jewish community left Jodensavanne, all of their ritual objects came to the Paramaribo synagogue.

In Curacao, the Mikveh Israel congregation constructed a lasting synagogue in 1732, which remains as a grand monument to Jewish life in the Caribbean (Image 5.7). Before this

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[111] Coenraad Liebrecht Temminck Groll et al., *Dutch Overseas: Architectural Survey: Mutual Heritage of Four Centuries in Three Continents* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2002), 374–75.
[112] Tania Coen-Uzzielli, ed., *Tzedek Ve-Shalom: A Synagogue from Suriname in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 2010), 22.
[113] Coen-Uzzielli, 22.

structure, there were at least three previous synagogues in Willemstad, with limited remaining architectural evidence. The successive buildings over four decades account for the growth of the Jewish population in Curacao. A synagogue built in 1674 coincided with the arrival of Rabbi Josiah Pardo from Amsterdam and was valued at 168 florins.[114] In 1692, the synagogue was replaced with a larger building, and then again in 1703. The construction in 1703 was led by Rabbi Eliau Lopez and was funded primarily through a legacy left in 1699 from Abraham and Sara da Costa. The congregation provided generously for this synagogue, with leading members Elieau Pereira, Abraham Morao, Gabriel Levy purchasing the honor of laying the four cornerstones.[115] Numerous other ritual objects were gifted to this synagogue, as accounted for in the previous section.

In 1729 the community moved forward with plans to construct a larger synagogue, on the same site in Willemstad as the 1703 building. Construction began with a ceremonial laying of the four cornerstones in May 1730. At that point there must have already been a basic design for the synagogue, as dimensions had been defined. However, the primary carpenter responsible for the project did not sign a contract until July of that year and didn't arrive in Curacao until December. On July 26, 1730, the contract for the new building was signed in Amsterdam with Dutch master carpenter Hendrik Schielach, and Elias and Manuel de Crasto, acting on behalf of congregation Mikveh Israel.[116] According to a second contract with Schielach dated a few weeks prior, the carpenter was also responsible for coordinating the purchase and delivery of the timber for the synagogue, and ordering other necessary material as listed in the specifications, before departing

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[114] Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, 92.

[115] Emmanuel and Emmanuel, 93.

[116] Ir. Bernard Buddingh, "Hendrik Schielach, Builder or Bungler?: The Architect of the Snoa," in *Building up the Future from the Past: Studies on the Architecture and Historic Monuments in the Dutch Caribbean*, ed. Henry E. Coomans, Michael A. Newton, and Maritza Coomans-Eustatia (Curacao: Walburg Pers, 1990), 116.

Amsterdam. A ship from the Netherlands loaded with timber and other goods, "de Vodel

Pheonicx," arrived in the port of Willemstad on December 3rd, 1730, carrying Schielach and his

family.[117] Construction on the Mikveh Israel Synagogue was delayed, in part due to disruptions

caused by disputes between Schielach and the Curacao *mahamad*.[118]

The new synagogue was inaugurated in 1732 on Passover, completed at a total cost of

20,941 pesos, including the purchase of additional land.[119] An initial collection within the

congregation had amassed nearly 6,500 pesos towards the project, with another 2,315 pesos

raised when costs surpassed earlier estimates. Some congregants also sent their enslaved workers

to assist the builders, in an effort to reduce the growing cost of the building.[120] At twenty-four

meters long, eighteen meters wide, and fifteen meters tall, the Mikveh Israel Synagogue is just

under half the size of the Esnoga in Amsterdam, but an impressive building in the Caribbean. It's

features are often compared to the Esnoga, and on the interior, it does seem to reflect the prayer

space of the Amsterdam Sephardim (Image 5.8). The building underwent several renovations

during the 19th century, as well as restoration work done in the 20th century, but after review of

these documents, it can be confirmed that the current building retains a fair amount of the

original's aesthetic. The primary features of the interior—the three barrel vaults and four large,

full-height columns—date to the building's original construction, although work was done in

1974 to maintain these and other features. The building materials speak to the synagogue's

Caribbean locale: the four central columns and those of the original gallery are made of

limestone rock and sand, surrounded by a layer of Dutch yellow bricks and covered in lime

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[117] Registration books of incoming and outgoing ships marks "The Vogel Pheonicx from Holland, loaded with goods and timber." Buddingh, 116.

[118] A series of issues are documented, mainly surrounding issues involving Hendrik Schielach having taken other jobs after arriving on the island, which was against his contract with the synagogue. See Buddingh, 1990, for details.

[119] Maduro, *Our "Snoa", 5492-5742*, 22.

[120] Emmanuel and Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, 123.

mortar.[121] The 1732 synagogue had a single gallery for women, along the south length of the interior, with a latticed screen. Galleries on the north and west of the space were added during the 19th century, probably with the renovations done in 1866 to accommodate the organ that sits in the west gallery today.

The exterior has also changed over the course of the centuries, but the iconic shaped gables along the roofline's parapet appear to have been part of the original building's design. None of the communal records refer to changes to this part of the roofline, as they do other repairs and renovations, and the synagogue can be seen with this feature in a map dating to around 1800 (Image 5.9). During the 19th century, the building's windows were updated on several occasions, with fan windows added to the top of the rectangular windows in the lower levels, possibly in 1868 when the shutters were added.[122] Other changes to the exterior occurred after 1892, including the addition of the molded cornices, holding rain gutters, on the north and south rooflines, and additional engaged columns at the corners of the west facade, also concealing drain pipes. The east facade underwent a complete renovation at this time, to match the west facade. It had previously shared common walls with several small buildings. The exterior walls were constructed of limestone rock and coral stone, filled with sand and plastered with lime mortar, in a similar fashion to other local constructions.

The final synagogue built within the Dutch colonies included here is the Honen Dalim Synagogue on St. Eustatius. What is left of this synagogue stands in ruins on the island but gives some impression of the building (Image 5.10). As previously discussed, this synagogue was initially built with support from the Curacao congregation in 1739. Following a hurricane in 1772, the building required significant repairs, costing a large sum of 5,500 pesos, which they

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[121] Maduro, Our "Snoa", 5492-5742, 26.
[122] Maduro, 28.

received in part through donations from abroad. In a letter addressed to the New York *mahamad*, the Honen Dalim leaders relayed that they had witnessed "the synagogue destroyed by the storm and trying to take the sefarim out of the ruins… still we are holding services in the home of the Lady Hannah, widow of Leon Benjamin," and further, "that without your aid it will be impossible to rebuild our holy synagogue."[123] It is difficult to determine how much of the building's structure was changed from the 1739 construction, though enough damage had been caused to require another location for services. For this dissertation, major remodeling projects, like those of the Great Synagogue in London, were indexed within the project's database as separate constructions, so for consistency, the same has been done in this case. Since the facades and galleries of the 1739 building cannot be confirmed, they have been listed under the index for the 1772 Honen Dalim synagogue.

The synagogue was a two-story, rectangular building built with Dutch yellow bricks. The building's windows, arranged in four bays on the north and west elevations, have round-arched lintels and feature surrounds made of locally-worked volcanic basalt (Image 5.10). The main entrance is in the center of the west facade and is flanked on both sides by windows. This portal as well as the one in the upper level leading to the women's gallery, feature the same rough-hewn basalt detailing. The corners of the synagogue are articulated with ashlar quoins. Inside, the walls show holes where joists connected to support galleries on three sides of the space, accessed by a stairway outside of the building, near the front entrance (Image 5.11). Archeological excavations on the site suggest the interior was primarily wood and plaster.[124] The building is sited on a path off the main street, likely due to Dutch authorities requiring the

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[123] N. Taylor Phillips, "ITEMS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS OF NEW YORK," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 11 (1903): 150–51.
[124] Stiefel, *Jewish Sanctuary in the Atlantic World: A Social and Architectural History*, 252.

synagogue to be unobtrusive, so that "the divine services of the Jews would not hinder the one of the Christians."[125]

English Colonial Synagogues: Barbados, Jamaica, and North America

England's colonial history, like the Dutch, is scattered throughout the Caribbean. Over the course of the 17th and 18th centuries, Jewish settlers established public synagogues on the British-controlled islands of Barbados, Jamaica and Nevis. Remaining architectural evidence of the synagogues constructed during this time frame are relatively scant. Barbados is home to one of the oldest Jewish communities in the Caribbean, established around 1655, with a synagogue built around that time. The details of this early synagogue were provided earlier in this chapter, and primarily accounts for a roughly square building, but not much else.[126] The synagogue was destroyed in a hurricane in 1831, along with the congregation's historical records. The current Nidhe Israel Synagogue in Bridgetown was built in 1833 and is outside the scope of this project.

In Jamaica, the architectural history of the Jewish residents in the 17th and 18th centuries is also difficult to assess in detail, due to records lost in hurricanes, fires, and earthquakes during the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries.[127] The synagogue built in Spanish Town by congregation Neveh Shalom in 1704 has been included in the analysis that follows. The building on Monk Street fell into disrepair after the Jamaican Sephardim moved to Kingston, but images preserved by Jacob Andrade, whose family had been active members of the Neveh Shalom congregation for generations, show the interior and exterior details of the synagogue (Images 5.12 and

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[125] Letters, Chamber of Amsterdam to Governor I. Faesch, Feb. 23, 1737 and Nov. 21, 1739, quoted in Hartog, *The Jews and St. Eustatius*, 5.

[126] The first Nidhe Israel is said to be visible in the Bridgtown skyline in the painting *Governor Robinson Going to Church* (1740). The painting shows a building with multiple rounded gables, arched windows and possible pilasters. It was determined by the present author that this image did not provide enough evidence to be included within this study.

[127] Arbell, *The Jewish Nation of the Caribbean: The Spanish-Portuguese Jewish Settlements in the Caribbean and the Guianas*, 240.

5.13).[128] The synagogue likely underwent some maintenance and alterations over the course of

its history, although limited evidence makes it difficult to assess the extent. Repairs were

recorded in 1844, after lightning struck the roof of the building, as well as other maintenance

costs in 1863, paid in part by the Jamaican House of Assembly. Although records surrounding

the building's construction and initial appearance near the time it opened in 1704 are lacking,

some of the basic details of this building were still included in this study.

The Neveh Shalom Synagogue was a two-story brick, rectangular building, thirty-two

feet wide and fifty-two feet long. Its west, front facade consisted of three bays, with a central

entrance featuring a triangular pedimented portico. Round-headed windows appear next to and

above the entrance, with a band-course visually separating the two levels. Inside, the space was

oriented towards the ark on the eastern wall, with galleries for women on three sides, accessed

from a brick staircase outside of the building (Image 5.13). Surviving documentation shows

brass chandeliers and candle sconces, similar in style to those in Bevis Marks.

The next set of synagogues included in this chapter's analysis are in North America in

New York, Newport and Charleston. In 1728, the Shearith Israel congregation leaders, Lewis

Moses Gomez, Jacob Franks, Mordecai Gomez, and Rodrigo Pacheco, bought property on Mill

Street for the purpose of constructing a synagogue. The communal accounts record payments for

the land to Cornelius Clopper for £100, one "loaf sugar" at a value of £13 9s., and one pound of

"Bohea tea."[129] The following year a contract was signed with Stanley Holmes, a New York

mason, for the completion of the synagogue. No other buildings have been attributed to Holmes,

and little is known beyond a record of receiving freemasonship in New York in 1728. The

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[128] Andrade, *A Record of the Jews in Jamaica from the English Conquest to the Present Times.*
[129] "THE EARLIEST EXTANT MINUTE BOOKS OF THE SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE CONGREGATION SHEARITH ISRAEL IN NEW YORK, 1728-1786," 17.

synagogue was small, at thirty-five feet in both length and width, and despite its height of

twenty-one feet, had a women's gallery on three sides of the interior. The women's galleries had

screens at standing height, confirmed by one observer who described the galleries with

"breastwork as high as their chins."[130] The building was made of brick, with square Bristol stone

floors. A plan of the city during the years 1742-44 includes a small inset of the Mill Street

Synagogue, showing a single-level facade with a central, rounded entrance flanked by two

arched windows; the depiction is not unlike the Baptist and Quaker Meeting House also included

(Figure 5.14).

The communal account books note various payments related to building construction

made "for negro hire," although in some cases it is unclear who received the compensation for

their work. In the case of the widow Fonseca, she received a payment of £7 14s. 7.5d. "for 2

negroes from the 19th Augt to [Oct. 22]," making it roughly two months of labor. It is unclear if

the workers were owned by her, or she purchased their labor for the congregation, as was the

case for Moses Parera, who was also paid funds from the *sedaca* for the hire of an enslaved

laborer.[131] Other lines in the accounts lists more ambiguous payments, like the 4 shillings "paid a

negro for 2 days work," and I cannot make assumptions surrounding the freedom or lack thereof

of these laborers. Enslaved peoples were present in New York during this period. A New York

census from 1703 lists six Jewish families, with seven enslaved workers owned by four of the

families (out of totals of 818 families and 802 enslaved people); in 1790 the census accounts for

thirty-five enslaved people in Jewish households in New York.[132]

Enslaved laborers were also present in Newport, Rhode Island during the 18th century,

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[130] Quote from Rev. John Peirce of Brookline, who visited synagogue in 1812. De Sola Pool, 1930.
[131] "THE EARLIEST EXTANT MINUTE BOOKS OF THE SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE CONGREGATION SHEARITH ISRAEL IN NEW YORK, 1728-1786," 18.
[132] Faber, *Jews, Slaves, and the Slave Trade*, 132,142.

although no records indicate their direct involvement in the construction of the Touro

Synagogue, which began in 1759. The Jeshuat Israel congregation hired architect Peter Harrison

to design their synagogue, who was also responsible for Newport's Redwood Library (built

1747-49), Kings Chapel in Boston (1749) and Christ Church in Cambridge, Massachusetts

(1759-60). Harrison was born in Yorkshire, England, where he spent his youth working for

merchants with active trade in London. He emigrated to the American colonies where he became

a successful businessman and merchants and traveled back to England on numerous occasions.

Between 1743 and 1745, Harrison studied architecture under Richard Boyle, third Earl of

Burlington, who collected architectural drawings and publications by Inigo Jones and Andrea

Palladio.[133] Peter Harrison also reflected these interests in his own private library, which held a

collection of books on architecture including *A Book of Architecture* (1728) by James Gibbs and

Designs of Inigo Jones (1727) by William Kent.[134] Previous studies on the Newport synagogue

have suggested that Harrison used the architectural pattern books of *Rules for Drawing* by James

Gibbs (the 1739 edition), *A Treasury of Design* by Batty Langley (1735 edition), and *Designs of

Inigo Jones and Others* by Isaac Ware (1735 edition).[135] Evidence of these applications can be

seen in the strict classical detailing of the interior gallery columns and their associated

entablatures (Image 5.15).

The Touro Synagogue was an expensive endeavor for the community, and in addition to

generous contributions by leading members of the congregation, the wealthy Newport merchants

Aaron Lopez and his father-in-law Jacob Rodregues Rivera, collections were received from

Shearith Israel in New York, Mikveh Israel in Curacao, Shaar Hashamayim in Jamaica, and

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[133] Stiefel, *Jewish Sanctuary in the Atlantic World: A Social and Architectural History*, 45.
[134] Nancy Halverson Schless, "Peter Harrison, the Touro Synagogue, and the Wren City Church," *Winterthur Portfolio* 8 (1973): 187–200.
[135] Stiefel, *Jewish Sanctuary in the Atlantic World: A Social and Architectural History*, 255.

Neveh Shalom in Paramaribo, Suriname.[136] In total, the cost of the building was £2,000 and another £1,500 for the land.[137] Peter Harrison's designs for the Touro synagogue were completed by the contractor Joseph Hammond, with Naphtali Hart and Company as developer; the latter was an active member of Newport's Jeshuat Israel congregation. The prayer space is rectangular, at forty-six feet long and thirty-nine feet wide, and has galleries on three sides, accessed from the small building adjoining the main synagogue.[138] The building's facades feature two levels of round-headed windows with simple, molded architraves and brown sandstone sills (Image 5.16). A band-course, also brown sandstone, visually separates the two levels. The roofline has a classical cornice, with dentil molding details. The main entrance into the prayer space is in the center of the west facade and is defined by an Ionic columned portico with arches and triangular pediment. The facades' brickwork was painted during a restoration in 1827-1829, but originally was left red.[139] When the synagogue opened in 1763, it was one of the few brick buildings in Newport, after the nearby Colony House, the local seat of government built between 1736 and 1739 and Harrison's Brick Market built contemporaneously with the Touro Synagogue, 1761-1767.

The final synagogue included here is the Beth Elohim Synagogue constructed by the congregation of that namesake in Charleston, South Carolina in 1794. This is one of the latest synagogues in the study, and due to the high levels of remaining evidence of its architecture and the congregation's close associations with other colonial congregations, in particular New York, it provides an important data point. This first synagogue of the Charleston Jewish congregation,

[136] "ITEMS RELATING TO THE NEWPORT SYNAGOGUE," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 27 (1920): 407–8.
[137] Josephson, "ITEMS RELATING TO THE JEWS OF NEWPORT," 181–85.
[138] "Touro Synagogue National Historic Site" (Newport, RI: Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress, 1993), 27, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/ri0083/.
[139] Menders, Claude Emanuel, Architects, Master Plan for Touro Synagogue, Newport, R.I., vol. I, pp. 59-66, 141-142

established in 1749, was lost in a fire that burned a significant portion of the city in 1838. The

appearance of the Beth Elohim Synagogue is known through a sketch by John Rubens Smith

done around 1812 and paintings and engravings by the Jewish artist Solomon Nunes Carvalho

from 1838 (Images 5.17 and 5.18). Daniel Kurt Ackermann has done an extensive study of the

1794 Charleston synagogue and produced a digital model of the building in recent years.[140]

The design and construction of the Beth Elohim Synagogue was completed by "Steedman

and Horlbeck," likely James or Charles Steedman and John Horlbeck, who with his brother

Peter, was responsible for several major civic structures in Charleston, including the Exchange

building of 1771.[141] The synagogue cost the congregation more than £4,000, raised within the

community and from the congregations in New York, Barbados, and London. A first for North

American synagogues, the building featured a tall spire, similar in design to that of Charleston's

St. Michael's Episcopal Church. For comparison, the church, built between 1751 and 1752, cost

over £60,000 to complete.

The synagogue was built of brick, with painted stucco, and measured seventy feet long

and forty feet wide. The exterior facade features a band course between the two levels of round-

headed windows, and rusticated quoins on the corners (Image 5.17). The west side of the

building had an entry chamber with a triangular pediment reflecting the gable of the taller,

primary structure behind. Inside, the prayer space had galleries for women on the north, south

and west sides. The galleries were not screened, instead had railings of wainscoting, and were

supported by simple columns with plain ovolo moldings. The columns repeated on the second

story and supported a large barrel vault (Image 5.18). The interior was oriented towards the ark

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[140] Daniel Kurt Ackermann, "The 1794 Synagogue of Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim of Charleston: Reconstructed and Reconsidered," *American Jewish History* 93, no. 2 (2007): 159–74.
[141] Ackermann, 163.

on the east end, and with the *bimah* in the central nave, the space reflecting the tradition of two centuries of Jewish prayer halls throughout the Atlantic.

Architectural Networks: Analysis on the Architecture of Colonial Synagogues

The bulk of this chapter, which traces the complex histories of colonial congregations and the inter-communal networks that connected them, provides the necessary background for interpreting the results of the network analysis on these synagogues. Context is one of the most important, and fundamental parts of applying the network framework to historical research, or any other type of data. The outcomes of the algorithms used in network analysis provide little, to no conclusions on their own. Extensive knowledge of the data itself, where it comes from and how it's been structured, is a necessary part of using networks as a research method. The following analysis requires the knowledge of this and the preceding chapters, to gain a wider view of the architecture of Atlantic synagogues. As an important reminder, network analysis is a tool for exploration, and the results should not be taken as concrete, unchanging representations of these relationships.

The first two networks, Figure 5.10 and Figure 5.11, are building-element networks, which like in earlier chapters, show the results of the community detection algorithm. Unlike previous chapters, these networks have been organized geographically. In this way, we can observe regional relationships, but in doing so, the visual clustering aspect is lost. To help with reading these networks, the visual impact of nodes that are less critical to the current analysis have been lessened. Color has been applied to represent the partitions of the buildings, which in the following two networks are the more important nodes.

Figure 5.10 shows the synagogue buildings of this study connected to their facade elements. There are four partitions identified, shown in red, pink, blue, and green:
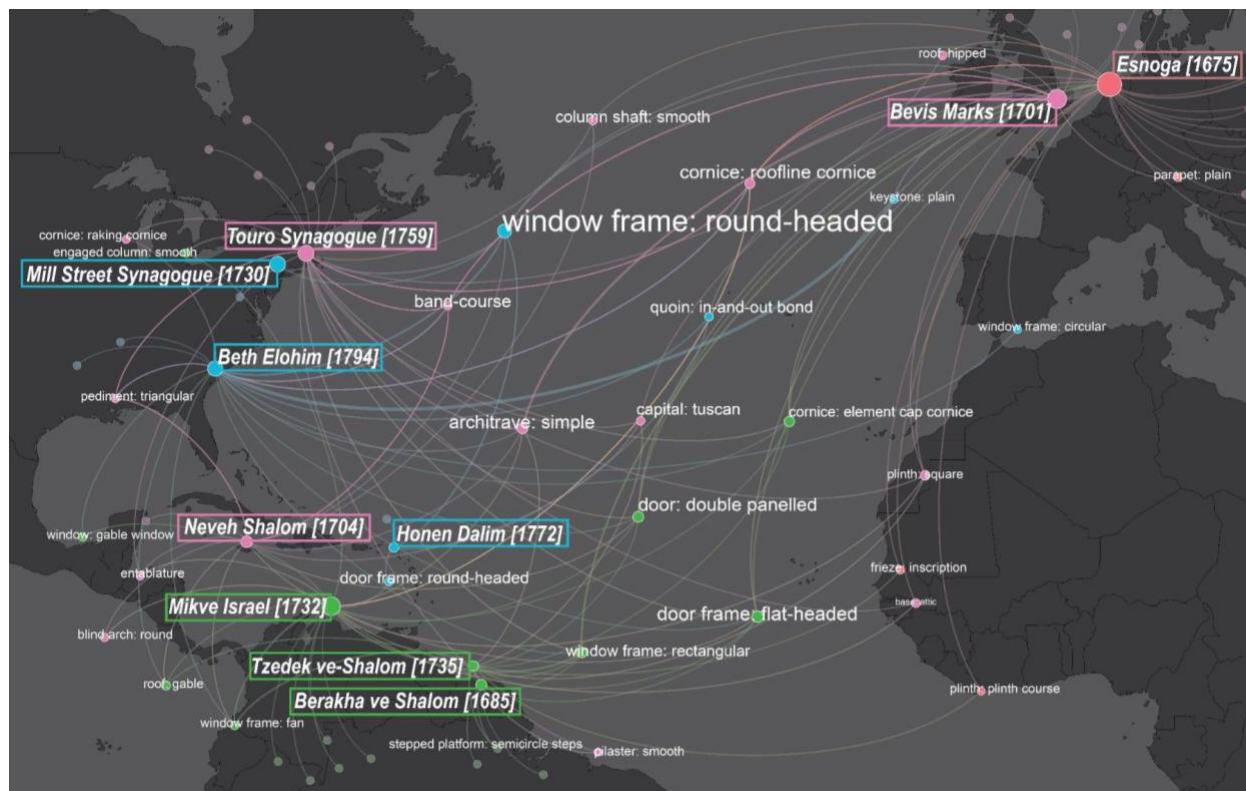
Figure 5.10: Atlantic Synagogues, 17th-18th centuries: facade building-element network with community detection

The first cluster, marked in pink, includes Bevis Marks Synagogue in London with the Touro Synagogue in Newport and the Neveh Shalom Synagogue in Spanish Town, Jamaica. The facades of these buildings are made of brick, with round-headed windows with simple molded frames and band courses as their most distinctive features. All three sites are in British territories, and members of the Jamaican and Newport Jewish communities certainly maintained regular connections with London. There are no documented financial contributions from these congregations towards the construction of the other synagogues in this partition, but that does not mean relationships between them didn't exist. The correspondences between the colonial congregations of Newport and Jamaica do suggest they saw London as their mother congregation. The letters from the London *mahamad* show a number of interventions made by the congregation to the English crown on behalf of the Jamaican Jews over high taxation rates

and costs of endenization.[142] The question of whether their facades were purposefully meant to replicate that of Bevis Marks will be explored later in this section.

