



The PORTUGUESE SYNAGOGUE in Amsterdam

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Foreword

Amsterdam's Portuguese Synagogue is symbolic of the prosperity and tolerance of the Dutch Golden Age, when the Portuguese Jewish community had the freedom to express its faith openly in the recently constructed section of the canal ring. The result was a monumental synagogue with a stunning interior, unique in Europe and, at that time, a shining example for Jewish communities all over the world. Remarkably, the Snoge, as it is known, is still in use today.

The recently completed restoration of 2010-2011 was accompanied by interdisciplinary research, which has resulted in this magnificent book, the product of close and productive cooperation between the building's owner, its manager, and a range of heritage organizations. The Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands initiated the research project, which was carried out by a select group of expert authors. Amsterdam's Office of Monuments and Archaeology coordinated the work and carried out much of the research itself, also taking editorial responsibility for this book. The Jewish Historical Museum was involved as well. providing information about the religious use of the synagogue and its collection. The city's Portuguese Jewish Congregation was represented by David Cohen Paraira, who shared his knowledge and insight with the

other contributors. A wealth of new facts have come to light. For instance, religious rules evidently influenced the design of the building and the reuse of some parts of the interior. The article by Kees Doornenbal, the architect responsible for the recent restoration, offers readers a window on not only the past, but also the present and future uses of the complex. For centuries, the synagogue and its associated buildings formed a separate world with its own codes of conduct. The use of the Portuguese language in and around the complex gave this part of the city an exotic atmosphere. Portuguese is no longer heard, but the unique character of the synagogue has endured. Together, the buildings and their interiors exude a historical ambiance that few other sites in the world can match. This book is therefore being published in both Dutch and English editions, so that the building can receive the international attention it deserves.

Cees van 't Veen, director, Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands

Esther Agricola, director,
Office of Monuments and Archaeology,
City of Amsterdam

Word of welcome

On 20 December 2011, our congregation celebrated the restoration and interior renovation of the Portuguese Synagogue in the presence of Her Majesty Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands. The refurbishment of our Esnoga and its annexes and their adaptation for the general public have ushered in a new stage in the history of this exceptional complex, one in which we are making our buildings and ceremonial treasures permanently accessible and visible to the public for the first time.

For centuries, visitors have been awed by our Esnoga's stunning interior, with its large stone pillars, white plastered walls, and dark furniture, bathed in the abundant light that shines through its 72 windows. Since its consecration in 1675, it has had no electric light or heating; the only artificial light comes from the 1,000 candles in the many brass chandeliers. The sand on the wood floor protects it from dirt.

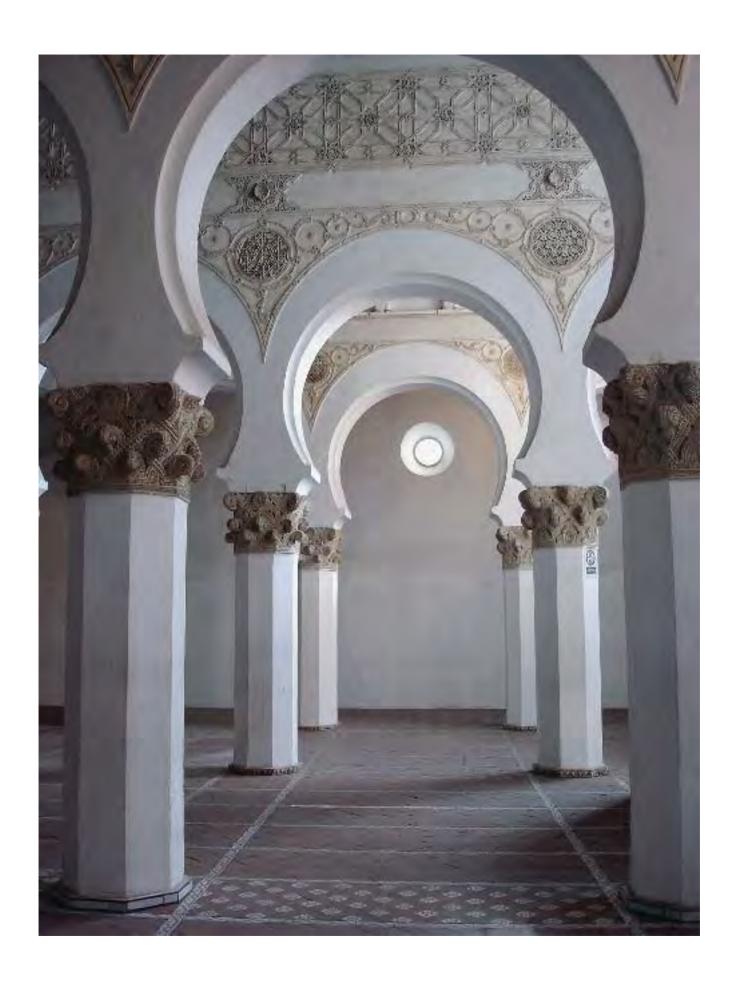
How is it possible that this unique structure has stood the test of time so successfully? The answer is an inspiring story of religion, culture, history, identity and integration. The Esnoga is an awe-inspiring place, filled with the age-old treasures of a cultural and religious minority.