Another group is the Dutch colonial synagogues in Curacao and Suriname, seen in green. These buildings shared rectangular windows and gabled roofs, and for the most part were unornamented, based on the existing evidence. All three were built within Dutch territories, but beyond this, there is not much to say about these buildings at this moment. A third partition, in blue, is centered on the features of the Beth Elohim Synagogue in Charleston. One of the few known features of the Mill Street Synagogue's facade was its round-headed windows, which it shared with the synagogue in Charleston. I believe the reason that the Mill Street Synagogue's facade, as well as that of Honen Dalim in St. Eustatius, is grouped with Beth Elohim, is the fact that the round-headed window element has been clustered with this partition in this instance. Further, the New York and St. Eustatius synagogues had very limited data related to their facades inputted in the database due to the limited architectural evidence available, giving them little opportunity to be partitioned in a meaningful way. For these reasons, the blue partition gave unreliable results with small changes to the resolution, for example, sometimes placing the round-headed window with the British cluster featuring Bevis Marks, shifting that community to also include Honen Dalim. These inconsistencies made it difficult to interpret the results accurately. The congregations in New York and South Carolina did share a close kinship, but it's unclear if this affected the later synagogue's facade, which was far more architecturally impressive and built nearly seven decades after the Mill Street Synagogue.

There are few conclusions to be made based on building facades alone, and Figure 5.11 provides further analysis on the interior layout of the synagogues. Given the more distinctive

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[142] Barnett, "The Correspondence of the Mahamad of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," 9–11.

elements of some of these synagogue interiors, I think this is the more interesting of these two building-element networks. There are four partitions here, with the two in orange and blue representing distinct clusters of buildings with very limited data on their interiors. The orange community includes the Mill Street Synagogue in New York, Neveh Shalom in Jamaica, and Nidhe Israel in Barbados. Mill Street and Nidhe Israel share the modified square footprint, and Neveh Shalom shares the three-side galleries with Mill Street. This partition is defined by very little data, but is separate from the blue cluster, which includes Honen Dalim in St. Eustatius and the Surinamese synagogues. These three are rectangular buildings, and at this stage there are no significant conclusions to be made surrounding these two clusters. The more important clusters here are in pink and green, seen in Figure 5.11 below:
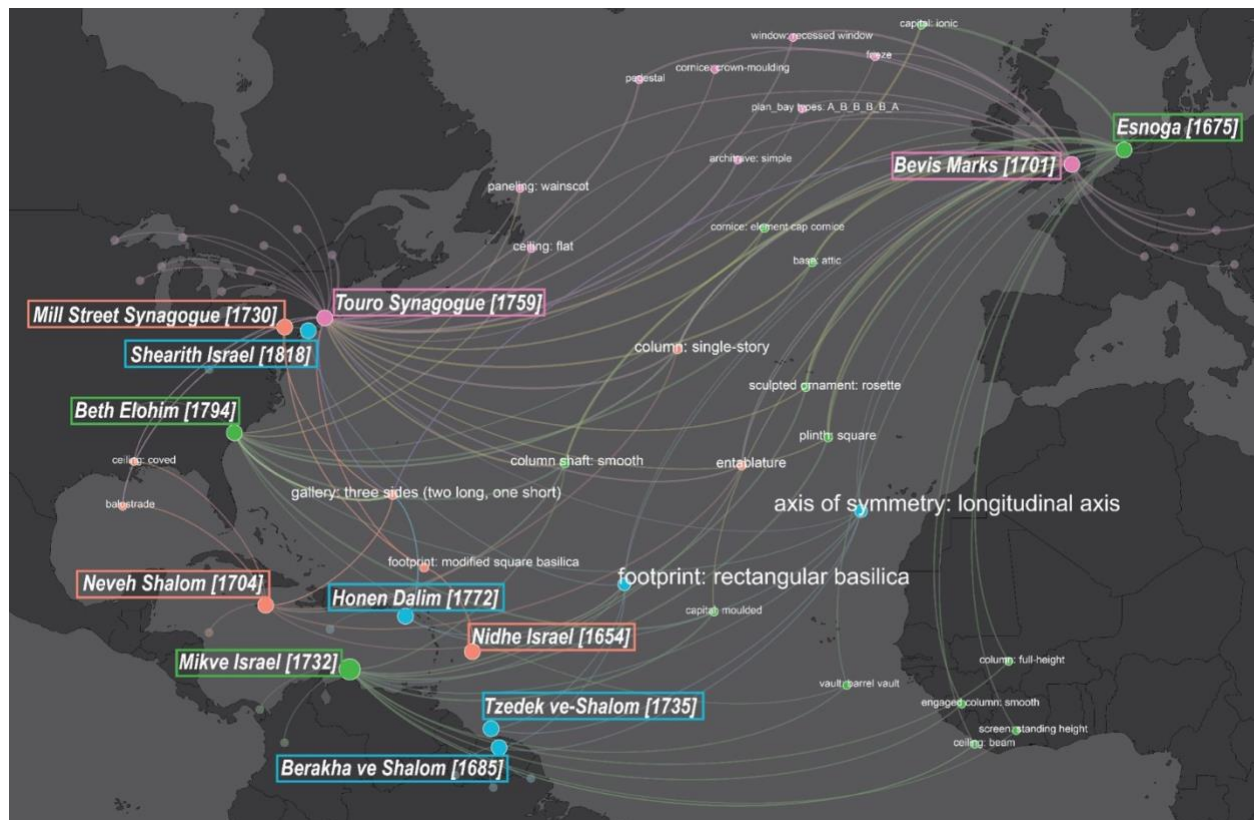
Figure 5.11: Atlantic Synagogues, 17th-18th centuries: interior and plan building-element network with community detection

The community in green includes the synagogues of Mikveh Israel in Curacao and the

Esnoga, which share a significant number of features, primarily their four large central columns and barrel vaults, in addition to their rectangular footprints and longitudinal orientation. Beth Elohim is also included, interestingly, due to the shared elements, not including the full-height columns. However, the Beth Elohim congregation is not directly connected to these two synagogues in any other clear way. The Charleston congregation built their synagogue at the very end of the 18th century, when both Amsterdam and Curacao had significantly less influence within the diaspora. Bevis Marks in London and the Touro Synagogue in Newport once again share a community, seen highlighted in pink. These two buildings share a partition in both the facade and interior layout networks, so it is understandable why these two synagogues are frequently compared in previous scholarship.

The building-element networks did not provide any immediately clear results in regard to understanding the relationships between the colonial synagogues and those in Amsterdam and London. Comparisons that have been made in previous scholarship seem to be confirmed by these networks, between Mikveh Israel and the Esnoga, in regard to their interiors, and the Touro Synagogue and Bevis Marks. However, I am not entirely convinced these networks show the larger picture, especially in the case of the latter two synagogues, and further investigation is required. To do this, I have created several element-element networks with betweenness centrality measures to identify the larger patterns that may not be apparent from the first two cluster networks. These are meant to answer questions surrounding the impact of the two mother synagogues on their colonial counterparts. Since Chapter Three identified a clear Dutch-Jewish architectural mode that referenced the Esnoga, we can use that here for comparison with the Dutch colonial synagogues. For synagogues built in English territories, we can compare a network of elements from colonial synagogues with the features of Bevis Marks directly,

although as will be shown, this is not enough to demonstrate a direct lineage.

First, the colonial synagogues in the Dutch colonies were isolated, and two network graphs were created based on the elements featured in their facade and interior layouts. These are seen below in Figures 5.12 and 5.13 respectively:
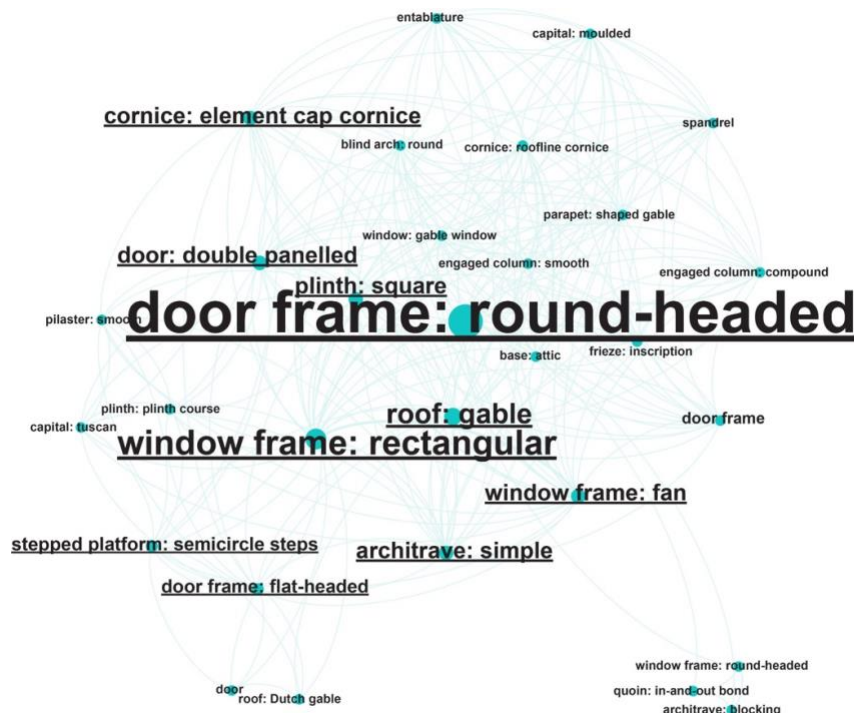
Figure 5.12: Dutch colonial synagogues: facade element-element network with betweenness centrality measures
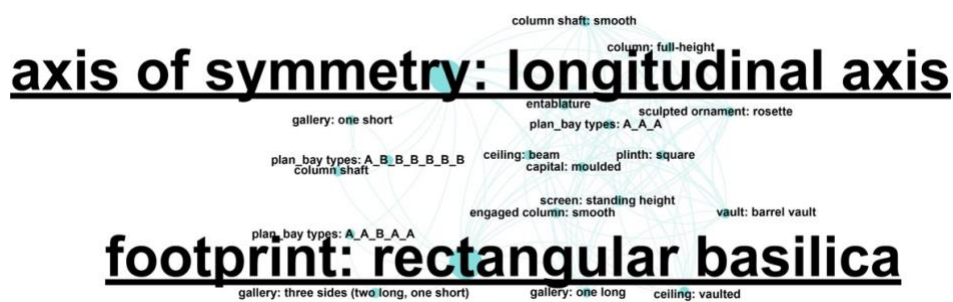
Figure 5.13: Dutch colonial synagogues: interior layout element-element network with betweenness centrality measures

In terms of the Dutch colonial synagogue facades, it seems immediately clear that the Dutch-Jewish architectural mode did not extend to these locations outside of the Netherlands. The features that were distinctive of the Dutch-Jewish synagogues included pilasters, roofline

cornices and rounded windows with brick architraves. These were not used in the colonial setting. In the colonies, the gabled roof appears with far more frequency than it did in synagogues in the Netherlands. For the interior, Figure 5.13 shows the rectangular basilica and longitudinal axis as critical elements in Dutch colonial synagogues. These are features of the Dutch-Jewish architectural mode, but alone, they do not suggest the colonial synagogues reflected their counterparts in the Netherlands. The rectangular basilica was a common arrangement in 17th and 18th century religious space, not necessarily a direct reference to the Esnoga.

The individual case of Mikveh Israel in Curacao, which was clustered with the Esnoga in Figure 5.11, does make a compelling argument for direct influence. The features of this synagogue's interior that are shared with the Esnoga—the barrel vault, four central columns, rectangular footprint and longitudinal orientation—are not seen in this same combination elsewhere in the colonies. The intentional reference of Mikveh Israel's architecture to the Esnoga is supported by the evidence of Curacao's especially close relationship, not just with the Amsterdam Sephardim generally, but Talmud Torah's *mahamad* in particular. Mikveh Israel remained committed to reinforcing the authority of Amsterdam's synagogue, through their community regulations, their choices in rabbinical leadership, and through their synagogue's architecture.

The synagogues built within the English-controlled territories in the Atlantic are a separate case. The two networks below, Figures 5.14 and 5.15, display the betweenness centrality measures of the element-element networks for the facades and interior layouts of English colonial synagogues. These two networks display a pattern that does appear related to the architecture of Bevis Marks in London:
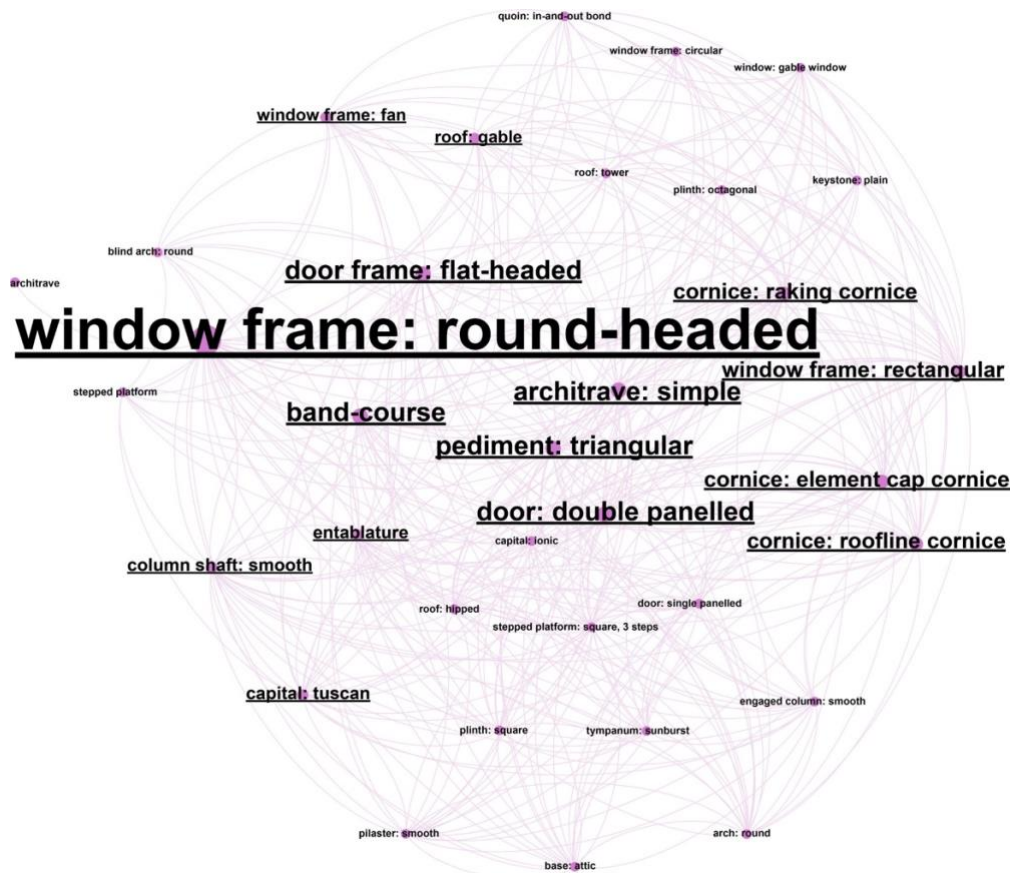
Figure 5.14: English colonial synagogues: facade element-element network with betweenness centrality measures

In English colonial synagogue facades, the key features shared with Bevis Marks are the round-headed window with simple, molded architrave, the band-course, roofline cornice, and flat-headed door frame. Colonial English synagogues also have high centrality measures for triangular pediments, rectangular and fan windows. Below, Figure 5.15 illustrates the central use of the rectangular footprint, three-side galleries, single-story columns, as well as wainscoting, flat and coved ceilings. Many of these elements are seen in Bevis Marks. Between these two networks, it appears at first glance there is a shared architectural language between English colonial synagogues and their mother congregation in London.
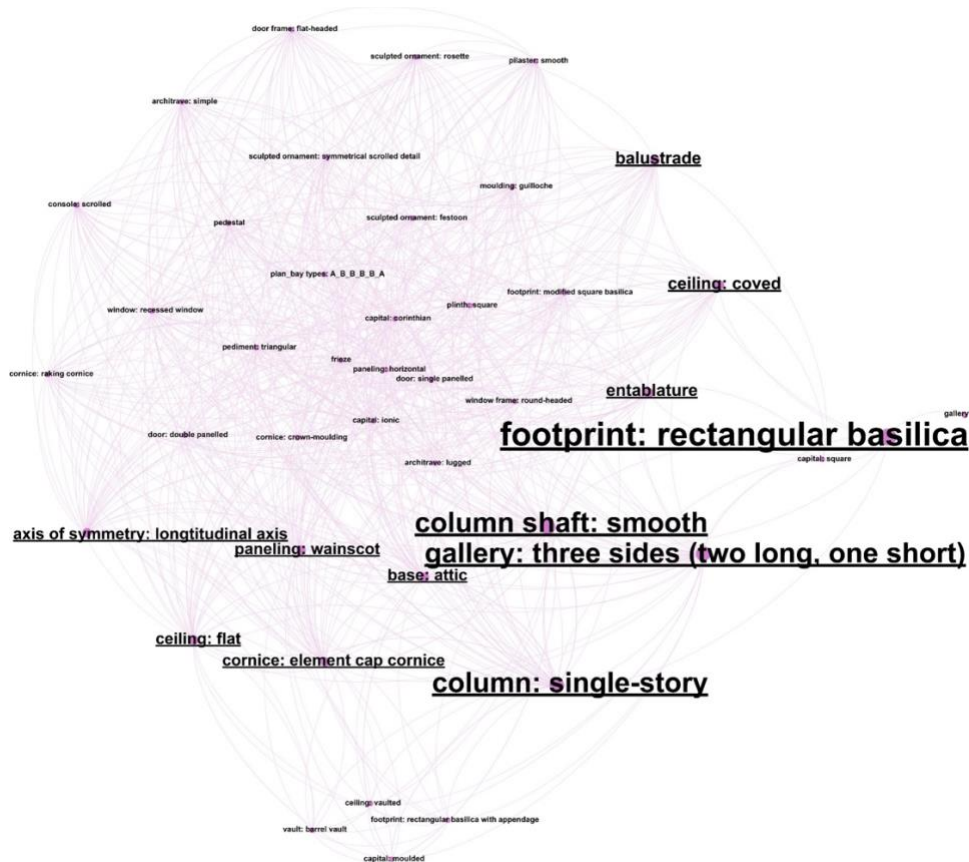
Figure 5.15: English colonial synagogues: interior layout element-element network with betweenness centrality measures

However, it was shown in Chapter Four that these highlighted elements of Bevis Marks Synagogue were also highly visible in Anglican church designs of the same period. The colonial synagogues, being in English locales, would have also been impacted by modes of English architecture in the same way as Bevis Marks, and this must be accounted for. Two additional networks have been made to allow for comparisons between the English colonial synagogues and a broader view of English religious architecture. Figures 5.16 and 5.17 are networks composed of the elements of religious buildings in London, including the churches of Christopher Wren, Bevis Marks, and all versions of the Great Synagogue in Duke's Place. These networks reveal which elements were highly central to religious architecture in London from the mid-17th century to the end of the 18th century:
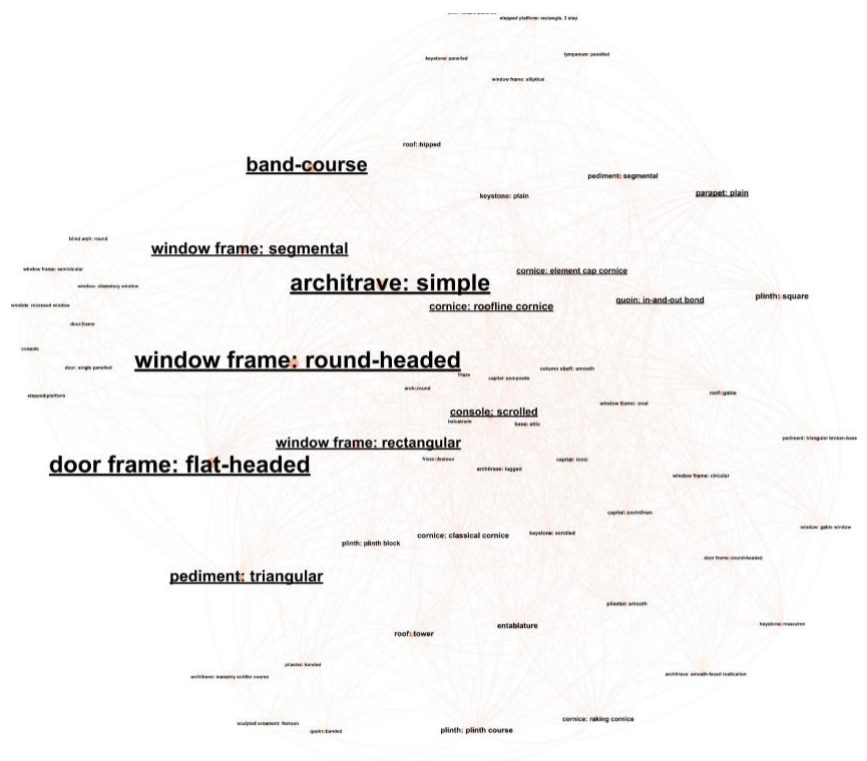
Figure 5.16: London religious buildings: facade element-element network with betweenness centrality measures
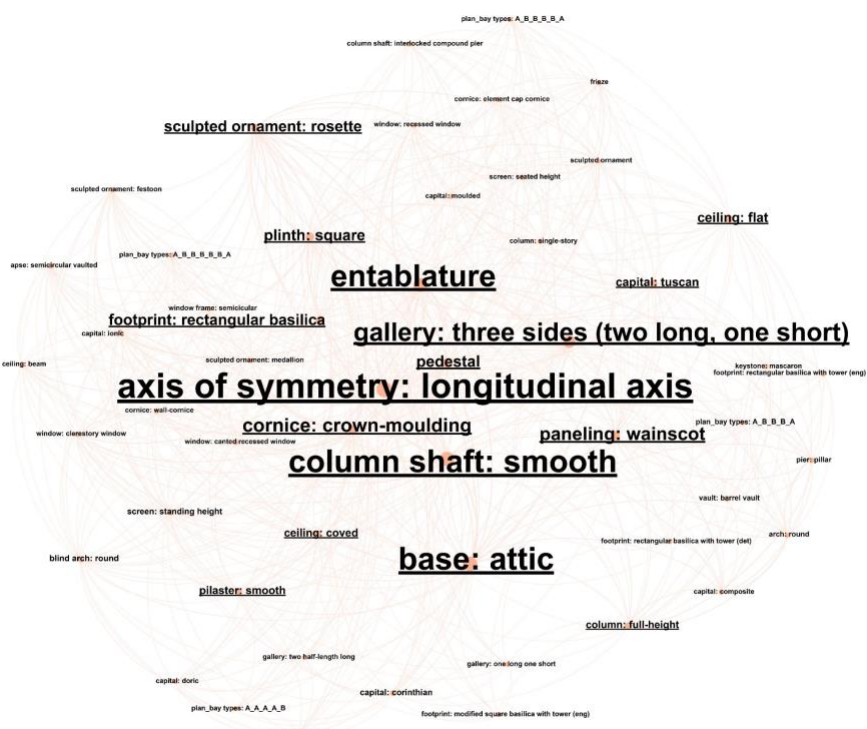
Figure 5.17: London religious buildings: interior layout element-element network with betweenness centrality measures

These two networks reveal a very similar data set to that of the English colonial synagogues. In terms of facade elements, the religious buildings in London from the mid-17th through the 18th century demonstrate high use of round-headed windows with simple architraves, band-courses, flat-headed door frames, and triangular pediments. All of these architectural elements also had high centrality measures for the completely separate group of colonial synagogues represented in Figure 5.14. For the interior, the set of religious buildings in London show prominent application of the longitudinal axis orientation, three-side galleries, columns, wainscoting, flat and coved ceilings. Given the fact that the elements of English colonial synagogues most compared with Bevis Marks also appear throughout English constructions, I cannot confidently conclude that the London Sephardic synagogue had a direct architectural impact on its colonial counterparts.

In the case of Newport's Touro Synagogue, the heavy reliance on English pattern books by the architect, Peter Harrison, suggests the similarities between the two synagogues are derived from a shared lineage of English classicist modes of architecture. It would be simple to draw a direct link between these two synagogues, as many scholars have done in the past. However, I think the systems of architectural production surrounding these synagogues are far more complex. Compared to the case of Mikveh Israel and Talmud Torah, the Newport and London congregations do not share the same type of relationship. Clearly, the Newport *mahamad* respected the position of the senior congregation, and a reciprocal relationship was extended from London. Newport had much stronger connections to the New York and Caribbean congregations, as exemplified from their *hazan*, Isaac Touro, whose family was in Jamaica, and the numerous contributions, ritual and financial, received from New York, as well as funding from Curacao. The Newport Jeshuat Israel congregation, whose members shared a Sephardic

identity with those in London and the wider diaspora, held its closest ties on the western side of the Atlantic.

The mapped networks in this section demonstrate some of the limitations when applying network analysis to the current dataset on the architecture of colonial Atlantic synagogues. A number of the sites have very limited data, while other nonextant sites cannot be included in this analysis at all due to lack of information on their built form. This puts significant constraints on the usefulness of the community detection algorithm in identifying relevant partitions. As seen in Figures 5.10 and 5.11, although the partitions are technically accurate, any interpretation requires a complete understanding of the wider historical context and the data itself. In one example, Figure 5.11 shows four synagogues in the partition illustrated in blue: Honen Dalim in St. Eustatius, Shearith Israel's 1818 synagogue, and the Sephardic synagogues in Suriname. The data on the interior and plan of these four buildings is limited to information that is widely shared by synagogues in the Atlantic: a rectangular footprint and longitudinal interior orientation. This is a ritual arrangement found throughout diaspora synagogues and in Christian spaces as well. In the context of this project, this partition does not provide enough information to merit interpretation beyond this observation. To have confidence in any conclusions made from the network analysis, a researcher needs to be highly familiar with any gaps in their dataset and how this can impact the results.

In conclusion, other than the exception of Mikveh Israel, I cannot currently identify a direct architectural impact of the Amsterdam and London synagogues on those constructed in the Dutch and English colonies over the course of the 17th and 18th centuries. Even if a straight line of influence cannot be drawn, which in the history of architecture is rarely the case, there are meaningful relationships between these synagogue constructions. In a period when the existence

of each public Jewish community held great significance to the wider diaspora, each synagogue that was constructed was a product of a shared history and identity. This relevance to the system defined as the Diaspora Synagogue is further described in this dissertation's concluding chapter.

Images: Chapter Five
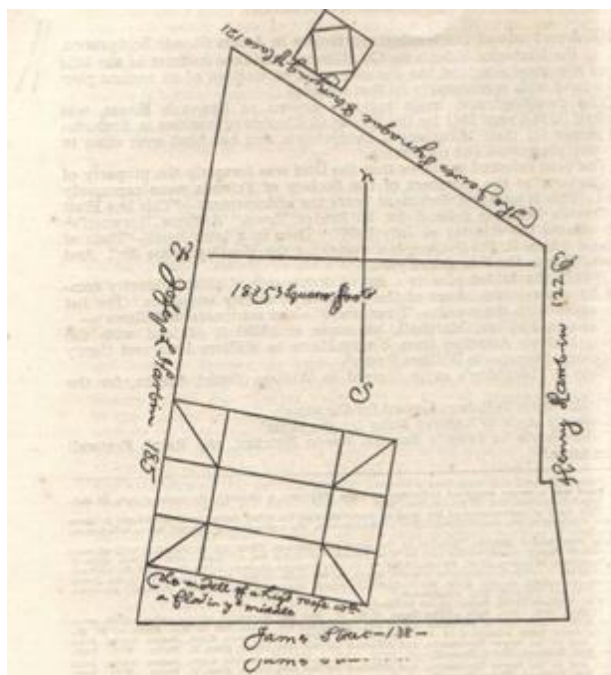
Image 5.1: Plat dated 1664 of Nidhe Israel Synagogue and surrounding area. Photo courtesy of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society, 1948.
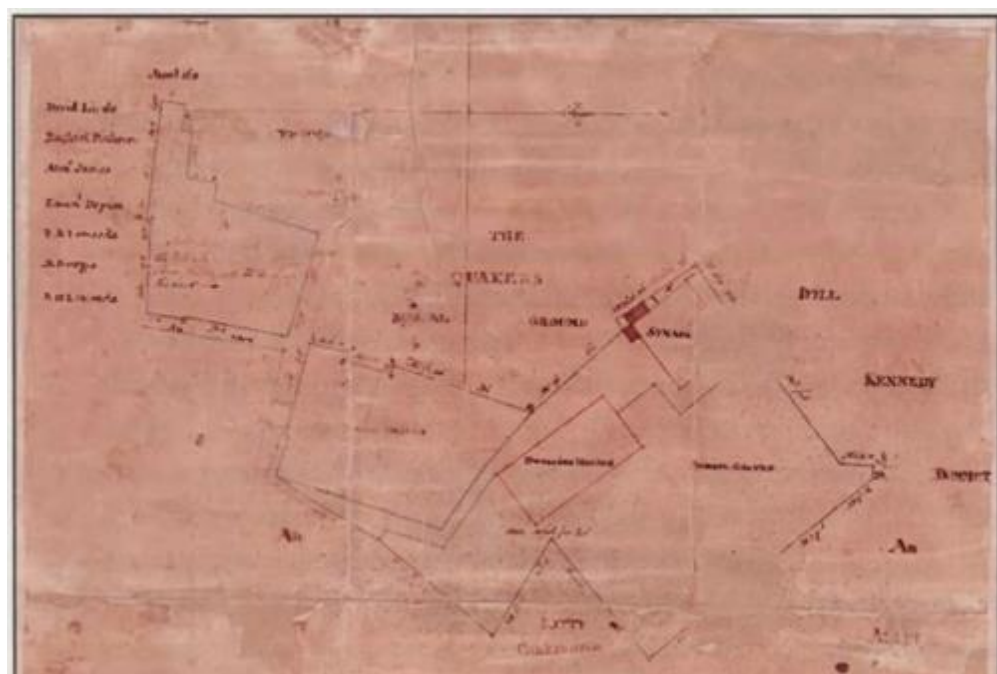
Image 5.2: 1806 Plat of the Nidhe Israel Synagogue in Bridgetown, Barbados; Watson, Karl. 2010. "1806 Plat of the Nidhe Israel Synagogue in Bridgetown, Barbados." The Journal of the Barbados Museum & Historical Society LXI: 82–85. , pg. 83

Image 5.3: View of the synagogue and cemetery of Jodensavanne. 1860-1862. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-1909-1780. http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.121934
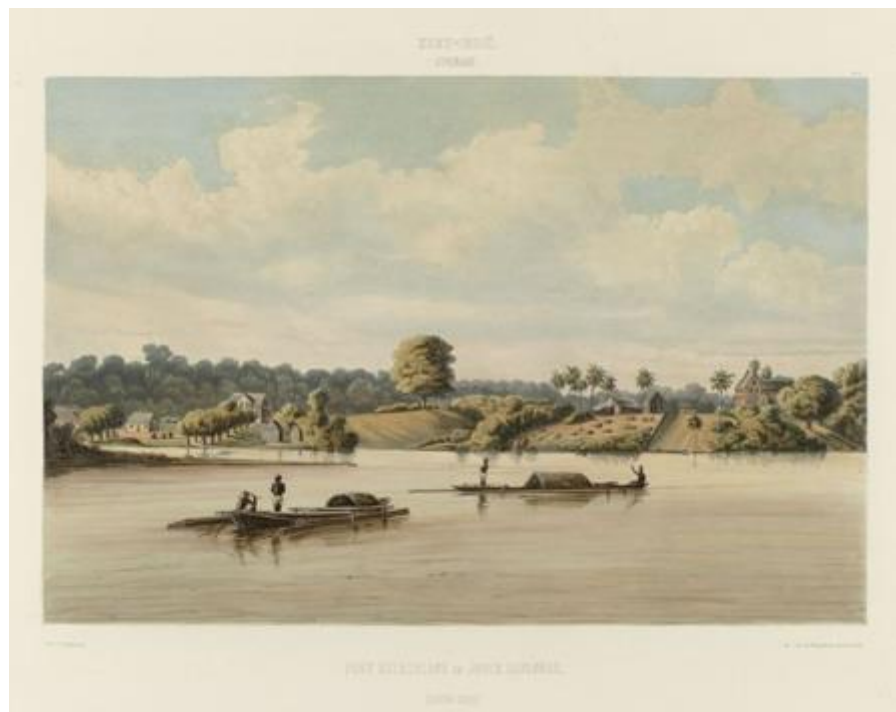
Image 5.4: View from the Suriname River on the Jodensavanne, Berekha ve Shalom visible on the right-side horizon. 1860-1862. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, NG-1064-6.

Image 5.5: Zedek ve-Shalom Synagogue, exterior. Photograph from the 1990's. All rights reserved. Coen-Uzzielli, Tania, ed. 2010. Tzedek ve-Shalom: A Synagogue from Suriname in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Jerusalem: The Israel Museum

Image 5.6: Zedek ve-Shalom Synagogue, interior. Photograph from the 1990's. All rights reserved. Coen-Uzzielli, Tania, ed. 2010. Tzedek ve-Shalom: A Synagogue from Suriname in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Jerusalem: The Israel Museum

Image 5.7: Mikveh Israel Synagogue, West Facade. Photograph 1994/1995. Cultural Heritage Agency, Amersfoor; Document Number 900,376

Image 5.8: Mikveh Israel Synagogue, Interior. Photograph 1954. Cultural Heritage Agency, Amersfoor; Document Number TGGR-038
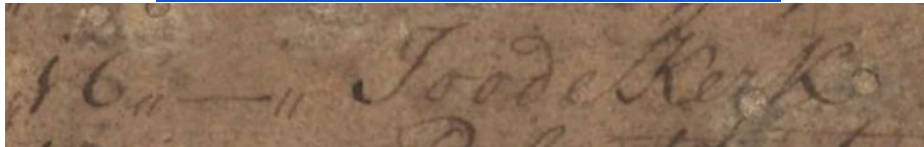
Image 5.9: Details from a map of Willemstad, Curacao; Legend includes "Joode Kerk" marking the location of the Mikveh Israel Synagogue. Source: *'t Eÿland Curacao, ao. 1800*. Map. https://www.loc.gov/item/99465330/.

Image 5.10: Honen Dalim Synagogue ruins. Elevation, showing steps to women's galleries. Photo credit: Louis Nelson, 2010; accessed on Artstor; all rights reserved by creator

Image 5.11: Honen Dalim Synagogue ruins. Interior view, showing the west entrance and remnants of gallery supports. Photo credit: Louis Nelson, 2010; accessed on Artstor; all rights reserved by creator

Image 5.12: Neveh Shalom Synagogue in Spanish Town, Jamaica. Image by Jacob Andrade. Andrade, Jacob A.P.M. 1941. A Record of the Jews in Jamaica from the English Conquest to the Present Times. Kingston Jamaica: Jamaica Times Ltd.

Image 5.13: Neveh Shalom Synagogue in Spanish Town, Jamaica. Interior gallery and reader's desk. Image by Jacob Andrade. Andrade, Jacob A.P.M. 1941. A Record of the Jews in Jamaica from the English Conquest to the Present Times. Kingston Jamaica: Jamaica Times Ltd.
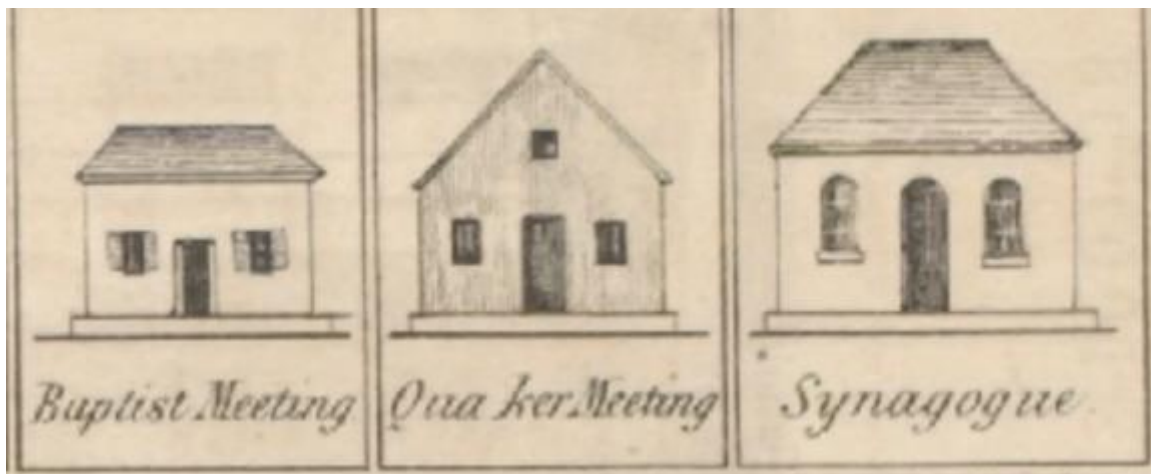
Image 5.14: Detail of Mill Street Synagogue, with Baptist and Quaker meeting houses from *A plan of the city and environs of New York : as they were in the years 1742-1743 and 1744*. Source: New York Public Library, Catalogue Id: b18016289

Image 5.15: Touro Synagogue in Newport Rhode Island, interior facing the ark. Photograph by author, 2017. All rights reserved

Image 5.16: Touro Synagogue in Newport Rhode Island, exterior. Photograph by author, 2017. All rights reserved

Image 5.17: "Jews synagogue in Charleston," ca. 1812. Pencil on paper by John Rubens Smith (1775–1849). (Library of Congress Prints and Photograph Division, John Rubens Smith Collection)
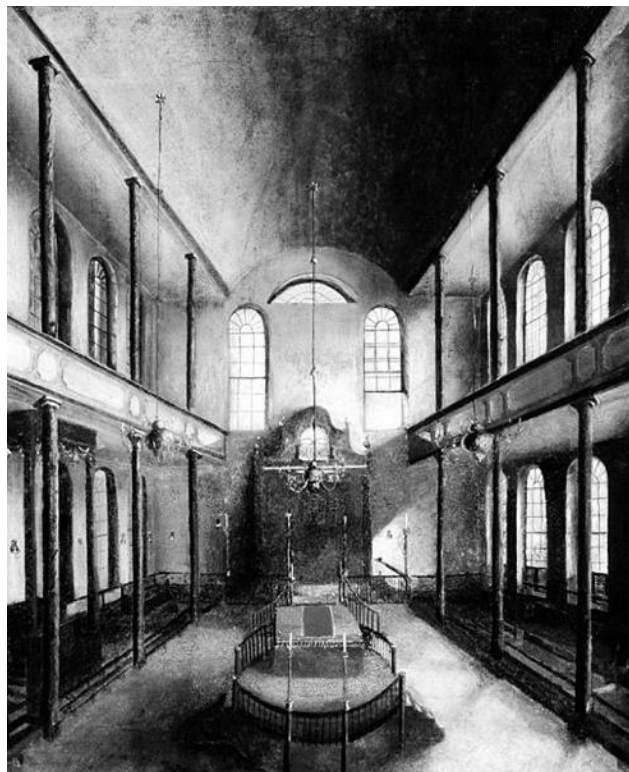
Image 5.18: Interior of Beth Elohim synagogue, Charleston, 1838. Oil on canvas by Solomon Nunes Carvalho. (Special Collections, College of Charleston Library, and Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim, Charleston)

Chapter 6

Conclusion: Synagogues as a Reflection of Jewish Life

Communal Identity and the Diaspora Synagogue

During the early modern period, Jewish life underwent a radical transformation that resulted in a cohesive Jewish cultural identity, a "Jewish nationhood" distinct from Jewish religion. This reorientation was a direct result of the extensive changes in the material and social realities of Jews in western and central Europe, whose experiences of mass conversion and expulsion had moved the bulk of their populations to the Ottoman Empire and eastern Europe over the course of the 15th and 16th centuries. From the mid-16th century into the 18th century, the Jewish world held a high degree of autonomy from Christian society that added to the development of a comprehensive Jewish culture. In Italy and eastern Europe, forms of ghettoization designed to separate also enhanced Jewish political and educational autonomy. Where Jews lived among Christian society, as was the case in Amsterdam, authorities provided certain privileges of autonomy to Jewish communities, while expecting Jewish congregational leaders to maintain strict control over their own populations. The cohesive cultural identity connecting much of the Jewish world was political and mystical, secular and religious. New elements became incorporated with traditional Jewish customs: an intensified political and historical awareness, a new level of involvement in poetry, music, and drama, and an interest in integrating fragments of western philosophy and science into the Jewish corpus.[1]

As seen in this dissertation, the Jewish Atlantic world of the 17th and 18th centuries was fundamentally connected by a shared Jewish culture that was reinforced by economic, social and religious networks. The example of the *shadarim*, the rabbinical emissaries who traveled from

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[1] Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550-1750,* 58–59.

the Holy Land to diasporic congregations, demonstrates the further connectedness of the wider Jewish diaspora during the period. This study, focused on the Dutch and English Jewish communities in the Atlantic region, proposed an examination of this diaspora as a complex system. The structure of this system was composed of elements that included people and Jewish congregations, locations where diasporic congregations were founded, the religious texts and ritual objects shared between communities, and public synagogue buildings, both remodeled and purpose-built. The interconnections between these elements were explored in the preceding chapters and included the development of a cohesive Sephardic identity, specifically the one shaped in Amsterdam during the 17th century, and the various inter-communal networks— economic, religious, and social—that linked Jews in the Atlantic to one another. Over time, this system functioned to maintain Jewish practice, provide economic stability and strengthen the shared Sephardic identity of those within this system.

The built form of the public synagogue was a significant output of this system, and importantly, each construction impacted later systemic outputs. Complex systems employ a mechanism called feedback loops, which allow a system to maintain a consistent behavior that persists over time.[2] This concept of systems theory applied to this study suggests that through the interconnections of the Diaspora Synagogue system, each synagogue fed back into the system after it opened and, through the system's structure, impacted future constructions. The physical presence and ritual form of each synagogue built further supported the system's primary function of maintaining and reinforcing communal identity. In this way, the synagogue building was an architectural expression of Jewish life. The synagogues studied in this dissertation demonstrate this in two specific ways. The first is the pattern witnessed in many of the sites documented here:

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[2] Meadows, *Thinking in Systems: A Primer*, 25.

the progression of worship spaces from private homes to indistinct public buildings, followed by impressive architectural outputs. For a specific location, each of these outputs reflected the relative status of the Jewish community as a minority within their Christian locales. Beyond this though, each synagogue also provided a physical ritual space that strengthened communal identity and further secured the social position of the local Jewish community. As a community gained this security, as those in Amsterdam, London, Curacao, and New York did in the 17th and 18th centuries, their congregations grew and new synagogues—remodeled and purpose-built— were constructed to replace the previous. The cycle continued with each synagogue constructed, further securing the Jewish community within a locale where public practice of Judaism was legally permitted, with the architecture reflecting each generation's shifting affiliations and concepts of identity.

As was explored in Chapter Three, the Esnoga, the Sephardic synagogue opened 1675 in Amsterdam, was a particularly significant output of the Diaspora Synagogue system. The preceding Dutch synagogues—the various Amsterdam *schuilkerken*, the first Talmud Torah synagogue on the Houghtgracht opened 1639, and the Ashkenazi Grote Sjoel, built 1670-71— were critical architectural outputs within the architectural lineage of the Esnoga. Each represent systemic outputs at the intersection of Dutch-Jewish religious identity, Jewish participation in the colonial economic system of the Dutch Republic, and Dutch modes of architectural production, primarily that of classicism. The Amsterdam synagogues of the 17th century brought the values of these systems into physical form. The Esnoga was a culmination of this communal identity and became a reference point for later synagogue designs in the Netherlands. The Dutch-Jewish mode of architecture that emerged in the 18th century impacted the design of synagogues in the Netherlands, both Sephardic and Ashkenazic, directly tying them to the systemic outputs of the

17th century and reflecting the coherence of Dutch-Jewish identity.

A second pattern in the systemic outputs of synagogues can also be identified in the current study and can be seen in its clearest image in the impact of the Esnoga on the wider Sephardim during the 17th and 18th centuries. Built at the height of the Dutch Golden Age, the Esnoga represented the prosperity of the Amsterdam Sephardim and their acceptance and high status in Dutch society. Its built form marked a rupture from the previous synagogues of the post-expulsion era in western Europe due to its unprecedented monumentality. Not only was the Esnoga a physical reflection of the secured status of public Jewish life in the Dutch Republic, but it also symbolized the position of congregation Talmud Torah as the religious authority of the Sephardim. As a mother congregation to the diaspora, the synagogue of Talmud Torah could act as a direct architectural influence on later synagogues. This is made clear in the Dutch colony of Curacao, where the Caribbean Sephardic congregation, Mikveh Israel, constructed a synagogue with an interior that directly referenced the space in Amsterdam. As discussed in Chapter Five, Mikveh Israel maintained close connections to Talmud Torah and positioned themselves as an extension of the Amsterdam congregation in the New World. The architecture of the Mikveh Israel Synagogue reflected their shared communal identity with congregation Talmud Torah.

Chapters Four and Five, on the London and Dutch and English colonial synagogues, respectively, also make clear that the impact of the Esnoga, and congregation Talmud Torah, on later diaspora synagogues was not necessarily represented architecturally. In London, the major architectural output of the Sephardic congregation Sha'ar Hashamayim, Bevis Marks Synagogue, shared a closer architectural lineage with other English religious constructions of the period than the Dutch Esnoga. In a similar way, the iterations of the London Ashkenazic Great Synagogue also did not reflect the Dutch Ashkenazic synagogues of the Grote Sjoel and Nieuwe Sjoel,

despite the shared heritage with the Dutch congregation. However, in the case of London's Sephardic community, the shared communal identity can be identified elsewhere: in the 17th century rabbis from Amsterdam who led Sha'ar Hashamayim in its early decades and the replication of Dutch ritual objects within the Creechurch Lane and Bevis Marks synagogues. Architecturally, the English synagogues reflected the community's interests in acceptance and assimilation within English high society. Unlike the Curacao Jewish community, who remained Dutch and identified themselves directly with the Dutch Sephardim, the English Sephardim held a cultural identity that blended aspects of English society with Sephardic traditions.