The Esnoga is the cornerstone of the Portuguese Jewish Congregation. A small religious community, motivated by love for the

building and its ornaments, has preserved this structure in its original state for centuries. The building is a symbol of traditional, spiritual wealth, and the strength to survive, even under the most difficult circumstances. The words above the entrance to the Esnoga still comfort and fortify us today: "But as for me, I will come into Thy house in the multitude of Thy mercy" (Psalm 5:8).

The restoration of this exceptional complex of buildings was made possible primarily by support from the Dutch government, the Netherlands Cultural Heritage Agency, the Province of North Holland, and the City of Amsterdam. The expertise of Amsterdam's Office of Monuments and Archaeology was essential. Because this was a major project for the Netherlands Cultural Heritage Agency, the organization took the initiative of compiling a book based on the research done by the participating art and architectural historians and building archaeologists. We are grateful that they have produced this unique reference work, filled with new insights, and we invite all the readers of this book to come and behold this treasured site for themselves.

Jacques Senior Coronel
Chair of the Board of Parnassim
Portuguese Jewish Congregation



The Portuguese Jewish community in Amsterdam

David Cohen Paraira and Jos Smit

mounted attacks on the Islamic part of the

THE SEPHARDIM

Amsterdam's Portuguese Synagogue, also known as the Esnoga or Snoge, is a house of worship, inaugurated in 1675, for the descendants of Jews from Spain and Portugal. These Sephardim (from Sepharad, Spain) left the Iberian Peninsula to escape persecution and forced conversion to Christianity, which had begun in Spain in 1402 and spread to Portugal in 1407. From the late sixteenth century, they found the freedom in Amsterdam to return to the traditions of Judaism: compliance with the commandments and interdictions of the Torah (the first five books of the Bible) and the later Iewish commentaries on these books. The word 'synagogue' comes from a Greek word for 'meeting'. The institution of the synagogue or beth haknesset (house of assembly) probably came into being during the Babylonian exile as an addition to the Temple in Jerusalem. After the destruction of the Temple, the synagogue took its place, and ritual offerings made way for prayer services.

The first Jews on the Iberian Peninsula probably settled there after the conquest of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple in the year 70. There they experienced periods of persecution alternating with calm and religious freedom. Under Islamic rule, which began in 711, Jews as a group were accepted as equal participants in social, economic and cultural life, and large Jewish communities emerged and flourished. Spain was then home to Europe's largest Jewish community (fig. 1). During this time, the Jews were pivotal to the development of the arts and sciences. Beginning in the late eleventh century, Spanish Christian rulers