The writing of Rabbi David Nieto, a physician ordained in Venice who led congregation Sha'ar Hashamayim beginning in 1702 until his death in 1728, provides an example of how Judaism was adapted to life in England. Nieto's career following his arrival in England suggests a consistent and distinctive ideological position that was similar to that of his Anglican counterparts. The London rabbi identified that the survival of Judaism in England required both the consistent demonstration of loyalty to the crown and England's political elite and the appropriation of the language and ideology of the religious establishment.[3] English Jews would maintain their Jewish identity, Nieto believed, if their religious sensibilities were aligned with both their economic and social aspirations and with those of their Christian neighbors. In many ways, the architecture of the English synagogues examined in Chapter Four of this dissertation reflect this view of the English-Jewish identity. Unlike in the Netherlands, where a Dutch-Jewish architectural mode developed out of the cohesion of the Dutch-Jewish cultural identity, no equivalent emerged in England during the 18th century. The English-Jewish identity reflected in the architecture of their synagogues reveals the growing assimilation of the Jewish community

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[3] David Ruderman, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 315–17.

within English society.

The analysis in Chapter Five shows a similar pattern for the synagogue's built in English colonial territories. Although English colonial congregations in the Atlantic shared significant aspects of communal identity with their mother congregation in London, their synagogues were not direct imitations of Bevis Marks. Instead, the architecture of their synagogues reflected their English settings similar to the way Bevis Marks had fit in among London's religious landscape. The two examples of the Touro Synagogue in Newport, Rhode Island, and the Beth Elohim Synagogue in Charleston, South Carolina, demonstrate how English colonial congregations built synagogues that made physical the communities' social aspirations and values. In the English Sephardic diaspora, the architectural mode applied to the construction of synagogues was not specifically Jewish, but that of English religious space more generally. Future studies that incorporate the church designs of North America would likely support this conclusion and would expand our understanding of Jewish space in colonial America.

Of course, as an earlier systemic output, Bevis Marks had an impact on colonial synagogues, just as the Esnoga had on the London synagogue, even if a direct line of architectural influence cannot be identified. The diaspora synagogues, in combination with the other elements of the Diaspora Synagogue system, functioned to reinforce a Jewish communal identity and maintain Jewish practice in locations where Jews were present. The ritual space of the synagogue reflected these aspects of Jewish life, and during the period of study, this often took the form of a rectangular or square basilica with an east-west interior orientation, directed towards the ark, with a *bimah* placed in the central nave, with seats facing the center and gallery space for women. These features were typically present in Atlantic synagogues, even where other architectural details were distinct, and demonstrate the shared communal values of the

diaspora. For example, the orthodox practice of the period required a separation of genders during religious services. Women held a low position within the congregational hierarchy, being prohibited from holding roles in congregational and rabbinical leadership, and from participating in other ways during religious services. This gendered hierarchy was expressed architecturally through separate entrances and seating that placed women further away from the primary prayer space, sometimes even out of sight. The hierarchy within the synagogue extended to the men's space as well, which placed the most high-profile, wealthy male congregants in seats closest to the ark and *bimah*. The *mahamad* of the Sephardic congregations sat in an area called the *banca*, usually ornately-carved raised boxed seats along the north interior wall. These social and gendered hierarchies were visible in every Atlantic synagogue during the 17th and 18th centuries where evidence remains, and future studies focused on synagogue furniture designs would be well positioned to examine this topic further.

The presence of public synagogues was also foundational to the messianic beliefs that were a significant part of Jewish life during the 17th and 18th centuries. Messianism in the Jewish world was explored to a limited degree in this dissertation, as it has been well addressed in other studies, but the construction of colonial synagogues acted as guideposts for these beliefs. The existence of the Zur Israel Synagogue in Recife, Brazil, built around 1640, was used by Menasseh ben Israel as a major piece of evidence for the coming messianic age in his well-regarded text, *Mikveh Israel*, published in 1650. Menasseh's writing emphasized how Jewish congregations and the construction of synagogues were fundamentally entwined in meaning: the existence of a congregation meant the physical materialization of a synagogue, and the built form of a synagogue implied the necessary existence of a Jewish congregation. Those who practice Judaism regard the ritual and study of the Torah as a means of connecting with all Jews, back to

the ancient Israelites, but the cohesion of the Jewish cultural identity that developed over the 17th and 18th centuries created even stronger ties between diaspora synagogues. The Sephardim developed an historical awareness following the Iberian expulsions, mass conversions, and migrations of the 15th and 16th centuries, which made the existence of public synagogues deeply meaningful expressions of the continuation of Jewish life. For those who had experienced life as *conversos*, public synagogues reflected a security in public expression of Jewish practice. As the inter-communal networks studied in Chapter Five revealed, members of these networks were committed to supporting congregations in maintaining Jewish ritual and in the construction of new synagogues. The synagogues built out of the material support of these communal networks illustrate the overall behavior of the Diaspora Synagogue system: as systemic outputs, the synagogue building reflected shared values that acknowledged their history and focused on the preservation of Jewish practice and the strengthening of a communal identity.

Jewish life in Europe and North America underwent significant changes in the modern period, with Jewish emancipation granting equal citizenship to Jewish subjects and large-scale migrations of Ashkenazi Jews to western Europe and North America. Though the communal identity of the Sephardic diaspora shifted in many ways, certain aspects of the complex system of the 17th and 18th centuries studied here can still be identified. During the mid-19th century, a group of Baghdadi Jews established a small Sephardic community in the British port of Shanghai. The early community was centered around the Sassoon family, who managed a British trading firm and amassed significant wealth in Bombay before opening branches in Hong Kong and Shanghai.[4] In 1921, the Ohel Rachel Synagogue opened in Shanghai, paid for by the patriarch Sir Jacob Elias Sassoon, who still lived in Bombay and had also funded the

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[4] Marcia R. Ristaino, *Port of Last Resort: The Diaspora Communities of Shanghai* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 21–26.

construction of the Ohel Leah Synagogue in Hong Kong in 1901.[5] The synagogue was designed

by the prominent Shanghai architectural firm, Moorhead & Halse, who were also responsible for

prominent buildings along the Bund, including the McBain Building and the former Shanghai

Club Building. However, Jacob Sassoon was heavily involved in the project, and wanted the

design of the Shanghai synagogue to commemorate the history of the British Sephardim.

Sassoon held close ties to England, where he travelled frequently for business and attended

services in Bevis Marks Synagogue and the late-19th century Sha'ar Hashamayim synagogue on

Lauderdale Road, built in north-west London where much of the wealthy Sephardic population

moved during that century. The Ohel Rachel Synagogue is a rectangular basilica and features

brick facades on the north and south sides, with rows of round-headed windows that were meant

to directly reference those of Bevis Marks (Image 6.1). When the building was an active

synagogue, it sat nearly 700 people, with separate space for women in the galleries that spanned

three sides of the space. Overhead, the curved ceiling and arches echo those found at the

Lauderdale Road, without the large central dome of the London Sephardic synagogue (Image

6.2). The Shanghai synagogue of Ohel Rachel illustrates the potential for further studies on the

system of the Diaspora Synagogue and the lasting meaning and impact of its architectural

outputs into the modern period.

Digital Methods and the Complexities of Architectural Inheritance

Studying synagogue architecture through the lens of systems theory, with buildings as

outputs of a complex system, provides an important contribution to the study of architecture.

Distinct from traditional approaches to architectural history, where a building has an assumed

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[5] Maisie Meyer, *From the Rivers of Babylon to the Whangpoo: A Century of Sephardi Jewish Life in Shanghai* (Lanham Md.: University Press of America, 2003), 97–100.

coherence linked to a specific site, buildings as components of a system place them within a much greater context. Built form, in this view, can be studied as events marking a particular intersection of interconnections within a system's framework. This study of Atlantic synagogues during the 17th and 18th centuries demonstrates an approach that utilizes systems theory and shows the complex forces—local and global—that impacted their construction. Systems thinking allows for a reevaluation of previous notions, specifically the direct architectural influence that is often ascribed to the Amsterdam Esnoga and London's Bevis Marks on Sephardic diaspora synagogues. As this dissertation has shown, these synagogues and the leadership of their respective congregations held the position of authority of "mother congregation" to the Dutch and English Sephardic diaspora—influence that during the period even reached majority Ashkenazic populations in North America. The Amsterdam and London congregations held central positions in the inter-communal networks that linked diaspora communities and reinforced communal identity. Because of this, many prior studies on Atlantic synagogues conclude that the architecture of the Esnoga and Bevis Marks were the primary and direct influences on later Sephardic synagogues. However, this approach, as is often the case with such assertions, flattens the complexities that exist within the system of architectural production.

Positioning buildings as outputs of a complex system democratizes the process of studying architectural history. In this approach, individual precedents are no longer required to be considered as more important than others. Instead, previous constructions all become part of the progression, or lineage, that combined with other forces within the system, produces built form. As was discussed in Chapter Four, the Esnoga itself was produced out of an intersection of systems related to architectural production that included several previous synagogues in Amsterdam, as well as the prominent mode of classicism in Dutch religious architecture. The

ritual arrangement of the prayer space of the Esnoga was not invented at its inception, but instead had precedents in earlier Jewish and Christian spaces, and this lineage carried into later constructions. The London synagogues applied this form of Jewish ritual space to an English context, which had a distinct application of classicism to Anglican religious space. The Atlantic colonial synagogues were products of their colonial environments: impacted by the architectural modes of their European imperial counterparts, the building conventions of their colonial settings in South America, the Caribbean, and North America, and the Sephardic identities of their congregants and the inter-communal networks that sustained their religious, economic, and social relationships. Looking at architectural history as events of complex systemic behavior removes the inclination to identify specific design precedent, and instead allows for an image of multiplicity of influence over time, where architectural lineage is complex and often indirect.

Exploring such a complex system requires new approaches that are capable of accounting for many disparate elements and sites. This dissertation is relatively limited in scale but included research into over seventy synagogues and numerous other buildings constructed over two centuries. Digital methods enable scholarship at a larger scope than previous approaches and are especially well suited for the application of systems theory to the study of architecture. The present study made use of a custom relational database and network analysis, but future studies would likely benefit from other technologies. The relational database was essential during both the research and analytic stages of this project. During research, it provided a place for collected data to be organized and easily retrievable. The structure of the database was designed to enable information on buildings, congregations, people, ritual objects, and locations to be linked together—in various data formats—to facilitate complex analysis. For this project, the components of the Diaspora Synagogue system were structured in the form of networks, as a

way to examine the relationships between congregations and their built spaces. Methods in the field of network analysis were applied to these graphs, which exposed patterns that confirmed some previous arguments but also illuminated complexities of architectural inheritance. In many ways this dissertation was an exploration into the applications of relational databases and network analysis in the study of architectural history. Both tools enabled a more expansive study of Atlantic synagogues of the 17th and 18th centuries than seen in prior scholarship.

Future work would benefit from the incorporation of more data, including additional synagogues in the Netherlands and England not accounted for in the present study, as well as relevant Christian and secular architecture. A number of synagogues were also built in North America and the Caribbean in the early to mid-19th century that, if added to the current study, would advance our understanding of the changes within Jewish communal identity that occurred during this period. The methodological and analytical workflows presented in this dissertation act as a proof of concept for related studies on synagogues as well as other topics in the field of architecture. Further interrogation of the methods in network analysis would also benefit any related study that follows. The current application of these methods in humanities-based research is significantly less than seen in the sciences and social sciences, but they hold significant potential for future scholarship in architectural history. With hope, this project demonstrates how data-centered research and analysis can bring new, refreshed insights into the study of architecture, while maintaining a focus on the humanity of the people who built and interacted with their built environment.

Images: Chapter Six

Image 6.1: Ohel Rachel Synagogue in Shanghai, exterior. Photo by author, 2016; all rights reserved

Image 6.2: Ohel Rachel Synagogue in Shanghai, interior. Photo by author, 2016; all rights reserved

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Appendix A: The Diaspora Synagogue System as Relational Database

A relational database is a simple tool that can be used for research and analysis of a system. It provides the means to break a system apart into simple, discrete elements, in an organizational structure where information about those elements can be stored and linked together in complex ways. The Diaspora Synagogue system is translated into a relational database through a structure of modules that describe the primary actors in the system. These central modules are architectural elements, ritual elements, biographies, and geographies (See Figure A.1). Elements from these modules are then linked together in novel ways to create records that are specific to this study on synagogues. A primary example of this is the records of synagogue buildings and the ways they are described through the interconnections of the elements from different modules. In the database structure, buildings are defined in various ways: by their physical locations through the geographies module, by the individual actors who were involved in their construction from the biographies module, by the architectural elements that aesthetically describe the building, and by the ritual elements contributed to the physical space of the synagogue. This appendix gives an overview of the structure and organization of this dissertation's custom relational database.

A relational database benefits a researcher in two specific ways. The first is it creates a structure for inputting and keeping track of the disparate elements of the research itself. In a study like this, that covers a vast expanse of geography and many different sites over a wide period of time, the relational database is especially invaluable. The citation module in particular helps a researcher keep track of citations, to know where information came from, and importantly the means to quickly compare sources when information conflicts. The second function a relational database provides is in opportunities for analysis. This dissertation queried

data in a specific way to be used in the presented network analysis, but there are countless ways

data can be linked and extracted. The tables in the appendices that follow provide some examples

of the data held within the relational database.
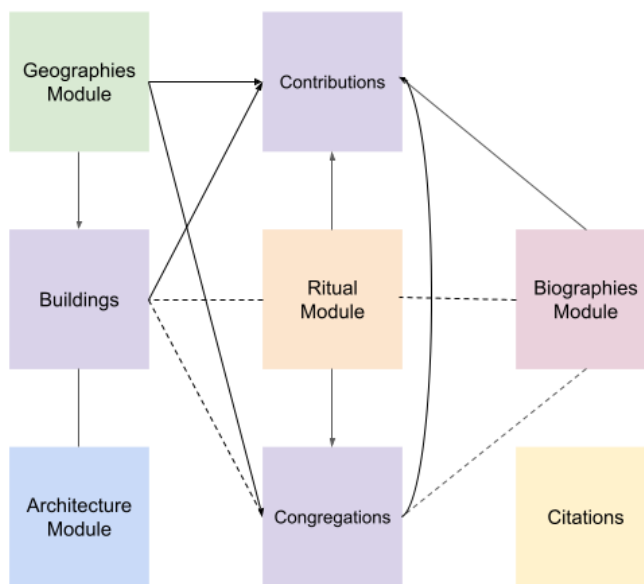
Figure A.1: Diagram of overall structure of relational database, showing all modules and major tables

Figure A.1 shows an overview of the overall schema of this database, and through a

simplified diagram, illustrates how the tables that describe the critical aspects of the system of

the Diaspora Synagogue are built out of the other modules. Buildings, as the central concern in

this dissertation, are tied to every other part of this database, either directly or through linking

tables, which will be described shortly. Below, Figure A.2 displays the table structures that hold

some of the primary data collected on the buildings in this study. The main table, "Buildings,"

contains the building_id, the primary key of each building listed in the table. This key is a unique

integer that allows for specific buildings to be referenced and linked to other tables. The

supplementary tables, "Building Dimensions" and "Building Dates" demonstrate this

fundamental aspect of the relational database. Instead of repeating information, these tables

contain a column for the building_id, as a foreign key, that provides the link back to the

Buildings table. Other foreign keys, which link back to their primary data in a separate table, can

be seen below, including the location_id and citation_id, which provide the connections to those

modules.

Buildings

Records the buildings in this study. Use type is listed as 'synagogue' or 'church' for most buildings in this study. **Parent_id** refers to another building in the study that was replaced by the building's construction. **Loc_definition** records whether the lat/long listed is an exact position, a closely estimated position, or a general location (city/country) position.

building_id	primary key
building_name	longtext
year_built	longtext
year_opened	longtext
year_nonextant	longtext
use_type	longtext
location_id	foreign key
loc_definition	longtext
parent_id	foreign key
citation_id	foreign key
pg	longtext
notes	longtext

Building_Dimensions

Records further details about the study's buildings. **Purpose_built** records if a building was a remodeled space or purpose-built. **Off_street** records if a building was sited on or off the street. **Sand** notes if a site is recorded as having sand on the floor of the interior prayer hall.

building_dimension_id	primary key
building_id	foreign key
dim_length	integer
dim_width	integer
dim_height	integer
dim_square	integer
dim_unit	longtext
lot_length	integer
lot_width	integer
lot_square	integer
lot_unit	longtext
purpose_built	bool
off_street	bool
floors	integer
sand	bool
seats_men	integer
seats_women	integer
citation_id	foreign key
pg	longtext
notes	longtext

Building_Dates

Records further details about the study's buildings. Provides integer dates required for data visualizations, and uses boolean True/False to record whether a date is certain.

building_date_id	primary key
building_id	foreign key
yr_built_data	integer
yr_built_certain	bool
yr_opened_data	integer
yr_opened_certain	bool
yr_nonext_data	integer
yr_nonext_certain	bool
citation_id	foreign key
pg	longtext
notes	longtext

Figure A.2: Buildings table data and supplemental linked tables

Outside of the building data, there are two other places in the database where information

from the separate modules connect in critical ways for the analysis done in this dissertation.

These are the tables on "Congregations" and "Contributions." Figure A.3 shows Congregations

and associated "linking tables." Linking tables are especially important to making the relational

database function. As their name implies, these tables create important links between datasets.

The diagrams below show how the congregations in the study become linked to specific

buildings and to specific individuals, in this case the rabbis that served Atlantic congregations.

Like each building, each congregation has a primary key, as does each individual in the

Biographies module.
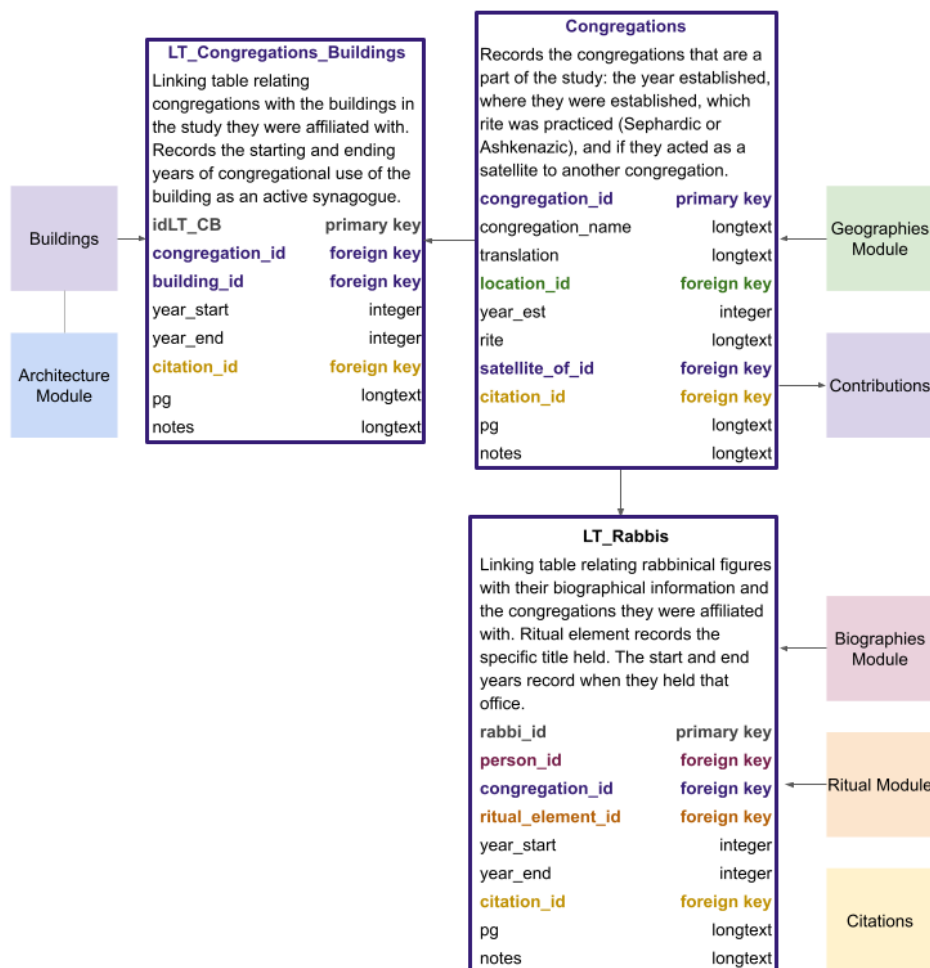
Figure A.3: Congregations and related linking tables

The next table records the information on the various contributions made towards

Atlantic synagogues. Like the previous tables, "Contributions" emerges out of the

interconnections of the parts of the database's structure. These tables, along with the

architectural module, provide the data for the primary analysis in this dissertation. They

demonstrate how the relational database can be used to break down elements of a system into separate but related tables of information.
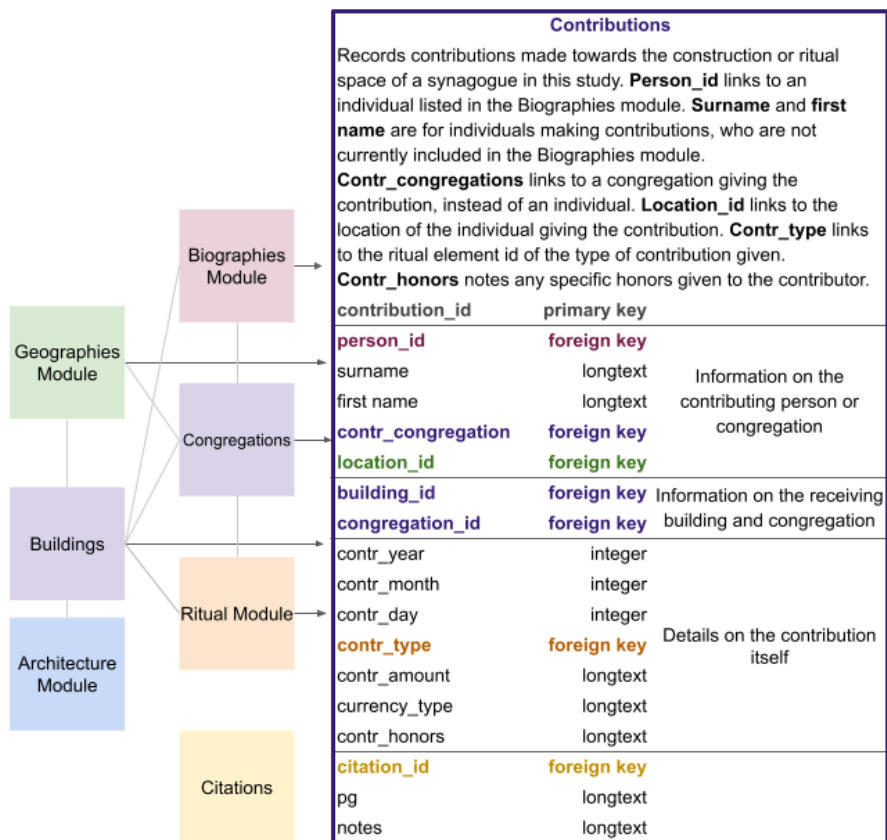
Figure A.4: Contributions table with diagram for connected modules

Figures A.2-A.4 illustrate some of the more descriptive parts of the database, but their foundations lie in other modules. These are the Biographies, Geographies, and Ritual modules, seen in the next set of figures. The Biographies and Geographies modules are especially critical to this study, which covered a large geographic area over two centuries. The interconnections between individuals, their families and descendants helped towards making sense of multiple generations of Jewish congregations and their religious and congregational leadership. The Biographies Module was underutilized in this specific study, especially in regard to fully exploring the various relationships that existed. One example of future work that would add to this study is the implementation of social network analysis on a network of individuals.

Biographies Module

People

Records basic information for an individual in the study. **Alias** lists both additional spellings and alternate names, for example David Cohen Nassy also went by Joseph Nunes da Fonseca.

person_id	**primary key**
surname	longtext
first	longtext
suffix	longtext
alias	longtext
gender	longtext
birth_year	longtext
birth_month	longtext
birth_day	longtext
birth_location	**foreign key**
death_year	longtext
death_month	longtext
death_day	longtext
death_location	**foreign key**
burial_location	**foreign key**
citation_id	**foreign key**
pg	longtext
notes	longtext

LT_people (Relationships)

Links two people in a specific relationship_type

idLT_people	**primary key**
relation_type_id	**foreign key**
person_id_1	**foreign key**
person_id_2	**foreign key**
citation_id	**foreign key**
pg	longtext
notes	longtext

relationship_types

Definition table of one-way relationship types. Types include parent-child, husband-wife, and instructor-student.

relation_type_id	**primary key**
relationship_type	longtext
citation_id	**foreign key**
pg	longtext
notes	longtext

Geographies Module

Contributions

Ritual Module

Citations

LT_rabbis

LT_people_buildings

Congregations

Buildings

Architecture Module

Figure A.5: Biographies Module: Tables related to individuals in the study

Geographies Module

locations

Records a single location, whether a city, state, country, or address/building site. It has a latitude and longitude for plotting on a map.

location_id	**primary key**
address	longtext
city	longtext
state	longtext
country	longtext
region	longtext
latitude	longtext
longitude	longtext
citation_id	**foreign key**
pg	longtext
notes	longtext

LT_loc_powers

Links a location with a ruling power over a specific period of time. Allows for locations to be included within possessions of multiple powers over time.

idLT_loc_power	**primary key**
location_id	**foreign key**
ruling_power_id	**foreign key**
year_start	longtext
year_end	longtext
citation_id	**foreign key**
pg	longtext
notes	longtext

ruling_powers

Records ruling powers and organizations that held colonial possessions relevant to the study. Include powers like the Dutch Netherlands and the Dutch West India Company.

ruling_power_id	**primary key**
name	longtext
citation_id	**foreign key**
pg	longtext
notes	longtext

Architecture Module

Buildings

Congregations

Contributions

Citations

Ritual Module

Biographies Module

Figure A.6: Geographies Module: Definition tables on locations and ruling powers

The Geographies module provides information on locations in the study, which is important for sorting sites, congregations, and individuals by place or region, as well as placing various data on maps. Because colonial holdings changed hands so frequently during the period of study, ruling powers and the related linking table shown in Figure A.6 was used to keep track of this information. The Ritual module in its current form provides definitions of various elements related to Jewish ritual. This includes religious titles and congregational offices, linked to individuals in the Biographies module. It also holds information related to furniture, texts, and objects contributed to congregations, and different types of monetary payments made towards the construction of synagogues. These types of definition tables also help in creating a controlled vocabulary and avoid confusion surrounding multiple spellings or typos. Some of this data can be seen in the tables in Appendix D on rabbis and Appendix E on ritual contributions. The Ritual module is relatively underdeveloped in this study, and could be significantly expanded, especially for a study on religious furniture and ritual objects.
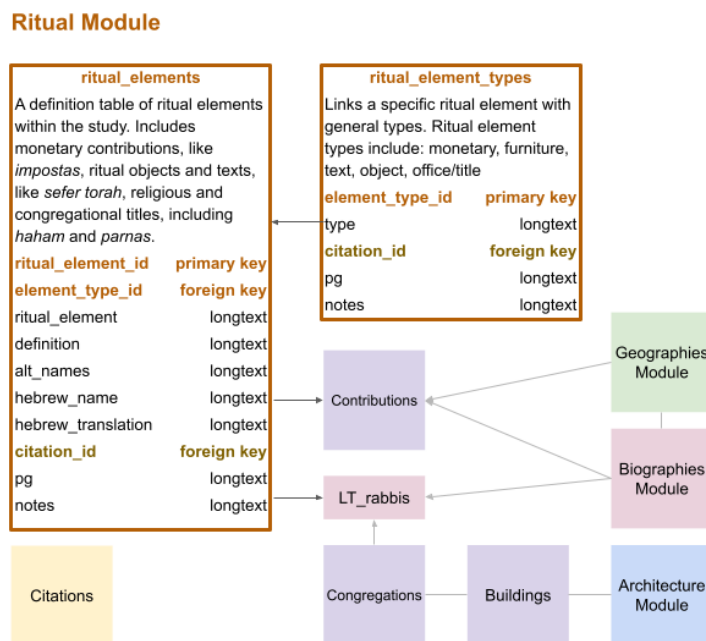
Figure A.7: Ritual Module: Definition tables for ritual elements and types

The modules discussed above hold data on the wider context surrounding the construction of Atlantic synagogues, however, their built form is at the center of this dissertation. The Architectural module holds information on buildings, both synagogues and churches, structured in a way as to provide various entry points for research. Within the database, a building is abstracted into a series of components and elements. The goal is not a perfect recreation of the building digitally, like a 3D model might provide, but an accounting of the discrete elements that make up its form. The process of breaking down a building into smaller, discrete parts, follows certain considerations of traditional formal analysis within architectural history and conventions used in design drawing.

A building is first described in the database by four topological spaces, derived from architectural drawing conventions, which communicate three-dimensional space in two dimensions.[1] These are facade, plan, section, and interior elevation (See Figure A.8 below). Each of these topological spaces contain compositions, or assemblages of architectural elements.[2] Facades, in this example, contain roofline, window and entrance compositions. Facades also often feature additional architectural elements that may not be defined within a composition, like pilasters or band courses.

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[1] For background on architectural drawing conventions, see: Robin Evans, *The Projective Cast: Architecture and Its Three Geometries* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995); James S Ackerman, *Origins, Imitation, Conventions: Representation in the Visual Arts* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002).

[2] The dissertation by Zachary Violette, "The Decorated Tenement: Working-Class Housing in Boston and New York, 1860-1910," 2014, uses a concept of "ornamentation schemes" that provided an inspiration for this dissertation's concept of architectural compositions.

Architectural Module

Architectural Elements	
Architectural Element Type Tables:	
Apse types	Keystone types
Arch types	Lattice screen types
Architrave types	Molding types
Band course types	Panelling types
Base types	Parapet types
Blind arch types	Pediment types
Capital types	Pier types
Ceiling types	Plinth types
Column types	Quion types
Column shaft types	Roof types
Console types	Sculpted ornament types
Corbel types	Stepped platform types
Cornice types	Tympanum types
Door frame types	Vault types
Door types	Window frame types
Engaged column types	Window types

Buildings → Facades → Roofline Compositions, Window Compositions, Entrance Compositions, Add. Facade Elements

Interior Elevations (less developed)

Sections → Interior Framing Compositions (Columns/Colonnades), Ceiling Compositions

Plans → Plan Element Tables: Axis of symmetry, Footprint types, Gallery types, Plan bay types

Figure A.8: Architectural Module Overview

The Architectural module was structured according to considerations relevant to architectural historians. The architectural elements in this study are defined using the preexisting vocabulary of formal analysis and architectural design.[3] Elements range from specific built entities like "column shaft" to more descriptive characteristics like "axis of symmetry," which describes the general interior orientation of a prayer hall, or "bay types" that give a sense of how compositions are repeated within a space. Many architectural elements link to specific types, for example, window frames in this study include the types like round-headed, segmental, and rectangular. Their architraves, or the element that borders a window or door, include types

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[3] Specific dictionaries used to define terms in this study: Curl and Wilson, *The Oxford Dictionary of Architecture*; Ching, *A Visual Dictionary of Architecture*; Fleming, Honour, and Pevsner, *Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture*.

relevant to this study, like, "masonry soldier course" describing brickwork, or "simple molded" describing a stone or wood frame with a simple molding design. Where particularly relevant, some types incorporate materials and techniques, like for pilasters, which were described as brick or by their smooth-faced rustication. Adding these descriptions within the typology tables was deemed necessary for the network analysis in this project, as the section of the database that was developed to track materials and techniques did not end up being included within the project at this stage.

The architectural language used to define element types was specifically adapted to the buildings in this study, and their remaining evidence. The database structure is designed to provide access to data at a variety of levels of detail. You can query buildings to the highest level of detail, including specific materials and their construction technique, or search the database for more general typologies, like all buildings that share a rectangular basilica footprint. The following tables diagrammed in Figure A.9 below illustrate how information on architectural elements is inputted into the database. These tables are fairly complex, and in future iterations of this project, their structures could be improved on.

Facades

Links architectural elements, window, entrance and roofline compositions (wsc, esc, rlc), to a specific buildings facade. Facade_name is a unique name for a specific facade, a combination of the building id and cardinal direction, i.e. f4w (building id 4, west facade)

Field	Type	Note
facade_id	primary key	
building_id	foreign key	Links to Buildings Table
facade_name	longtext	
cardinal_direction	longtext	
wsc	foreignish	Provides the link to Composition tables (see following diagrams)
esc	foreignish	
rlc	foreignish	
architectural_element_id	foreign key	Additional architectural elements featured on the facade, not part of a composition (i.e. pilasters, band course)
element_id	foreign key	
quantity	integer	
level	integer	
material_id	foreign key	Links to tables on building materials and techniques
material_technique_id	foreign key	
year_added	integer	Year a composition or arch. element was added to the facade (small-scale renovations)
citation_id	foreign key	Links to Citations
pg	longtext	
notes	longtext	

window_compositions

Links architectural elements to a specific window composition, the elements making up a window and its surrounding elements like architraves, keystones. **WSC** is a unique name used to link elements to a specific composition. There are similar tables for entrance compositions (esc), roofline compositions (rlc), interior framing (ifc), and ceiling compositions (cc).

Field	Type
window_comp_id	primary key
building_id	foreign key
wsc	longtext
architectural_element_id	foreign key
element_id	foreign key
quantity	integer
material_id	foreign key
material_technique_id	foreign key
year_added	integer
citation_id	foreign key
pg	longtext
notes	longtext

architectural_elements

Definition table of the architectural elements in the study. If an element has various types, it also has a separate type table. For example, the architectural element "arch" has a type table named "arch_types", which lists arch types including round, segmental, etc.

Field	Type
architectural_element_id	primary key
name	longtext
definition	longtext
citation_id	foreign key
pg	longtext
notes	longtext

arch_types

Example definition table listing the types of a specific architectural element, in this case, arches. The primary key in this table is used to fill the **element_id** in the composition and facade tables.

Field	Type
arch_type_id	primary key
architectural_element_id	foreign key
name	longtext
notes	longtext

Figure A.9: Architectural Module: Table for Facades and Example of Composition and Architectural Element Type Tables

Overall, this database was designed with this project, on the 17th and 18th century synagogues in the Dutch and English Atlantic, in mind. Some areas became more developed than others, based on the direction of research. In general concept, the relational database is adaptable to other studies, and with hope, the architectural module demonstrates a systemic approach to collecting and analyzing data on historic architecture.

Appendix B: Atlantic Synagogue Buildings and Congregation Affiliations, 17th Century to the Early 19th Century

The following table lists all synagogue buildings and affiliated congregations included in the current study, listed alphabetically by location. 'Year Open' refers to the year construction was completed and the synagogue building opened for use as a Jewish prayer hall. 'Year Nonextant' is the year the building is known to have been torn down, destroyed or abandoned; this year may be well past the final year it was an active synagogue. Entries for 'Year Start' and 'Year End' provide the years the listed congregation held ownership of the building.

Synagogue	Location	Year Opened	Year Nonextant	Congregation Affiliation	Rite	Year Start (in bldg)	Year End (in bldg)
Neveh Shalom	Amsterdam	1612	unknown	Neveh Shalom (est. 1608)	Sephardic	1612	1639
Beth Jacob	Amsterdam	1614	unknown	Beth Jacob (est. 1602)	Sephardic	1614	1639
Beth Israel	Amsterdam	1618	unknown	Beth Israel (est. 1618)	Sephardic	1618	1639
Talmud Torah (Portuguese Synagogue I)	Amsterdam	1639	1931	Talmud Torah (est. 1638)	Sephardic	1639	1931
High German Synagogue	Amsterdam	1648	1671	High German Congregation (est. 1635)	Ashkenazic	1648	1671
Grote Sjoel (Great Synagogue)	Amsterdam	1671	-	High German Congregation (est. 1635)	Ashkenazic	1671	1943
Esnoga (Portuguese Synagogue II)	Amsterdam	1675	-	Talmud Torah (est. 1638)	Sephardic	1675	current
Obbene Shul	Amsterdam	1686	-	High German Congregation (est. 1635)	Ashkenazic	1686	1943
Dritt Shul (I)	Amsterdam	1700	1777	High German Congregation (est. 1635)	Ashkenazic	1700	1777
Nieuwe Sjoel (New Synagogue)	Amsterdam	1752	-	High German Congregation (est. 1635)	Ashkenazic	1752	1943
Uilenburgerstraat Synagoge	Amsterdam	1766	-	High German Congregation (est. 1635)	Ashkenazic	1766	1943
Dritt Shul (II)	Amsterdam	1778	-	High German Congregation (est. 1635)	Ashkenazic	1777	1943
Nidhe Israel	Bridgetown, Barbados	1654	1831	Nidhe Israel (est. 1654)	Sephardic	1654	1831
Nidhe Israel	Bridgetown, Barbados	1833	-	Nidhe Israel (est. 1654)	Sephardic	1833	current
Synagogue Cassipora	Cassipora, Suriname	1671	1685	Congregation Cassipora (est. 1666)	Sephardic	1671	1685
Synagogue Cayenne	Cayenne, French Guiana	1661	1667	Congregation Cayenne (est. 1660)	Sephardic	1661	1667
Beth Elohim (I)	Charleston, SC	1794	1838	Beth Elohim (est. 1749)	Sephardic	1794	1838

Synagogue	Location	Year Opened	Year Nonextant	Congregation Affiliation	Rite	Year Start (in bldg)	Year End (in bldg)
Beth Elohim (II)	Charleston, SC	1841	-	Beth Elohim (est. 1749)	Sephardic	1841	current
Synagogue Nevis	Charlestown, Nevis	1684	1772	Congregation Nevis (est. 1684)	Sephardic	1684	1772
Beraka ve Shalom ve Gemilut Hasadim (I)	Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas	1796	1804	Beraka ve Shalom ve Gemilut Hasadim (est. 1796)	Sephardic	1796	1804
Beraka ve Shalom ve Gemilut Hasadim (II)	Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas	1813	1831	Beraka ve Shalom ve Gemilut Hasadim (est. 1796)	Sephardic	1813	1831
Beraka ve Shalom ve Gemilut Hasadim (III)	Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas	1833	-	Beraka ve Shalom ve Gemilut Hasadim (est. 1796)	Sephardic	1833	current
Synagogue St. Croix	Christiansted, St. Croix	1764	1765	Congregation St. Croix (est. 1764)	Sephardic	1764	1765
Shaar Hashamayim (I)	Gibraltar, United Kingdom	1749	1766	Shaar Hashamayim (est. 1749)	Sephardic	1749	1766
Shaar Hashamayim (II)	Gibraltar, United Kingdom	1768	1781	Shaar Hashamayim (est. 1749)	Sephardic	1768	1781
Shaar Hashamayim (III) (Great Synagogue of Gibraltar)	Gibraltar, United Kingdom	1781	-	Shaar Hashamayim (est. 1749)	Sephardic	1781	current
Etz Chaim	Gibraltar, United Kingdom	1783	-	Etz Chaim (est. 1759)	Sephardic	1783	current
Nefusot Yehuda (Flemish Synagogue)	Gibraltar, United Kingdom	1799	-	Nefusot Yehuda (est. 1799)	Sephardic	1799	current
Abudarham	Gibraltar, United Kingdom	1821	-	Abudarham (est. 1820)	Sephardic	1821	current
Berakha ve Shalom	Jodensavanne, Suriname	1685	c. 1832	Berakha ve Shalom (est. 1685)	Sephardic	1685	1832
Shaar Ha Shamaim (I)	Kingston, Jamaica	c. 1704	1744	Shaar Ha Shamaim (est. 1693)	Sephardic	1704	1744
Shaar Ha Shamaim (II)	Kingston, Jamaica	1744	1882	Shaar Ha Shamaim (est. 1693)	Sephardic	1744	1882
Shaare Yosher	Kingston, Jamaica	1789	1837	Shaangare Yosher (est. 1787)	Ashkenazic	1789	1837
Shaare Yosher (II)	Kingston, Jamaica	1837	1882	Shaangare Yosher (est. 1787)	Ashkenazic	1837	1882
Creechurch Lane Synagogue (I)	London, England	1657	1674	Sha'ar Hashamayim (est. 1656)	Sephardic	1657	1675
Creechurch Lane Synagogue (II)	London, England	1675	-	Sha'ar Hashamayim (est. 1656)	Sephardic	1675	1701
Great Synagogue (I)	London, England	1692	1722	Congregation of the Great Synagogue (est. 1690)	Ashkenazic	1692	1722
Bevis Marks Synagogue	London, England	1701	-	Sha'ar Hashamayim (est. 1656)	Sephardic	1701	current
The Hambro Synagogue (Moses Marcus' Shul)	London, England	1707	1725	Congregation of the Hambro Synagogue (est. 1707)	Ashkenazic	1707	1725
Great Synagogue (II) (Moses Hart's Shul)	London, England	1722	1765	Congregation of the Great Synagogue (est. 1690)	Ashkenazic	1722	1766
The Hambro Synagogue (Wolf Prager's Shul)	London, England	1725	1893	Congregation of the Hambro Synagogue (est. 1707)	Ashkenazic	1725	1893

Synagogue	Location	Year Opened	Year Nonextant	Congregation Affiliation	Rite	Year Start (in bldg)	Year End (in bldg)
New Synagogue (Bricklayer's Hall)	London, England	1761	unknown	Congregation of the New Synagogue (est. 1761)	Ashkenazic	1761	1837
Great Synagogue (Enlargement, III)	London, England	1766	1790	Congregation of the Great Synagogue (est. 1690)	Ashkenazic	1766	1790
Great Synagogue (Renovation, IV)	London, England	1790	1941	Congregation of the Great Synagogue (est. 1690)	Ashkenazic	1790	1941
Magen Abraham	Mauricia, Brazil	c. 1648	1653	Magen Abraham (est. 1648) (satellite of Zur Israel)	Sephardic	c. 1648	1653
Shearith Israel	Montreal, Canada	1777	1824	Shearith Israel (est. 1768)	Sephardic	1777	1824
Mill Street Synagogue (Shearith Israel I)	New York, NY	1730	1818	Shearith Israel (est. 1654)	Sephardic	1730	1818
Shearith Israel (II)	New York, NY	1818	1833	Shearith Israel (est. 1654)	Sephardic	1818	1833
Touro Synagogue	Newport, RI	1763	-	Jeshuat Israel (est. 1758)	Sephardic	1763	1822
				Shearith Israel (est. 1654)	Sephardic	1883	current
Honen Dalim (I)	Orangjestad, St. Eustatius	1739	1772	Honen Dalim (est. 1737)	Sephardic	1739	1772
Honen Dalim (II)	Orangjestad, St. Eustatius	1773	c. 1800	Honen Dalim (est. 1737)	Sephardic	1772	c. 1800
Neve Shalom	Paramaribo, Suriname	1719	1835	Berakha ve Shalom (est. 1685)	Sephardic	1719	1735
				Neve Shalom (est. 1735)	Ashkenazic	1735	1835
Tzedek ve-Shalom	Paramaribo, Suriname	1735	-	Zedek ve Shalom (est. 1735) (satellite of Berakha ve Shalom)	Sephardic	1735	1999
Darkhe Yesharim	Paramaribo, Suriname	1779	1800	Darkhe Yesharim (est. 1779) (satellite of Berakha ve Shalom)	Judeo-African Brotherhood	1779	1800
Neve Shalom	Paramaribo, Suriname	1837	-	Neve Shalom (est. 1735)	Ashkenazic	1835	current
Mikveh Israel	Philadelphia, PA	1782	1825	Mikveh Israel (est. 1740)	Sephardic	1782	1825
Rodeph Shalom	Philadelphia, PA	1847	unknown	Rodeph Shalom (est. 1795)	Ashkenazic	1847	1871
Synagogue St. Maarten	Philipsburg, St. Maarten	1783	c. 1828	Congregation St. Maarten (est. 1783)	Sephardic	1783	c. 1800
Neve Zedek (I)	Port Royal, Jamaica	c. 1684	1692	Neve Zedek (est. 1684)	Sephardic	c. 1684	1692
Neve Zedek (II)	Port Royal, Jamaica	c. 1719	c. 1815	Neve Zedek (est. 1684)	Sephardic	1719	1815
Zur Israel Synagogue	Recife, Brazil	c. 1641	c. 1900	Zur Israel (est. 1638)	Sephardic	1640	1654
				Oratory of St. Philip Neri (est. 1575)	Catholic	1679	1800
Beth Shalome	Richmond, Virginia	1822	1934	Beth Shalome (est. 1789)	Sephardic	1822	1878
Boompjes Synagogue	Rotterdam, Netherlands	1725	1940	Rotterdam Congregation	Sephardic-	1725	1940

Synagogue	Location	Year Opened	Year Nonextant	Congregation Affiliation	Rite	Year Start (in bldg)	Year End (in bldg)
					Ashkenazic		
Mickve Israel	Savannah, Georgia	1820	1829	Mickve Israel (est. 1733)	Sephardic	1820	1829
Neveh Shalom Synagogue	Spanish Town, Jamaica	1704	1907	Neve Shalom (est. 1692)	Sephardic	1704	1900
Mikveh Yisrael	Spanish Town, Jamaica	1796	1895	Mikveh Yisrael (est. 1790)	Ashkenazic	1796	1860
Semah David	Speightstown, Barbados	c. 1665	1739	Semah David (est. 1660) (satellite of Nidhe Israel)	Sephardic	c. 1660	1739
Beth Jacob	The Hague, Netherlands	1707	1743	Beth Jacob (est. 1692)	Sephardic	1692	1743
Honen Dal (I)	The Hague, Netherlands	1711	1725	Honen Dal (est. 1698)	Sephardic	1698	1726
Honen Dal (II)	The Hague, Netherlands	1726	-	Honen Dal (est. 1698)	Sephardic	1726	1940
Santa Irmandad	Tucacas, Venezuela	c. 1710	1720	Santa Irmandad (est. 1710)	Sephardic	c. 1710	1720
Mikve Israel (I)	Willemstad, Curacao	1674	1692	Mikve Israel (est. 1651)	Sephardic	1674	1692
Mikve Israel (II)	Willemstad, Curacao	1692	1703	Mikve Israel (est. 1651)	Sephardic	1692	1703
Mikve Israel (III)	Willemstad, Curacao	1703	1730	Mikve Israel (est. 1651)	Sephardic	1703	1730
Mikve Israel (IV)	Willemstad, Curacao	1732	-	Mikve Israel (est. 1651)	Sephardic	1732	current
Neve Shalom (I)	Willemstad, Curacao	1732	unknown	Neve Shalom (est. 1732) (satellite of Mikve Israel)	Sephardic	1732	1734
Neve Shalom (II)	Willemstad, Curacao	1734	unknown	Neve Shalom (est. 1732) (satellite of Mikve Israel)	Sephardic	1734	1746
Neve Shalom (III)	Willemstad, Curacao	1746	1864	Neve Shalom (est. 1732) (satellite of Mikve Israel)	Sephardic	1746	1818

Appendix C: Rabbis in the Jewish Atlantic, 17th Century to the Early 19th Century

The following table includes all of the collected information on rabbis in the colonial Atlantic during the period of study. It is sorted first alphabetically by surname, and second, by the year of their earliest term of service.