Iberian Peninsula. From the mid-twelfth century onwards, under the Almohad dynasty, many Jews were stripped of their privileges. This led many of them, including the renowned Jewish philosopher and physician Maimonides, to leave the country. In 1301, the peaceful existence of Spanish Jews was cruelly disrupted by an attack on Seville's Jewish quarter in which thousands of Jews were murdered. This outburst of hate and fear was the result of enduring friction and of religious zeal in the Roman Catholic Church. Many Jews chose to be baptized as Christians to escape death. These baptized Jews were called New Christians, conversos (converts), or marranos (pigs). Yet many of them remained faithful to their old religion in the privacy of their homes. From the mid-fifteenth century onwards, the Jews and New Christians became objects of growing hatred, and aggression against this group steadily increased. After the marriage of Queen Isabelle of Castile and King Ferdinand of Aragon in 1460, the lives of Jews and New Christians became still more difficult. From 1478, the Spanish church and state were united in persecuting religious minorities. Between 1480 and 1492, some thirteen thousand New Christians were interrogated by the Inquisition. Following gruesome trials, many were burned alive in a public ceremony known as an auto-da-fé (literally 'act of faith') or subjected to humiliating punishments. After the capture of Granada, the last Islamic stronghold, on 2 January 1402, the monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella issued the Edict of Expulsion on 31 March 1492, ordering all Jews who would not convert to Chris-

1 Interior of the twelfth-century synagogue in Toledo known as Santa Maria la Blanca, which was used as a church from the fifteenth century onwards. The aisles are separated by pillars supporting horseshoeshaped arches. Arches of this kind are also found in many nineteenth and twentieth-century synagogues.

tianity to leave their territory within three months.

Many Jews left Spain for destinations that included Portugal, Italy, the Ottoman Empire, and Morocco, in the hope of building new lives there. Portugal was the closest place of refuge, with no Inquisition and a Jewish community with the same structure as Spain's. The refugees fled Spain, leaving their possessions behind. This decision required money, an occupation that was in demand elsewhere, and courage. Many thousands of Jews decided to remain in Spain and convert to Christianity, often because they saw no way of building up a new life elsewhere. On 31 July 1402, the last Jews emigrated from Aragon and Castile, and Spain was left with no Jewish congregations or institutions.

In that summer of 1492, more than a hundred thousand Spanish Jews arrived in Portugal. Wealthy households were allowed to settle there permanently, while less prosperous Jews could stay only temporarily. Most of the immigrants had to remain in Portugal because they had no means of travelling on, but life remained difficult for them there. In 1406 King Manuel I, who had come to power the year before, decided to marry Ferdinand and Isabelle's daughter, but his intended bride would not come to Portugal as long as there were Jews living there. Yet Manuel could not do without the Jews. who formed his country's economic middle class. He therefore decided, instead of sending them into exile, to force the entire group to undergo baptism. This was done in a fairly brutal manner. In Portugal, as in Spain, one result was a large group of baptized Jews who presented themselves to the outside world as Roman Catholics but led Jewish lives in their own circles. Under Manuel's son, John (João) 111, the Inquisition came to Portugal in 1536, and the country's first auto-da-fé took place in Lisbon in 1540. Many of the persecuted tried to leave the country and settle in Bayonne

(France), Morocco, the Ottoman Empire or Italy. New Christians also dispersed to many other European cities, such as Split, Livorno, and Antwerp, in the late sixteenth century. In 1580, when Portugal was forced into a dynastic union with Spain, Portuguese immigrants also began pouring into Holland, and the blockade of Antwerp's port in 1585 impelled New Christians in that city to resettle in Amsterdam.

THE PORTUGUESE JEWS IN AMSTERDAM

In the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands, the newcomers found a climate of tolerance. The Union of Utrecht (1570) was the world's first state guarantee that freedom of conscience would be respected, leaving each individual free to practice his own faith. Calvinist Holland also offered the immigrants unprecedented economic opportunities. The New Christians who came to Amsterdam were mostly merchants, active in international trade and the money market. The mercantile houses of the Portuguese Jews made use of trusted agents on trade routes in Spain, Portugal, France, Germany, Brazil, Turkey, and Morocco, most of whom were relatives or fellow Jews. Many New Christians returned to the Jewish faith in Amsterdam. To avoid problems that might affect their business in Portugal and elsewhere, they used two names, a Jewish name in the synagogue and a Portuguese name in their mercantile activities.