Name	Education	Studied Under	Congregation	Location	Term Began	Term Ended	Title	Citation
Abbady, Israel			Nidhe Israel	Bridgetown, Barbados	1772	1794		
Abendana, [Rabbi]			Nidhe Israel	Bridgetown, Barbados	1809	1813		
Abendana, Jacob [de Joseph]	Rotterdam		Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	1655	1680		
Abendana, Jacob [de Joseph]			Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	1680	1685		
Aguilar, Moses Raphael de			Zur Israel	Recife, Brazil	1642	1654	Hazan	
Aguilar, Moses Raphael de			Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	1654	1679	Hazan	
Aroyo, Moses ben			Beth Jacob	Amsterdam	1597	1616		
Athias, David Israel			Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	1728	1753		
Athias, Moseh Israel	Hamburg, Germany		Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	1656	1665		
Ayllon, Solomon Judah	Salonica, Greece			Salonica, Greece	1664			
			Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	1688	1689		
				Livorno, Italy	1688			
			Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	1689	1700	Haham	
			Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	1708	1728		
Azevedo, Daniel de			Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	1792	1823		
Azevedo, David Acohen de			Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	1782	1792		
Azevedo, Moses Cohen de			Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	1761	1784		
Azevedo, Raphael Cohen de			Shaar Ha Shamaim	Kingston, Jamaica	1789	1807	Hazan	Andrade, 1941
Belasco, Moses			Nidhe Israel	Bridgetown, Barbados	1824	1834		
Belinfante, Meir Cohen	Amsterdam		Nidhe Israel	Bridgetown, Barbados	1742	1752		Gallery, 2016
Bosquila, Aaron	Salonica, Greece		Shearith Israel	New York	1774	1774	Emissary	Chiel, 1972
			Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	1774	1774	Emissary	Emmanuel, 1970
			Jeshuat Israel	Newport	1774	1774	Emissary	Chiel, 1972
Britto, Isaac Hayyim Abendana de			Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	1728	1760		
Calveres, [Rabbi]			Jeshuat Israel	Newport	1788	1788	Emissary	
Carigal, Haim Isaac	Hebron, Ottoman			Constantinople, Ottoman Empire	1754	1756	Emissary	Mirvis, 2018

Name	Education	Studied Under	Congregation	Location	Term Began	Term Ended	Title	Citation
	Empire			Hamburg, Germany	1757	1758	Emissary	Mirvis, 2018
				Livorno, Italy	1757	1757	Emissary	Mirvis, 2018
			Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	1758	1758	Emissary	Mirvis, 2018
			Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	1758	1759	Emissary	Mirvis, 2018
			Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	1762	1763	Haham	Emmanuel, 1970
				Amsterdam	1763	1767	Emissary	Emmanuel, 1970
				Hebron, Ottoman Empire	1767	1767		Mirvis, 2018
			Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	1768	1771	Emissary	
			Shaar Ha Shamaim	Kingston, Jamaica	1771	1772	Emissary	Mirvis, 2018
			Mikveh Israel	Philadelphia	1772	1772	Emissary	Mirvis, 2018
			Shearith Israel	New York	1772	1773	Emissary	de Sola Pool, 1955
			Zedek ve Shalom	Paramaribo, Suriname	1773	1774	Emissary	
			Jeshuat Israel	Newport	1773	1773	Emissary	de Sola Pool, 1955
			Nidhe Israel	Bridgetown, Barbados	1775	1777	Haham	Mirvis, 2018
Carvalho, Emanuel Nunes			Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	1771	1798		
			Nidhe Israel	Bridgetown, Barbados	1798	1806		
			Beth Elohim	Charleston	1806	1808	Hazan	
			Shearith Israel	New York	1808			
Cohen, Jacob Raphael	London		Shearith Israel	Montreal, Canada	1778	1782	Hazan	
			Shearith Israel	New York	1782	1784	Hazan	de Sola Pool, 1955
			Mikveh Israel	Philadelphia	1784	1811	Hazan	
Cohen, Samuel	Hebron, Ottoman Empire		Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	1772	1772	Emissary	Mirvis, 2018
			Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	1773	1773	Emissary	Mirvis, 2018
			Zedek ve Shalom	Paramaribo, Suriname	1774	1774	Emissary	Mirvis, 2018
			Nidhe Israel	Bridgetown, Barbados	1774	1774	Emissary	Mirvis, 2018
			Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	1774	1774	Emissary	Mirvis, 2018
			Jeshuat Israel	Newport	1775	1775	Emissary	Mirvis, 2018
			Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	1776		Emissary	Mirvis, 2018
Cordova, Joshua Hezekiah de	Amsterdam		Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	1744	1748	Rabbi	Stern, 1991
			Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	1748	1753	Rabbi	Stern, 1991
			Neve Shalom	Spanish Town, Jamaica	1753	1797	Haham	Andrade, 1941
			Shaar Ha Shamaim	Kingston, Jamaica	1753	1797	Haham	Andrade, 1941
David, Moses Bar	Warsaw, Poland		Jeshuat Israel	Newport	1772	1772	Emissary	
Fonseca, David Raphael Lopez de			Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	1683	1707		
Fonseca, Isaac Aboab de	Amsterdam	Uziel, Isaac ben	Beth Israel	Amsterdam	1626	1638		

Name	Education	Studied Under	Congregation	Location	Term Began	Term Ended	Title	Citation
		Abraham	Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	1638	1642		
			Zur Israel	Recife, Brazil	1642	1654	Haham	
			Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	1654	1693	Haham	
Fonseca, Moses Hezekiah Lopez de	Amsterdam	Lopez, Eliau	Shearith Israel	New York	1726	1736	Hazan	de Sola Pool, 1955
			Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	1736	1752	Hazan	Stern, 1991
Halevi, Uri ben Joseph			Beth Jacob	Amsterdam	1604			
Hart, Aaron			Congregation of the Great Synagogue	London	1704	1757	Chief Rabbi	Renton, 2000
Israel, Menasseh ben	Amsterdam	Uziel, Isaac ben Abraham	Neveh Shalom	Amsterdam	1622			
			Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	1639			
Izidro, Abraham Gabay	Amsterdam		Berakha ve Shalom	Jodensavanne, Suriname	1731		Haham	
Jehudah, Tobiah ben			Jeshuat Israel	Newport	1773	1773	Emissary	
Jesurun, Raphael	Amsterdam	Ayllon, Solomon Judah	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	1717	1748	Haham	
Joshua, Abraham ben			High German Congregation	Amsterdam		1678		
Joshua, Isaac ben			High German Congregation	Amsterdam				
Julian, Moses H.			Nidhe Israel	Bridgetown, Barbados	1819	1829		
Lara, Mosseh Cohen de			Shaar Ha Shamaim	Kingston, Jamaica	1713	1748	Haham	Andrade, 1941
Ledesma, Dr. Aharon de Ishak	Amsterdam		Berakha ve Shalom	Jodensavanne, Suriname	1736		Haham	
Leib, Jehuda			Congregation of the Great Synagogue	London	1690	1706	Hazan	Renton, 2000
Loeb, R. Yehudah			Congregation of the Great Synagogue	London	1696	1700	Rabbi	Roth, 1950
Lopez, Abraham Rodiques			Neve Shalom	Spanish Town, Jamaica	1773		Hazan	Andrade, 1941
Lopez, Eliau	Amsterdam	Fonseca, Isaac Aboab de	Nidhe Israel	Bridgetown, Barbados	1678	1693		
			Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	1693	1713		
Lousado, Daniel Baruch			Nidhe Israel	Bridgetown, Barbados	1772	1772		
Lucena, Abraham Haim de			Shearith Israel	New York		1725	Hazan	de Sola Pool, 1955
Lyon (Leoni), Myer		Polack, Isaac	Congregation of the Great Synagogue	London	1767	1788	Hazan	Roth, 1950
			Shaangare Yosher	Kingston, Jamaica	1789	1796	Hazan	Andrade, 1941
Machado, David Mendes			Shearith Israel	New York	1736	1747	Hazan	de Sola Pool, 1955
Malki, Moses	Hebron, Ottoman Empire		Shearith Israel	New York	1759	1759	Emissary	Mirvis, 2018
			Jeshuat Israel	Newport	1759	1759	Emissary	Mirvis, 2018

Name	Education	Studied Under	Congregation	Location	Term Began	Term Ended	Title	Citation
Meldola, Raphael			Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	1805	1828		
Mendel, Menachem			Congregation of the Great Synagogue	London	1706		Hazan	Renton, 2000
Mesquita, Moses Gomez de			Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	1744	1751		
Mortiera, Saul Levi	Venice, Italy		Beth Jacob	Amsterdam	1616	1638		
			Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	1638	1660		
Mosheh, Aharon ben			Congregation of the Great Synagogue	London	1700	1704	Interim Rabbi	Prager, 2011
Nieto, David	Livorno, Italy		Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	1702	1728		
Nieto, Isaac			Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	1733	1741		
			Shaar Hashamayim	Gibraltar, United Kingdom	1749	1751		
Oliveyra, Solomon de			Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	1698	1708		
Pardo, David	Salonica, Greece		Beth Israel	Amsterdam	1618	1638		
			Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	1638	1657		
Pardo, David	Amsterdam		Berakha ve Shalom	Jodensavanne, Suriname	1685	1713		
Pardo, Joseph	Salonica, Greece		Beth Jacob	Amsterdam	1597	1618		
			Beth Israel	Amsterdam	1618	1619		
Pardo, Josiah	Amsterdam	Mortiera, Saul Levi		Rotterdam, Netherlands	1649	1669		
			Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	1669	1674		
			Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	1674	1683	Haham	Stiefel, 2014
			Neve Zedek	Port Royal, Jamaica	1683		Haham	Andrade, 1941
Pardo, Saul			Shearith Israel	New York	1685		Hazan	de Sola Pool, 1955
Peixotto, Moses Levi Maduro	Willemstad, Curacao		Shearith Israel	New York	1816	1828	Hazan	de Sola Pool, 1955
Penha, Jahacob de la			Shaar Ha Shamaim	Kingston, Jamaica	1734	1751	Haham	Andrade, 1941
Pereira, Benjamin			Shearith Israel	New York	1748	1757	Hazan	de Sola Pool, 1955
Pine, David Sarfaty de			Nidhe Israel	Bridgetown, Barbados	1794	1797		
Pinto, Joseph Jessurun			Shearith Israel	New York	1758	1766	Hazan	de Sola Pool, 1955
Polack, Isaac			Congregation of the Great Synagogue	London	1746	1802	Hazan	Renton, 2000
Robles, Jacob			Honen Dalim	Orangjestad, St. Eustatius		1792	Hazan	Hartog, 1976
Salem, Solomon			Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	1762	1781		
Salome, Aaron			Shaar Ha Shamaim	Kingston, Jamaica	1783	1789	Hazan	Andrade, 1941
Sasportas, Jacob	Oran, Algeria			Oran, Algeria	1634	1653		
			Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	1653	1664		

Name	Education	Studied Under	Congregation	Location	Term Began	Term Ended	Title	Citation
			Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	1664	1665	Haham	
				Hamburg, Germany	1665	1673		
			Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	1673	1675		
				Livorno, Italy	1675	1680		
			Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	1680	1693		
			Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	1693	1698		
Sasso, Jeudah			Congregation St. Croix	Christiansted, St. Croix	1765		Hazan	Emmanuel & Emmanuel, 1970
Schiff, David Tevele			Congregation of the Great Synagogue	London	1765	1792	Rabbi	Renton, 2000
Seixas, Gershom Mendes	New York	Pinto, Joseph Jessurun	Shearith Israel	New York	1768	1776	Hazan	de Sola Pool, 1955
			Mikveh Israel	Philadelphia	1780	1784		
			Shearith Israel	New York	1784	1816	Hazan	de Sola Pool, 1955
Seixas, Isaac Benjamin	New York	Seixas, Gershom Mendes	Shearith Israel	New York	1828	1839	Hazan	de Sola Pool, 1955
Silva, Isaac Cohen da			Shearith Israel	New York	1757	1758	Hazan	de Sola Pool, 1955
			Shearith Israel	New York	1766	1768	Hazan	de Sola Pool, 1955
Silva, Samuel Gomes			Shaar Ha Shamaim	Kingston, Jamaica	1760	1762	Rabbi	Andrade, 1941
Tardiola, Samuel			Beth Israel	Amsterdam	1619			
Templo, Jacob Jehudah Leon				Hamburg, Germany	1628	1630	Rabbi	
				Middelburg, Netherlands	1630	1643	Rabbi	
			Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	1643	1675	Rabbi	
Touro, Isaac	Amsterdam		Shaar Ha Shamaim	Kingston, Jamaica	1751	1760	Hazan	Andrade, 1941
			Jeshuat Israel	Newport	1760	1776	Hazan	Andrade, 1941
			Shearith Israel	New York	1780	1780	Hazan	de Sola Pool, 1955
Uziel, Isaac ben Abraham			Neveh Shalom	Amsterdam	1610	1622		
Vega, Judah	Constantinople, Ottoman Empire		Neveh Shalom	Amsterdam	1608	1610		
Wahl, Moses			High German Congregation	Amsterdam	1635		Rabbi	
Wolf, Benjamin			Shearith Israel	New York	1720	1726	Hazan	de Sola Pool, 1955

Appendix D: Ritual Item Contributions to Atlantic Synagogues, 17th Century to the Early 19th Century

Contributions from Congregations

Type	Contribution	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient	Recipient Location	Year	Citation	Page
text	sefer torah	Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	1659	Maduro, 1982	12
text	sefer torah	Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	Honen Dalim	Oranjestad, St. Eustatius	1738	Emmanuel, 1970	1068
text	sefer torah	Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	Congregation St. Croix	Christiansted, St. Croix	1766	Arbell, 2002	273
text	sefer torah	Shearith Israel	New York, NY	Jeshuat Israel	Newport, RI	1760	PAJHS 21, 1913	81
text	sefer torah	Shearith Israel	New York, NY	Mikveh Israel	Philadelphia, PA	1761	PAJHS 27, 1920	20
object	clock	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	Jeshuat Israel	Newport, RI	1769	Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society, Summer 1975, Rabbi Theodore Lewis	283
object	charity box (x2)	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	Jeshuat Israel	Newport, RI	1769	Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society, Summer 1975, Rabbi Theodore Lewis	283
text	sefer torah	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	Shearith Israel	Montreal, Quebec	1778	Stiefel, 2014	163
text	sefer torah	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	Nidhe Israel	Bridgetown, Barbados	1781	Barnett, 1959	13

Contributions from Individuals

Type	Contribution	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient	Recipient Location	Year	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
furniture	ark	Moses Curiel	Amsterdam	Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	1675	Brazilian jacaranda wood	Cohen Paraira, 1991	51
object	rimmonim (x4)	Debora Israel	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	1669	"On the 25th of the month of Ilul the Senhores of the Mahamad met in order to dispose of the property remaining of Debora Israel, whom God hath; and they made this disposition: after payment for the stone for her grave, and for the lamp and the oil for it, and for some one who should say Kadiz for her soul, of the rest that remained the Senhores of the Mahamad have dedicated, and ordered to be commissioned to be made, two pairs of romanim, to be kodes in this holy Kahal Kados of Sahar Asamaim."; 5429;	Barnett, 1931	28

Type	Contribution	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient	Recipient Location	Year	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
object	candelabra	Samuel da Veiga	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	1669	"made offering to the Synagogue of a large candelabrum of seven candlesticks, on account of a Teba which he promised to make when he was Bridegroom of the Law; and the Senores of the Mahamad accepted it in lieu of the said Teva, and accordingly caused it to be set on Agreement on the 20th of the month of Nissan of the present year."; 5429	Barnett, 1931	28
furniture	banca	Abraham do Porto	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	before 1675		Barnett, 1931	
object	torah crown	Abraham do Porto	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	before 1675		Barnett, 1931	117
object	candelabra (x4)	Abraham Hisquiau Rodrigues Marques	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	before 1675	"set on festivals in the Ehall, which weigh 178 1/2 ounces" [weight of two]	Barnett, 1931	117
object	cup	Benjamin Levy	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	before 1675		Barnett, 1931	117
object	ornaments	Benjamin Vega	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	before 1675		Barnett, 1931	118
object	omer calendar	David da Silva	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	before 1675		Barnett, 1931	118
object	ornaments	David Mendes Henriques	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	before 1675		Barnett, 1931	118
text	sefer torah	Esther Carvajal	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	before 1675		Barnett, 1931	117
text	sefer torah	Esther Carvajal	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	before 1675		Barnett, 1931	117
object	ornaments (x6)	Isaac Vaes Nunes	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	before 1675	"which Sr Ishack Vaz Nunes made Kodez when Bridegroom of the Law" [for use with candelabra]	Barnett, 1931	118
object	rimmonim	Ishac Israel Nunes	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	before 1675		Barnett, 1931	
text	sefer torah	Ishac Israel Nunes	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	before 1675		Barnett, 1931	
object	torah cloak	Ishac Israel Nunes	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	before 1675		Barnett, 1931	
object	cloth	Jacob de Miranda	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	before 1675		Barnett, 1931	119
object	torah cloak	Jacob de Miranda	London	Sha'ar	London	before		Barnett, 1931	117

Type	Contribution	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient	Recipient Location	Year	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
				Hashamayim		1675			
object	candelabra	Joseph Frances	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	before 1675	"of 6 lights, which Sr Joseph Famcez gave from the Finta of Betahaim	Barnett, 1931	117
object	curtain	Samuel Alvarez	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	before 1675		Barnett, 1931	119
object	Chanukah Menorah	Selomoh de Medina	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	before 1675		Barnett, 1931	118
object	torah cloak	Selomoh de Medina	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	before 1675		Barnett, 1931	117
text	sefer torah	Widow of Jacob Coen	Jamaica	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	before 1675		Barnett, 1931	
object	rimmonim	Moses de David Curiel	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	before 1675	Stolen in 1689	Barnett, 1940	21
object	torah cloak	Moses de David Curiel	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	before 1675	Stolen in 1689	Barnett, 1940	21
object	torah cloak	Simson Abudiente	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	before 1675	Stolen in 1689	Barnett, 1940	21
object	rimmonim	Widow of Ishac Alvarez	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	before 1675	Stolen in 1689	Barnett, 1940	21
text	sefer torah	Ishac Israel de Avila	Amsterdam	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	1676	"Another Sepher, of the Sr Haham Isack Israel de Avila, which stands at the order of Sr Abraham do Portto."; 1676; 5436/5437;	Barnett, 1931	120
text	sefer torah	David de Isaac Israel Bravo	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	1699		Gaster, 1901	123
text	sefer torah	Isaac Yesurun Mendes	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	1706		Gaster, 1901	123
text	sefer torah	Jacob Escudeiro	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	1701	Hebrew inscription on the right silver handle, trans, "Jacob Escudero brought this scroll of the Law", on left "On the festival day in the month Menahem of the year 5462". On both handles "Jacob Escudero"	Gaster, 1901	123
text	sefer torah	Joseph son of David Brandon	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	1765		Gaster, 1901	123
text	sefer torah	Mosseh Lopes Pereira	London	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	1734		Gaster, 1901	123
object	chandelier	Abraham de Chaves	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	1706		Emmanuel, 1970	95
object	chandelier	Abraham Henriquez Morao	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	1709		Emmanuel, 1970	95

Type	Contribution	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient	Recipient Location	Year	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
object	torah crown	Eliau Namias de Crasto	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	1711		Emmanuel, 1970	95
furniture	bimah	Isaac Haim Senior	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	1703	Name mentioned annually on the Feast of the Pentecost	Emmanuel, 1970	93
object	chandelier	Isaac Henriquez Morao	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	1709		Emmanuel, 1970	95
object	Chanukah Menorah	Jacob de Efraim Jesurun Henriquez	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	1716		Emmanuel, 1970	94
object	spice box	Jacob de Efraim Jesurun Henriquez	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	1703		Emmanuel, 1970	94
object	chandelier	Jacob Henriquez Morao	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	1709		Emmanuel, 1970	95
text	sefer torah	Mordechay Hisquiau Namias de Crasto	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	1703	Name mentioned annually on the Feast of the Pentecost	Emmanuel, 1970	93
object	torah crown	Mordechay Hisquiau Namias de Crasto	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	1716		Emmanuel, 1970	93
furniture	bimah	Rachel Senior	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	1703	Name mentioned annually on the Feast of the Pentecost	Emmanuel, 1970	93
object	chandelier	Esther de Marchena	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	1732	Received annual blessing on first day of Passover	Emmanuel, 1970	122
object	chandelier	Isaac de Marchena	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	1732	Received annual blessing on first day of Passover	Emmanuel, 1970	122
object	ornament, assorted	Jacob Senior	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	1732		Emmanuel, 1970	124
text	sefer torah	Selomoh Nunes Redondo	Willemstad, Curacao	Neve Shalom	Willemstad, Curacao	c. 1746		Emmanuel, 1970	184
object	chandelier	Aaron Lopez	Newport, RI	Jeshuat Israel	Newport, RI	1770		PAJHS 27, 1920	405
object	candlestick (x6)	Enoch	Newport, RI	Jeshuat Israel	Newport, RI	1766	Donated in honor of his bar mitzvah	PAJHS 27, 1920	
object	wax	Hayim Myers	New York, NY	Jeshuat Israel	Newport, RI	1762	"100 lb Wax from Mr Haym Myers" noted contribution in letter from Moses Lopez, Newport, to J. Simson and S. Judah in NY	PAJHS 27, 1920	184
object	chandelier (x2)	Jacob Rodriguez de Rivera	Newport, RI	Jeshuat Israel	Newport, RI	1765		PAJHS 27, 1920	406
object	chandelier	Naphtali Hart Myers	Newport, RI	Jeshuat Israel	Newport, RI	1760		PAJHS 27, 1920	405
object	candlestick	Samuel Hart	New York, NY	Jeshuat Israel	Newport, RI	1762	"Some Candlesticks for the Hechall & the Tebah from Mr Samuel Hart" noted contribution in letter from Moses Lopez, Newport, to J. Simson and S. Judah in NY	PAJHS 27, 1920	184

Type	Contribution	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient	Recipient Location	Year	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
object	ner tamid (x2)	Samuel Judah	New York, NY	Jeshuat Israel	Newport, RI	1762, 1765	"A Tamid, from Mr Samuel Judah" noted contribution in letter from Moses Lopez, Newport, to J. Simson and S. Judah in NY	PAJHS 27, 1920	184
object	candelabra	Benjamin Israel Ricardo	Unknown	Beth Elohim	Charleston, SC	1762		PAJHS 23, 1915	187
object	candelabra	Israel Delieben	Unknown	Beth Elohim	Charleston, SC	1802		PAJHS 23, 1915	187
object	chandelier	Abraham B. Brandon	Barbados	Shearith Israel	New York, NY	1819		de Sola Pool, 1955	414

Appendix E: Monetary Contributions to Atlantic Synagogues, 17th Century to the Early 19th Century

The following two tables list monetary contributions made towards the construction of Atlantic synagogues. They are both sorted first by the location of the donor congregation or individual, and second by the contribution year. The monetary contributions sent from congregations were typically raised from within the community to be sent abroad. The monetary contribution types include: *sedaca*: congregation treasury; *finta*: emergency loan raised to meet deficiencies in the revenues of the sedaca*; nedabot*: free-will offerings made for the sedaca or for other forms of charity; *promesas*: vows to pay specific sums for the support of the synagogue.

Monetary Contributions from Congregations

Type	Donor Congregation	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	Esnoga	Amsterdam	1670	40,000	guilders	Contributions from community following the sermon by Haham Aboab De Fonseca 23 Nov. 1670	Cohen Paraira, 1991	45
finta	Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	Esnoga	Amsterdam	1670	28,640	guilders	Contributions from congregation members in the form of interest-free loans	Cohen Paraira, 1991	45
sedaca	Talmud Torah	Amsterdam	Honen Dalim Synagogue (II)	Orangjestad, St. Eustatius	1773	500	florins		Emmanuel, 1970	522
sedaca	Nidhe Israel	Bridgetown, Barbados	Honen Dalim Synagogue (II)	Orangjestad, St. Eustatius	1772				PAJHS 26, 1918	252
sedaca	Nidhe Israel	Bridgetown, Barbados	Beth Elohim	Charleston, SC	1792	25	pounds		PAJHS 26, 1918	252
nedabot	Berakha ve Shalom	Jodensavanne, Suriname	Mill Street Synagogue	New York	1729	300	florins	Blessings invoked on Berakha ve Shalom each Day of Atonement and 7th day of Passover	de Sola Pool, 1955	411
sedaca	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	Touro Synagogue	Newport, RI	1768	30	pounds		Barnett, 1959	13
sedaca	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	Nidhe Israel	Bridgetown, Barbados	1781	200	pounds		Barnett, 1959	13
sedaca	Sha'ar Hashamayim	London	Beth Elohim	Charleston, SC	1793	20	pounds		Barnett, 1959	13
nedabot	Shearith Israel	New York	Mill Street Synagogue	New York	1730	0.05.05	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	23

Type	Donor Congregation	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Shearith Israel	New York	Mill Street Synagogue	New York	1730	0.1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	23
nedabot	Shearith Israel	New York	Mill Street Synagogue	New York	1730	1.04	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	24
nedabot	Shearith Israel	New York	Touro Synagogue	Newport, RI	1759	149.00.06	pounds		PAJHS 27, 1920	179
nedabot	Shearith Israel	New York	Honen Dalim Synagogue (II)	Orangjestad, St. Eustatius	1773	38.10.06	pounds		PAJHS 11, 1903	151
nedabot	Shearith Israel	New York	Beth Shalome	Richmond, VA	1809	300	dollars	$260 raised, another $200 from congregation's funds	de Sola Pool, 1955	432
nedabot	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	Mill Street Synagogue	New York	1729	100.07	pounds	"264 ps of 8/8"	PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel Synagogue (IV)	Willemstad, Curacao	1729	6,456.02.03	pesos		Emmanuel, 1970	120
nedabot	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	Mill Street Synagogue	New York	1730	18.11.11	pounds	"43 ox & 18 of Marcht Silver"	PAJHS 21, 1913	22
nedabot	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	Mill Street Synagogue	New York	1730	0.05.05	pounds	Blessings invoked on Mikveh Israel Curacao each Day of Atonement and 7th day of Passover	PAJHS 21, 1913	23
nedabot	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	Mill Street Synagogue	New York	1730	17.07.10	pounds	"24 heavy ps 8/8... and 19 Oz in small money"	PAJHS 21, 1913	24
nedabot	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel Synagogue (IV)	Willemstad, Curacao	1730	2,315.06.02	pesos		Emmanuel, 1970	123
nedabot	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	Honen Dalim Synagogue (I)	Orangjestad, St. Eustatius	1738				Emmanuel, 1970	131
sedaca	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	Touro Synagogue	Newport, RI	1754	100	pesos	Annual blessing for Congregation Mikve Israel of Curacao at Kal Nidre services	Emmanuel, 1970	166
sedaca	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	Touro Synagogue	Newport, RI	1759	100	pesos	Annual blessing for Congregation Mikve Israel of Curacao at Kal Nidre services	Emmanuel, 1970	166
sedaca	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	Touro Synagogue	Newport, RI	1761	100	pesos	Annual blessing for Congregation Mikve Israel of Curacao at Kal Nidre services	Emmanuel, 1970	166
finta	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	Touro Synagogue	Newport, RI	1762	200	pesos	Annual blessing for Congregation Mikve Israel of Curacao at Kal Nidre services	Emmanuel, 1970	166
sedaca	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	Synagogue St. Croix	Christiansted, St. Croix	1765	200	pesos		Emmanuel, 1970	167
sedaca	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	Touro Synagogue	Newport, RI	1768	100	pesos	Annual blessing for Congregation Mikve Israel of Curacao at Kal Nidre services	Emmanuel, 1970	166
sedaca	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	Honen Dalim Synagogue (II)	Orangjestad, St. Eustatius	1773				Emmanuel, 1970	167

Type	Donor Congregation	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Mikve Israel	Willemstad, Curacao	Shearith Israel (II)	New York	1818	400	US dollars	Sent 600 pieces of eight towards new synagogue, consigned to Hazzan Peixotto in NY in the form of old copper, for $400	de Sola Pool, 1955	414

Monetary Contributions from Individuals

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	David van Isaac de Pinto	Amsterdam	Esnoga	Amsterdam	1671			Laid foundation stone 17 April 1671	Cohen Paraira, 1991	47
nedabot	Moses Curiel	Amsterdam	Esnoga	Amsterdam	1671			Laid foundation stone 17 April 1671	Cohen Paraira, 1991	47
nedabot	Joseph Israel Nunes Nunes	Amsterdam	Esnoga	Amsterdam	1671			Laid foundation stone 17 April 1671	Cohen Paraira, 1991	47
nedabot	Imanuel de Pinto	Amsterdam	Esnoga	Amsterdam	1671			Laid foundation stone 17 April 1671	Cohen Paraira, 1991	47
nedabot	Josseph del Soto of Amsterdam	Amsterdam	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	2	pounds		Barnett, 1931	78
nedabot	Abraham Pretto of Amsterdam	Amsterdam	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	0.06	pounds		Barnett, 1931	78
nedabot	David Lopez	Barbados	Mill Street	New York	1728	4	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	11
nedabot	David Lopez	Barbados	Mill Street	New York	1729	0.04	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	David Lopez	Barbados	Mill Street	New York	1729	3	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	21
nedabot	Rebecca Sylvia	Barbados	Mill Street	New York	1729	5	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	21
nedabot	David Lopez	Barbados	Mill Street	New York	1730	1	pounds	"for his new offring towards ye Windows"	PAJHS 21, 1913	22
nedabot	Rebecca Sylvia	Barbados	Mill Street	New York	1730	2	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	23
nedabot	Isaac Campos Pereira	Barbados	Mill Street	New York	1730	1.08	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	23
nedabot	Isaac Campos	Barbados	Mill Street	New York	1730	1.05	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	23

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Isaac bar Judah Levy	Boston, MA	Mill Street	New York	1729	1.08	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	19
nedabot	Simon Barzelay	Boston, MA	Mill Street	New York	1730	1.08	pounds	"recd of Michl Asher"	PAJHS 21, 1913	23
nedabot	Michael Asher	Boston, MA	Mill Street	New York	1730	1.08	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	24
nedabot	Isaac Solomns	Boston, MA	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	24
nedabot	Israel Joseph	Charleston, SC	Beth Elohim Synagogue	Charleston, SC	1792			Laid first stone on east	Ackermann, 2007	160
nedabot	Philip Hart	Charleston, SC	Beth Elohim Synagogue	Charleston, SC	1792			Laid first stone on west	Ackermann, 2007	160
nedabot	Lyon Moses	Charleston, SC	Beth Elohim Synagogue	Charleston, SC	1792			Laid corner stones for new construction	Ackermann, 2007	160
nedabot	Isaac Moses	Charleston, SC	Beth Elohim Synagogue	Charleston, SC	1792			Laid corner stones for new construction	Ackermann, 2007	160
nedabot	Emanuel Abrahams	Charleston, SC	Beth Elohim Synagogue	Charleston, SC	1792			Laid corner stones for new construction	Ackermann, 2007	160
nedabot	Mark Tongues	Charleston, SC	Beth Elohim Synagogue	Charleston, SC	1792			Laid corner stones for new construction	Ackermann, 2007	160
nedabot	Hart Moses	Charleston, SC	Beth Elohim Synagogue	Charleston, SC	1792			Laid corner stones for new construction	Ackermann, 2007	160
nedabot	Abraham (Sr.) Moses	Charleston, SC	Beth Elohim Synagogue	Charleston, SC	1792			Laid corner stones for new construction	Ackermann, 2007	160
nedabot	Jacob Naar of Hamburg	Hamburg, Germany	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	78
nedabot	Jacob da Silva of Hamburg	Hamburg, Germany	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	78
nedabot	Isaac Gonsalez	Jamaica	Mill Street	New York	1729	3.1	pounds	"by the hand of Mos Lopez"	PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Jacob Gonsalez	Jamaica	Mill Street	New York	1729	4	pounds	"by the hand of Mos Lopez"	PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Ishac Israel Nunes	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	25	pounds	Parnas (pres.)	Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Abraham do Porto	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	14	pounds	Parnas (pres.)	Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Antonio (Jacob) Gomez Serra	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	10	pounds	Gabay (treasurer)	Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Abraham Israel de Sequeira	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	15	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Abraham Rodriguez de Francia	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	5	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Abraham Roiz da Costa	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	3	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Abraham Rodrigues Pinhel	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	4	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Abraham de Oliveira	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	4	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Abraham Rodrigues de Moraes	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Abraham Ronick	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	2	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Abraham Zuzarte	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Dr Abraham Perez Galvao	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	0.1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Ishack Barzilay	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	5	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Ishack Roiz de Francia	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	5	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Ishac Franco de Paiva	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	4	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Ishac Lopes Pereira	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	5	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Isaac Telles da Costa	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	7	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Isaac Vaes Nunes	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	3	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Ishack de Ramos	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Ishac bar Abraham	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	0.12	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Ishack Soarez D'Ortha	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	5	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Jacob Berahel	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	15	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Jacob de Miranda	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	10.15	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Jacob Franco Mendes	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	3	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Jacob Soarez Munhao	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	5	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Jacob Aboab	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	6	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Jacob Jessurun Alvares	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	3	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Moseh Baruh Louzada	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	5.1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Moseh Mocatta	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	5	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Jacob Cohen Arias	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	David Israel Nunes	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	2	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	David Mendes Henriques	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	2	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Selomoh Dormido	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	5	pounds		Barnett, 1931	76
nedabot	Selomoh de Medina	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	10	pounds		Barnett, 1931	77
nedabot	Semuel Baruh Roza	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	0.1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	77
nedabot	Joshua da Silva	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	2	pounds		Barnett, 1931	77
nedabot	Joseph Frances	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	2	pounds		Barnett, 1931	77
nedabot	Josua Lopez Arias	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	5	pounds		Barnett, 1931	77
nedabot	Joshua da Silva	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	77
nedabot	Daniel Soarez	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	5	pounds		Barnett, 1931	77
nedabot	Benjamin Nunes	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	2.03	pounds		Barnett, 1931	77
nedabot	Benjamin Vega	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	5	pounds		Barnett, 1931	78
nedabot	Samuel Sasportas	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	2	pounds		Barnett, 1931	78
nedabot	Aron Franco Pacheco	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	1.1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	78

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Mosseh Vas Faro	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	78
nedabot	Daniel Aboaf	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	0.1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	78
nedabot	Dr. Josseph Aboab Vaes	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	2	pounds		Barnett, 1931	78
nedabot	Eliau Abenacar	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	0.1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	78
nedabot	Benjamin Levy	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	0.1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	78
nedabot	Eliezer Bar Josseph	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	78
nedabot	Semuel Haim	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	0.1	pounds	"Tudesco" (Ashkenazi)	Barnett, 1931	78
nedabot	Menaseh Hart	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	0.02.06	pounds		Barnett, 1931	78
promesas	Joseph Fernandes Carvajal	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	78
promesas	Mayer (Meir) Levy	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	2	pounds	"and nephew [Benjamin Levy (the younger)]"	Barnett, 1931	78
promesas	Ishack de Andrade	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1674	0.1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	78
nedabot	Abraham do Porto	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1675	5	pounds	Parnas (pres.)	Barnett, 1931	82
nedabot	Ishac Israel Nunes	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1675	3	pounds	Parnas (pres.)	Barnett, 1931	82
nedabot	Antonio (Jacob) Gomez Serra	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1675	3	pounds	Gabay (treasurer)	Barnett, 1931	82
nedabot	Abraham Israel de Sequeira	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1675	5	pounds		Barnett, 1931	82
nedabot	Abraham Rodriguez de Francia	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1675	1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	82
nedabot	Abraham Rodrigues Pinhel	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1675	1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	82
nedabot	Abraham de Oliveira	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1675	1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	82
nedabot	Ishack Roiz de Francia	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1675	1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	82
nedabot	Ishack Barzilay	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1675	1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	82

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Ishack Soarez D'Ortha	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1675	1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	82
nedabot	Jacob Berahel	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1675	1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	82
nedabot	Jacob de Miranda	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1675	3	pounds		Barnett, 1931	82
nedabot	Moseh Baruh Louzada	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1675	1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	82
nedabot	Moseh Mocatta	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1675	1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	82
nedabot	David da Silva	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1675	1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	82
nedabot	David Mendes Henriques	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1675	1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	82
nedabot	Benjamin Vega	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1675	3	pounds		Barnett, 1931	82
nedabot	Abraham Mendez da Costa	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1675	2	pounds		Barnett, 1931	82
nedabot	Ishack Roiz da Costa	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1675	0.1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	82
nedabot	Abraham Penso	London	Creechurch Lane Synagogue [1675]	London	1675	0.1	pounds		Barnett, 1931	82
nedabot	Antonio (Jacob) Gomez Serra	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	30	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Moseh Mendes da Costa	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	30	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Joseph Henriques Sequeira	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	30	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Isaac Israel Henriques	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	30	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Selomoh de Medina	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	30	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Ishac Lopes Pereira	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	30	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Benjamin Vega	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	30	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Samuel de Caseres	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	30	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Benjamin (Wolf bar Moseh) Levy	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	35	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Jacob Nunes Miranda	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	20	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Aron Franco Pacheco	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	20	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI

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nedabot	Abraham Fernandes Nunes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	20	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Abraham Lopes de Brito	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	20	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Isaac Israel de Sequeira	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	20	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Jacob Gonsales	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	20	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Moseh Henriques da Mesquita	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	20	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Ishac Henriques Feriera	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	20	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Abraham de Moseh Franco	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	20	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Joseph Mendes da Costa	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	20	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Jacob Teixeira de Matos	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	20	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Moseh Israel Nunes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	20	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Ishac Lopes Pereira	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	20	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Menasseh Mendes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	20	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Joseph Israel Henriques	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	20	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Abraham Vaes Martines	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	20	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Aharon Israel Pereira	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	21.1	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Moseh de Medina	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	18	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Jacob Mendes de Brito	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	15	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Pinhas Gomes Serra	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	15	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Jacob Escudeiro	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	15	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Isaac Telles da Costa	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	15	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Abraham Haim Mendes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	15	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Ishac da Costa Alvarenga	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	12	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Joseph Mendes de Castro	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	12	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Jacob Haim Gabay	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	12	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Isaac Fernandes Nunes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	10	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI

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nedabot	Ishac Semah de Valencia	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	10	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Joshua Gomes Serra	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	10	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Abraham Mendes Machado	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	10	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Abraham Bernal	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	10	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Daniel Martines	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	10	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Ishac Rodrigues Mogadoiro	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	10	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Semuel da Costa Alvarenga	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	10	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Ishac Senior Henriques	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	10	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Moseh de Caseres	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	10	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Ishac [& Eliau] Lindo	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	10	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	David Mendes Henriques	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	10	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Rohiel Abudiente	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	10	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Simson Abudiente	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	10	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Jehosuah Sarphaty	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	10	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Matatiah Sarphaty	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	10	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Jacob Franco Mendes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	10	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Joseph Pereira	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	10	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Joseph Musaphia	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	10	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Abraham de Mercado	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	10	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Abraham Roiz de Paiva	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	5	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Joseph Barzilay	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	5	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Jacob Keyser	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	5	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Selomah de la Faya	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	5	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Moses de David Curiel	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	7	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	David Penso	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	6	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI

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nedabot	Rephael Penso	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	6	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Dr. Ishac de Avila	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	6	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	David de Faro	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	6	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Aaron Baruh Alvares	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	6	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Joseph Cohen de Azevedo	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	6	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Abraham Gomes de Arango	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	6.09	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Ishac Semah Aboab	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	5.07.06	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Ishac de Castro	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	5	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Eliau Abenacar Bomdia	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	3.04.06	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Abraham Lopes de Cordova	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	3	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Abraham Henriques Soares	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	3	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Ishac Abendana Sardo	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	3	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	David Abarbanel	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2.1	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Joseph Abarbanel	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2.1	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Jacob Portello e Irmaons [and sister]	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Joseph Abenacar Pestana	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Jacob Fidanque	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1.1	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Selomah de Pas Morenu	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1.11	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Jacob Bravo	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	10	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Ishac Gomes Henriques	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	10	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Abraham de Almeida	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	5	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Jacob Pimentel	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	0.17.06	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	David Nunes Sierra	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2.03	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Ishac Lopes Lameira	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2.03	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Moseh de Francia	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	30	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Moseh Henriques Juliao	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	12	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Moseh Baruh Bueno	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	10	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Dor. Ishac Frois	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	5	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Abraham e Jacob de Lozada	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	5	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Mosseh Roiz (Rodrigues?) Carreao	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	15	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Jacob Yesurun Rodrigues	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	30	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Abraham Berahel	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	10	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
nedabot	Semuel de Avila	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	5	pounds		Barnett, 1940	Plate XI
promesas	Jacob Jessurun Alvares	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	20	pounds	Hesvan 4, 5461	Gaster, 1901	74
promesas	Jacob Berahel	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	10	pounds	Hesvan 10	Gaster, 1901	74
promesas	Isaac Fernandes Nunes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1	pounds	Hesvan 17	Gaster, 1901	74
promesas	Samuel de Caseres	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1	pounds	Hesvan 17	Gaster, 1901	74
promesas	Jacob Lopes Henriques	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	0.05	pounds	Hesvan 17	Gaster, 1901	74
promesas	Samuel de Caseres	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	0.1	pounds	Kisleu 2 [I think this is noting he gave a sepher torah?]	Gaster, 1901	74
promesas	Daniel de Matos	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	5	pounds	Kisleu 23	Gaster, 1901	74
promesas	Moseh Dias Arias	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	0.05	pounds	R. Tebit	Gaster, 1901	74
promesas	Ishac Senior Henriques	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	0.05	pounds	Tebit 7	Gaster, 1901	74
promesas	Abraham Fernandes Nunes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	0.12	pounds	Tebit 9	Gaster, 1901	74
promesas	Ishac Semah de Valencia	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	0.02	pounds	Tebit 10	Gaster, 1901	74
promesas	Benjamin Levy	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	0.02	pounds	Tebit 10	Gaster, 1901	74
promesas	Abraham Roiz de Paiva	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	0.02	pounds	Tebet 13	Gaster, 1901	75
promesas	Jacob Berahel	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1	pounds	Tbet 14	Gaster, 1901	75
promesas	Abraham Mendes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	0.02.06	pounds	Tebet 14	Gaster, 1901	75
nedabot	Solomon Judah Ayllon	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	75
nedabot	Jacob Fidanque	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	0.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	75

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Jacob Nunes Miranda	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	75
nedabot	Aron Franco Pacheco	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	75
nedabot	Moseh Mendes da Costa	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	4	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	75
nedabot	Antonio (Jacob) Gomez Serra	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	4	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	75
nedabot	Isaac Telles da Costa	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	75
nedabot	Abraham Fernandes Nunes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	3	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	75
nedabot	Isaac Israel de Sequeira	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	3	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Menasseh Mendes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Moseh Henriques da Mesquita	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	3	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Joseph Mendes de Castro	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Abraham de Mercado	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Ishac Senior Henriques	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Abraham e Ishac Dias Arias	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Rohiel Abudiente	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Jacob Bravo	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	David Penso	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1.05	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Ishac Israel Correa	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Isaac Israel Henriques	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Rephael Penso	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Jacob Teixeira de Matos	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Moses de David Curiel	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Pinhas Gomes Serra	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Jacob Mendes de Brito	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Moseh Israel Nunes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Joseph Cohen de Azevedo	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Abraham Roiz de Paiva	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1.05	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	David Abarbanel	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	0.15	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Joseph Abarbanel	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	0.15	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Ishac da Costa Alvarenga	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Benjamin (Wolf bar Moseh) Levy	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	4	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Abraham Nunes Correa	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Semuel da Costa Alvarenga	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Moseh de Francia	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Joseph Israel Henriques	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Samuel de Caseres	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	4	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Abraham Lopes de Brito	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	4	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Abraham Vaes Martines	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Abraham Haim Mendes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1.15	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Moseh de Medina	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	3	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Simson Abudiente	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Eliau Abenacar Bomdia	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1.05	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Joseph Abenacar Pestana	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	0.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Joseph de Francia	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Benjamin Nunes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	0.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Abraham Lopes de Cordova	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Jacob Haim Gabay	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Dr. Ishac de Avila	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1.05	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Jacob Escudeiro	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Ishac Lopes Lameira	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Ishac Henriques Moreno	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1.05	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Abraham Bernal	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Abraham Mendes Machado	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700		pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Abraham Henriques Soares	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	0.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Ishac [& Eliau] Lindo	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Abraham de Almeida	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Joseph Barzilay	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Daniel Martines	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Aaron Baruh Alvares	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	David de Faro	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Dor. Ishac Frois	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Moseh de Caseres	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Jahacob de Pas Morenu	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Abraham Israel Correa	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	0.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Imanuel Barzilay	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	0.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Semuel de Avila	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Jacob de Saa	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Isaac Mocatta	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Abraham Salazar e Ishac Fernandes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	0.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Abraham e Jacob de Lozada	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	David Mendes Henriques	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Mayer (Meir) Levy	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Abraham Delgado	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Selomoh de Medina	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	4	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Ishac Henriques Feriera	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	3	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Joseph Henriques Sequeira	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	5	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Ishac Lopes Pereira	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Benjamin Vega	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Ishac Rodrigues Portello	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Ishac Rodrigues Mogadoiro	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Jacob Gonsales	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	3	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Moseh de Francia	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	3	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Ishac Semah de Valencia	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Moseh Henriques Juliao	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Matatiah Sarphaty	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Jehosuah Sarphaty	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Benjamin Israel Franco	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Abraham de Moseh Franco	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Moseh Dias Arias	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Joshua Gomes Serra	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Jacob Cohen Arias	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	0.16	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Ishac Gomes Henriques	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	0.16	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Ishac e Selomoh de Crasto	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	0.16	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Isaac Yesurun Mendes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	0.16	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Jacob Keyser	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Moseh Baruh Bueno	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	76
nedabot	Moseh del Cano	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	0.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	David Israel Nunes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	0.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	David Nunes Sierra	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	0.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Joseph Pereira	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1.1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Jacob Yesurun Rodrigues	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	4	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	77

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Jahacob Lameira	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	4	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Moseh Correao	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Jacob Franco Mendes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Joseph Fernandes Carvajal	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	1	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Isaac Fernandes Nunes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1700	2	pounds	5460	Gaster, 1901	77
promesas	Ishac Rodrigues Portello	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	0.05	pounds	Sebat 6	Gaster, 1901	75
promesas	Jacob Teixeira de Matos	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	1	pounds	Sebat 13; "Seuf-o agomel" ?	Gaster, 1901	75
promesas	Abraham Fernandes Nunes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	0.02	pounds	Sebat 20	Gaster, 1901	75
promesas	Moses de David Curiel	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	0.01	pounds	Adar 11	Gaster, 1901	75
promesas	Abraham Roiz de Paiva	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	0.01	pounds	Adar 18	Gaster, 1901	75
promesas	Eliau de Pas Morenu	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	0.02	pounds	Adar 18	Gaster, 1901	75
promesas	Jacob Berahel	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	0.02.06	pounds	Adar 25	Gaster, 1901	75
promesas	Imanuel Valencim	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	0.05	pounds	Veadar 2	Gaster, 1901	75
promesas	Jacob Lopes Henriques	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	0.07	pounds	Veadar 2	Gaster, 1901	75
promesas	Abraham de Moseh Franco	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	0.02.06	pounds	Veadar 2	Gaster, 1901	75
promesas	Moseh de Medina	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	0.05	pounds	Veadar 8	Gaster, 1901	75
promesas	Abraham Haim Mendes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	0.05	pounds	Veadar 9	Gaster, 1901	75
promesas	Samuel de Caseres	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	0.04	pounds	Veadar 9, "seu fobro" ?	Gaster, 1901	75
promesas	Abraham Roiz de Paiva	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	0.02	pounds	Veadar 16, "Sue & fo Jacob" ?	Gaster, 1901	75
promesas	Joseph Musaphia	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	0.1	pounds	Veadar 22	Gaster, 1901	75
promesas	Moseh Dias Arias	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	0.02	pounds	Nisan	Gaster, 1901	75
promesas	Benjamin del Sotto	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	10	pounds	Svan 19	Gaster, 1901	75
promesas	Semuel del Sotto	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	0.04	pounds	Sivan 19	Gaster, 1901	75
promesas	Selomoh Mendes Mendes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	25	pounds	Ab. 24; "e filha [and daughter]"	Gaster, 1901	75
promesas	Isaac Yesurun Mendes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	10	pounds	R. Ilil.	Gaster, 1901	75

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
promesas	Benjamin del Sotto	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	0.02.06	pounds	Ilul 8	Gaster, 1901	75
promesas	Daniel da Costa Alvarenga	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	10	pounds	Ilul 14	Gaster, 1901	75
nedabot	Ishac Lopes Pereira	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	10	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Joseph Henriques Sequeira	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	25	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Isaac Israel de Sequeira	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	15	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Ishac [& Eliau] Lindo	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	10	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	David Abarbanel	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	1.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Ishac Israel Correa	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	7.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Abraham Israel Correa	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	2.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Ishac Rodrigues Mogadoiro	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	10	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Joseph Abarbanel	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	1.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	David Mendes Henriques	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	7.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Pinhas Gomes Serra	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	12.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Eliau Abenacar Bomdia	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	6.05	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Antonio (Jacob) Gomez Serra	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	20	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Ishac Semah de Valencia	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	7.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Aron Franco Pacheco	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	12	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Moseh Israel Nunes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	12.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Moseh de Medina	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	15	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Isaac Israel Henriques	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	12.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Jacob Teixeira de Matos	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	12.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Joseph Cohen de Azevedo	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	7.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	David Penso	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	6.05	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Rephael Penso	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	5	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Jacob Nunes Miranda	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	12.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Daniel Martines	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	7.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Moseh Mendes da Costa	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	20	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Abraham Bernal	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	10	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Jacob Escudeiro	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	10	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	77
nedabot	Menasseh Mendes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	10	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Joseph Mendes de Castro	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	10	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Samuel de Caseres	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	20	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Ishac Rodrigues Portello	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	12.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Jacob Franco Mendes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	5	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Abraham Mendes Machado	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	5	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Joshua Gomes Serra	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	10	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Ishac da Costa Alvarenga	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	7.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Abraham Vaes Martines	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	10	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Ishac Senior Henriques	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	7.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Isaac Telles da Costa	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	10	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Jacob Haim Gabay	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	10	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Semuel da Costa Alvarenga	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	10	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Abraham de Moseh Franco	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	12.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Ishac Henriques Moreno	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	6.05	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Solomon Judah Ayllon	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	5	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Abraham Fernandes Nunes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	20	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Benjamin Levy	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	20	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Moseh de Francia	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	15	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Joseph de Francia	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	12.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Jacob Gonsales	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	15	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Moseh de Caseres	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	5	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Joseph Israel Henriques	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	12.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	David Abarbanel	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	2.05	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	ImanueI Barzilay	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	2.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Jacob de Saa	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	2	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Abraham Henriques Soares	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Ab. Ishac Fr. Salazar	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	2.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	David de Faro	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	10	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Aaron Baruh Alvares	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	7.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Jacob Salom Morenu	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	5.07.06	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Jehosuah Sarphaty	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	7.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Simson Abudiente	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	10	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Jacob Yesurun Rodrigues	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	20	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Moses de David Curiel	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	5	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Isaac Mocatta	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	5	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Jacob Fidanque	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	0.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Abraham Roiz de Paiva	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	6.05	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Abraham de Almeida	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	5	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Abraham Lopes de Cordova	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	5	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	78
nedabot	Jacob Keyser	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	5	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79
nedabot	Moseh Navario	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	1.05	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79
nedabot	Moseh Henriques Juliao	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	5	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79
nedabot	Moseh Henriques da Mesquita	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	15	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79
nedabot	Ishac Henriques Texiera	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	10	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Mosseh Roiz (Rodrigues?) Carreao	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	10	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79
nedabot	Rohiel Abudiente	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	10	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79
nedabot	Joseph Pereira	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	7.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79
nedabot	Joseph Abarbanel	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	0.15	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79
nedabot	Isaac Fernandes Nunes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	5	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79
nedabot	Matatiah Sarphaty	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	10	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79
nedabot	Abraham Haim Mendes	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	8.15	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79
nedabot	Abraham Delgado	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	5	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79
nedabot	Selomoh de Medina	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	25	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79
nedabot	Benjamin Israel Franco	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	3	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79
nedabot	Abraham Henriques Soares	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	0.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79
nedabot	Joseph Abenacar Pestana	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	0.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79
nedabot	Abraham Nunes Correa	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	5	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79
nedabot	Joseph Abarbanel	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	1.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79
nedabot	Dr. Ishac de Avila	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	6.05	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79
nedabot	Jacob de Saa	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79
nedabot	Jacob Bravo	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	10	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79
nedabot	Jacob Cohen Arias	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	4	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79
nedabot	Joseph Barzilay	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	5	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79
nedabot	Abraham de Mercado	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	7.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79
nedabot	Semuel de Avila	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	7.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79
nedabot	Moseh del Cano	London	Bevis Marks	London	1701	2.1	pounds	5461	Gaster, 1901	79
nedabot	Aharon Israel Pereira	London	Mill Street	New York	1728	3.08	pounds	paid through David Gomez, from London, for 2 days work	PAJHS 21, 1913	11
nedabot	Jacob Mendes da Costa	London	Mill Street	New York	1728	3.08	pounds	paid through David Gomez, from London, for 2 days work	PAJHS 21, 1913	11
nedabot	Benjamin da Costa	London	Mill Street	New York	1728	8.1	pounds	paid through David Gomez, from London, for 5 days work	PAJHS 21, 1913	11

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Aharon Israel Pereira	London	Mill Street	New York	1729	3.08	pounds	by the hands of David Gomez 2 Guineas	PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Jacob Mendes da Costa	London	Mill Street	New York	1729	3.08	pounds	by the hands of David Gomez 2 Guineas	PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Benjamin da Costa	London	Mill Street	New York	1729	8.1	pounds	by the hands of David Gomez 5 Guineas	PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Abraham Franks	London	Mill Street	New York	1730	8.1	pounds	for his offring made by me [Jacob Franks] 5 Guineas @ 34/	PAJHS 21, 1913	24
nedabot	Isaac Franks	London	Mill Street	New York	1730	8.1	pounds	for his offring made by me [Jacob Franks] 5 Guineas @ 34/	PAJHS 21, 1913	24
nedabot	Aaron Franks	London	Mill Street	New York	1730	8.1	pounds	for his offring made by me [Jacob Franks] 5 Guineas @ 34/	PAJHS 21, 1913	24
nedabot	Asher Levy	London	Mill Street	New York	1730	8.1	pounds	by the hands of N Levy 5 Guinaes	PAJHS 21, 1913	24
nedabot	Isaac Polock	London	Mill Street	New York	1730	3.8	pounds	by the hands of Z Polock 2 Guinaes	PAJHS 21, 1913	24
nedabot	Aaron Franks	London	Great Synagogue (Enlargement)	London	1763	500	pounds		Roth, 1950	134
nedabot	Naphtali Franks	London	Great Synagogue (Enlargement)	London	1763	250	pounds		Roth, 1950	134
nedabot	Moses Franks	London	Great Synagogue (Enlargement)	London	1763	250	pounds		Roth, 1950	134
nedabot	Lazarus Simon	London	Great Synagogue (Enlargement)	London	1763	250	pounds		Roth, 1950	134
nedabot	Simon Jacob Moses	London	Great Synagogue (Enlargement)	London	1763	100	pounds		Roth, 1950	134
nedabot	Aaron Goldsmid	London	Great Synagogue (Enlargement)	London	1763	100	pounds		Roth, 1950	134
nedabot	Joel Levy	London	Great Synagogue (Enlargement)	London	1763	100	pounds		Roth, 1950	134
nedabot	Alexander Isaacs	London	Great Synagogue (Enlargement)	London	1763	100	pounds		Roth, 1950	134
nedabot	Jacob Nathan Moses	London	Great Synagogue (Enlargement)	London	1763	50	pounds		Roth, 1950	134
nedabot	Aaron Levy	London	Great Synagogue (Enlargement)	London	1763	50	pounds		Roth, 1950	134
nedabot	Samuel Ansell Levy	London	Great Synagogue (Enlargement)	London	1763	50	pounds		Roth, 1950	134
nedabot	Michael Salamons	London	Great Synagogue (Enlargement)	London	1763	50	pounds		Roth, 1950	134

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Samuel Adolphus	London	Great Synagogue (Enlargement)	London	1763	50	pounds		Roth, 1950	134
nedabot	Abraham Hyman Levy	London	Great Synagogue (Enlargement)	London	1763	50	pounds		Roth, 1950	134
nedabot	Solomon b. Zevi	London	Great Synagogue (Enlargement)	London	1763	50	pounds		Roth, 1950	134
nedabot	Lewis Moses Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	15	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Moses Raphael Levy	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	10	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Jacob Franks	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	25	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Daniel Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	15	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Benjamin Mendes Pacheco	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	15.01.06	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Mordecai Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	20	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Baruch Judah of Breslau	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	7	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Abraham Isaacs	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	7	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Joseph Nunez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	10	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Jacob Hays	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	8	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Isaac de Medina	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	5	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Daniel Nunes da Costa	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	5	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Jacob Louzada	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	4	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Rachell aLevy	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	3	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Rachel Naphtali	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	0.1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Moses Hart	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	2	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	R Benjamin Bar R Jochanan	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Eliezer bar Jehudah	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	2	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Joseph Isaacs	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	1.1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Selomoe bar Meyr	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	1.1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Valentine Campanal	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Joseph Simson	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	2	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Moses Michaels	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	10	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Abraham Rodriquez de Rivera	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	8	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	David Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	5	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Nathan Levy	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	5	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Ishack Gonsalez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	5	pounds	paid through David Gomez	PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Jehudah bar Simson	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	2.1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Aaron Louzada	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	2	pounds	4, with Mosseh Louzada	PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Moses Louzada	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	2	pounds	4, with Aharon Louzada	PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Jacob Gonsales	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	2.1	pounds	paid through David Gomez	PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	David Hays	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	1.08	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Judah Hays	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	2	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Isaac Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	3	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Benjamin Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	10
nedabot	Ishack da Fonseca	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	1.08	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	11
nedabot	Ishack bar Jehudah	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	1.08	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	11

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Isaac Polock	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	3	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	11
nedabot	Moses Daniel Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	1.08	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	11
nedabot	Samuel Myers Cohen	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	2	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	11
nedabot	Isaac Lopez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	2	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	11
nedabot	David Mendes Machado	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	2	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	11
nedabot	Moses Mendez Alvarez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	11
nedabot	Binyamin Mendez Machado	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	11
nedabot	Bilah Bat Hisquiau Semuel aLevy	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	2	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	11
nedabot	Moses Hezekiah Lopez de Fonseca	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	2.1	pounds	Hazan	PAJHS 21, 1913	11
nedabot	Elias Lopez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	1.1	pounds	son of Hazan Lopez	PAJHS 21, 1913	11
nedabot	Rebecca Asher	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	1.04	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	11
nedabot	Lewis Moses Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	10	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	19
nedabot	Daniel Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	10	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	19
nedabot	Abraham Isaacs	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	3	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	19
nedabot	Baruch Judah of Breslau	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	3	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	19
nedabot	Moses Michaels	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	5	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	19
nedabot	Isaac de Medina	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	2.1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	19
nedabot	Moses Raphael Levy	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	5	pounds	from the Estate of Moses Levy	PAJHS 21, 1913	19
nedabot	Jacob Louzada	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	2.04	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	19
nedabot	Aaron Louzada	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	19

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Moses Louzada	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	19
nedabot	Rachel Asher	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	3	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	19
nedabot	Riby Benjamin Elias	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	0.12	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	19
nedabot	Daniel Nunes da Costa	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	5	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	19
nedabot	Nathan Levy	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	2.1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	19
nedabot	Judah Mears	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	2.1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	19
nedabot	Benjamin Mendes Pacheco	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	10.04	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	19
nedabot	Joseph Nunes	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	5	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	19
nedabot	David Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	2.1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	19
nedabot	Mordecai Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	13.06.08	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	19
nedabot	Jacob Franks	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	12.13.04	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	19
nedabot	Abraham Rodriquez de Rivera	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	4	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	19
nedabot	Jacob Hays	New York	Mill Street	New York	1728	4	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	19
nedabot	Moses Michaels	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	4.04	pounds	First cornerstone	PAJHS 21, 1913	12
nedabot	Benjamin Mendes Pacheco	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	7	pounds	Second cornerstone	PAJHS 21, 1913	12
nedabot	Lewis Moses Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	6	pounds	Third cornerstone	PAJHS 21, 1913	12
nedabot	Jacob Franks	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	5.12	pounds	Forth cornerstone	PAJHS 21, 1913	12
nedabot	Rebecca Asher	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	1.04	pounds	By Widow Rebecca Ashers 1 light pistol	PAJHS 21, 1913	19
nedabot	Benjamin Mendes Pacheco	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	4.17.06	pounds	by the hand of Mos Lopez	PAJHS 21, 1913	19
nedabot	Joseph Nunes	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	5	pounds	by the hand of Mos Lopez	PAJHS 21, 1913	19

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Moses Raphael Levy	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	5	pounds	By Estate of Moses Levy by the hand of Mos Lopez	PAJHS 21, 1913	19
nedabot	Nathan Levy	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	2.1	pounds	by the hand of Mos Lopez	PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Rachel Naphtali	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	0.1	pounds	by the hand of Mos Lopez	PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Daniel Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	5	pounds	by the hand of Mos Lopez	PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Mordecai Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	6.13.04	pounds	by the hand of Mos Lopez	PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	David Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	2.1	pounds	by the hand of Mos Lopez	PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Valentine Campanal	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	1	pounds	by the hand of Mos Lopez	PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Isaac de Medina	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	2.10.06	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Moses Michaels	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	5	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Jacob Franks	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	12.06.08	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Lewis Moses Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	5	pounds	by the hand of Mos Lopez	PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Isaac Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	3	pounds	by the hand of Mos Lopez	PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Benjamin Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	1	pounds	by the hand of Mos Lopez	PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Daniel Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	1.08	pounds	for his Son Moses	PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Lewis Moses Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	6	pounds	for his offering for ye 3d Stone	PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Jacob Franks	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	5.12	pounds	for do for ye 4th Stone	PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Abraham Isaacs	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	4	pounds	for ye balla of his offering	PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Abraham Rodriquez de Rivera	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	4	pounds	for ye balla of his offering	PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Isaac Lopez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	2	pounds	by the hand of Mos Lopez	PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Benjamin Mendes Pacheco	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	7	pounds	for his offering for ye 2d Stone	PAJHS 21, 1913	20

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Samuel Myers	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	2	pounds	by the hand of Mos Lopez	PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Bilhah Abigail Levy	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	2	pounds	daughter of Saml Levy decd	PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	David Hays	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	1.08	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Moses Lopez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	2.1	pounds	hazan	PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Moses Lopez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	1.1	pounds	hazan, for his Son Elias	PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	David Mendes Machado	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	2	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Benjamin Muchado	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Moses Mendez Alvarez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	20
nedabot	Riby Benjamin Elias	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	0.00.08	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	21
nedabot	Zachariah Polock	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	0.03	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	21
nedabot	Joseph Isaacs	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	0.03	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	21
nedabot	Moses Louzada	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	1.16	pounds	for the balla of his fathers offering	PAJHS 21, 1913	21
nedabot	Aaron Louzada	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	2	pounds	By Aaron and Moses Luzado for their balla	PAJHS 21, 1913	21
nedabot	Solomon Myers	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	1.1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	21
nedabot	Lewis Moses Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	2	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	21
nedabot	Mordecai Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	5	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	21
nedabot	Daniel Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	3	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	21
nedabot	Daniel Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	1.08	pounds	for his Son Joseph	PAJHS 21, 1913	21
nedabot	David Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	2.1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	21
nedabot	Isaac Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	1.08	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	21

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Benjamin Mendes Pacheco	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	3	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	21
nedabot	Abraham Isaacs	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	1.08	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	21
nedabot	Jacob Franks	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	2	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	21
nedabot	Moses Michaels	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	3	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	21
nedabot	Aaron Louzada	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	4	pounds	with Moses Luzado	PAJHS 21, 1913	21
nedabot	Collman Salomons	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	2	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	21
nedabot	Samuel Myers	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	1.1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	21
nedabot	Rachel Asher	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	5	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	21
nedabot	Nathan Levy	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	3	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	21
nedabot	Joseph Simson	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	2.04	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	21
nedabot	Joseph Simson	New York	Mill Street	New York	1729	2	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	21
nedabot	Abraham Fonseca	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	21
nedabot	Baruch Judah of Breslau	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	4	pounds	the balla of his old offring	PAJHS 21, 1913	21
nedabot	Zachariah Polock	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	2	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	22
nedabot	Lewis Moses Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	1	pounds	for his new offring towards the Window &ca.	PAJHS 21, 1913	22
nedabot	Benjamin Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	22
nedabot	Benjamin Mendes Pacheco	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	22
nedabot	Mordecai Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	1.08	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	22
nedabot	Judah Hays	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	2	pounds	for former offring	PAJHS 21, 1913	22
nedabot	Judah Hays	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.05	pounds	of his new offring	PAJHS 21, 1913	22

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Riby Benjamin Elias	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.06	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	22
nedabot	Machsith Ashekel	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	1.19.09	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	22
nedabot	Daniel Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.14	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	22
nedabot	Abraham Isaacs	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	22
nedabot	Joseph Nunes	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	22
nedabot	Isaac Lopez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	22
nedabot	Solomon Isaacs	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	1.08	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	22
nedabot	Isaac Levy	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	22
nedabot	Jacob Franks	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	3	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	22
nedabot	Judah Hays	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.15	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	22
nedabot	Moses Michaels	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.15	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	22
nedabot	Daniel Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	2.02	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	23
nedabot	David Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	2.08	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	23
nedabot	David Hays	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.06	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	23
nedabot	David Mendes Machado	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	23
nedabot	Moses Mendez Alvarez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.06	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	23
nedabot	Joseph Nunez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.15	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	23
nedabot	Benjamin Mendes Pacheco	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	2	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	23
nedabot	Isaac de Medina	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	23
nedabot	Nathan Levy	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	1.08	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	23

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Jacob Franks	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	3	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	23
nedabot	Isaac Levy	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.14	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	23
nedabot	Abraham Isaacs	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.14	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	23
nedabot	Jacob Hart	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	1.08	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	23
nedabot	Abraham Mears	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	1.08	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	23
nedabot	Zachariah Polock	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	23
nedabot	Lewis Moses Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	1.02	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	23
nedabot	Isaac Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	23
nedabot	Jacob Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	23
nedabot	Moses Michaels	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	4.04	pounds	"for the 1st Stone"	PAJHS 21, 1913	23
nedabot	Widow Rachell Luiza	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	2.16	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	23
nedabot	Zachariah Polock	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	23
nedabot	Lewis Moses Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	24
nedabot	Baruch Judah of Breslau	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	1.04	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	24
nedabot	Jacob Franks	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	24
nedabot	Moses Michaels	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	24
nedabot	David Lopez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	24
nedabot	David Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	24
nedabot	Benjamin Mendes Pacheco	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	24
nedabot	Daniel Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.1	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	24

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Mordecai Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.06	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	24
nedabot	Samuel Myers	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.08	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	24
nedabot	Zachariah Polock	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.05	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	25
nedabot	Moses Lopez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.04	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	25
nedabot	Baruch Judah of Breslau	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.03	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	25
nedabot	Isaac Levy	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.05	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	25
nedabot	Solomon Isaacs	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.05	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	25
nedabot	Benjamin Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.03	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	25
nedabot	Lewis Moses Gomez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.01.06	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	25
nedabot	Moses Mendez Alvarez	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.07	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	25
nedabot	Moses Molina	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.03	pounds		PAJHS 21, 1913	25
nedabot	Abraham Isaacs	New York	Mill Street	New York	1730	0.03	pounds	for his son Jacob made Aprill last	PAJHS 21, 1913	25
nedabot	Abraham & Sarah da Costa	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel Synagogue (III)	Willemstad, Curacao	1699	977.01.04	pesos	From the legacy of Abraham and wife Sarah da Costa, purchased house for synagogue in 1699	Emmanuel, 1970	93
nedabot	Eliau Pereira	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel Synagogue (III)	Willemstad, Curacao	1703			Cornerstone of 1703 synagogue	Emmanuel, 1970	93
nedabot	Mordechay Hisquiau Namias de Crasto	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel Synagogue (III)	Willemstad, Curacao	1703			Cornerstone of 1703 synagogue	Emmanuel, 1970	93
nedabot	Abraham Henriquez Morao	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel Synagogue (III)	Willemstad, Curacao	1703			Cornerstone of 1703 synagogue	Emmanuel, 1970	93
nedabot	Gabriel Levy	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel Synagogue (III)	Willemstad, Curacao	1703			Cornerstone of 1703 synagogue	Emmanuel, 1970	93
nedabot	Mordechay Alvares Correa	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel Synagogue (IV)	Willemstad, Curacao	1730	410	pesos	Cornerstone of 1732 synagogue; Received annual blessing on first day of Passover	Emmanuel, 1970	120
nedabot	Samuel de Casseres	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel Synagogue (IV)	Willemstad, Curacao	1730	315	pesos	Cornerstone of 1732 synagogue; Received annual blessing on first day of Passover	Emmanuel, 1970	120

Type	Donor	Donor Location	Recipient (Building)	Recipient Location	Year	Amount	Currency	Honors / Notes	Citation	Page
nedabot	Jacob Henriquez Morao	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel Synagogue (IV)	Willemstad, Curacao	1730	325	pesos	Cornerstone of 1732 synagogue; Received annual blessing on first day of Passover	Emmanuel, 1970	120
nedabot	Manuel aLevy	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel Synagogue (IV)	Willemstad, Curacao	1730	355	pesos	Cornerstone of 1732 synagogue; Received annual blessing on first day of Passover	Emmanuel, 1970	120
nedabot	Daniel Aboab Cardozo	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel Synagogue (IV)	Willemstad, Curacao	1730	155	pesos	Interior column foundation honors; Received annual blessing on first day of Passover	Emmanuel, 1970	122
nedabot	Ribca Cardozo	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel Synagogue (IV)	Willemstad, Curacao	1730	142	pesos	Interior column foundation honors; Received annual blessing on first day of Passover	Emmanuel, 1970	122
nedabot	Abraham Aboab Cardozo	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel Synagogue (IV)	Willemstad, Curacao	1730	140	pesos	Interior column foundation honors; Received annual blessing on first day of Passover	Emmanuel, 1970	122
nedabot	Lea Cardozo	Willemstad, Curacao	Mikve Israel Synagogue (IV)	Willemstad, Curacao	1730	156	pesos	Interior column foundation honors; Received annual blessing on first day of Passover	Emmanuel, 1970	122