The Portuguese Jews initially ran up against a hesitant attitude on the part of Amsterdam's city authorities (fig. 2), due to the influence of the Calvinist church council and political distrust of the Portuguese and the Spanish. Because they did not seem to have the option of leading Jewish lives openly in Amsterdam, the Portuguese Jews turned to the nearby cities of Alkmaar (1604) and Haarlem (1605), requesting permission to settle there and build synagogues. These requests may have

2 lacob van Deventer. Map of Amsterdam and its surroundings (1558-1561). At the upper right, the Montelbaanstoren is visible in the Lastage district, which was then still outside the city wall. At the right centre, the word Leprosen indicates the site of the Leprozenhuis leper colony. To the left, at the sharp bend in the Amstel river, the island Vlooienburg was created towards the end of the sixteenth century. To the right of the leper colony is the site where the Snoge was built in 1675, in the urban extension created in 1660.



been calculated to put pressure on the Amsterdam authorities, who would not have liked to see the prosperous merchants leave the city, taking away their wealth of experience in international commerce. Ultimately, the Jewish communities in Alkmaar and Haarlem were short-lived, because they were too small or because most members returned to Amsterdam. In Rotterdam, the first marranos arrived around 1604, coming from Antwerp. Their first collective request for permission to settle there was refused: the second, in 1610, was granted, but the city revoked this permission in 1612. In 1613, a synagogue was set up in the attic of David Namias's home, and that same year a parcel of land in what is now Jan van Loonlaan was bought for use as a cemetery. Abraham (Don Gil) de Pinto, who maintained a beautiful synagogue in his home, became a pillar of the Jewish community and was regarded as the city's wealthiest resident. In 1649 Josia Pardo was appointed rabbi of the Talmudical academy Jesiba de los Pintos, which was relocated to Amsterdam in 1660. In the final quarter of the seventeenth century, Rotterdam's Portuguese Synagogue moved several times. In 1736, the Jewish congregation there was disbanded, and the city's last remaining Portuguese Jews joined the Ashkenazi congregation. It soon became clear that the rising commercial centre of Amsterdam was a better place for merchants to do business. There they were not required to live in separate districts or wear outward signs of their religious identity, as they were outside the Dutch Republic. They were, however, forbidden to have sexual relations with Christians or try to convert them. In addition, Jews could not become burghers (that is, citizens) of Amsterdam and could not participate in politics or government affairs. They were barred from many guilds and hence unable to become craftsmen. Jews were therefore mainly involved in the money market, the medical professions, property brokerage.



3 Portrait of Baruch d'Espinoza (also known as Spinoza; 1670).

printing, sugar refining, and the tobacco and diamond industry.

The city government treated the Portuguese Jews as a separate community, the 'Portuguese Jewish nation', a kind of state within a state governed by the mahamad (board of Parnassim) according to its own laws. It was the task of the mahamad to maintain public order; this board was accountable to the city authorities for the conduct of the community as a whole. Cherem (exclusion from the community) was used as a means of punishment; this was usually a short-term measure, prohibiting entry to the synagogue and cutting off social contact with other Jews. The bestknown cherem was that of philosopher and lens-grinder Baruch d'Espinoza (or Spinoza; 1632-1677), pronounced in 1656. Spinoza's rationalist beliefs, and perhaps financial problems with his father's estate, led to his exclusion from the community. Spinoza never renounced his ideas, and so the ban was never lifted (fig. 3).



4 Pieter Bast, Map of Amsterdam (1597).

THE FIRST SYNAGOGUES

The first Portuguese merchants had settled in Amsterdam in the 1500s. We do not know their religion, but it is clear that soon afterwards, a number of Jews were practicing their faith here. The Sephardim settled mainly in the east of the city, which was expanding around that time. In 1585-1586 the Lastage district was being developed within the new city walls, mainly for defensive purposes. Soon afterwards, from 1502 to 1506, three harbour islands (Rapenburg, Uilenburg, and Marken) were constructed in the IJ sea arm and the residential island of Vlooienburg was created in the Amstel (fig. 4). The engraving by Pieter Bast, made in 1507, shows this new urban district in development. Even at this early stage, Uilenburg was almost completely covered with shipyards, with the associated dwellings in the middle. On Rapenburg and Marken, there were signs of the first activities, and Vlooienburg was still entirely undeveloped. Meanwhile, the first houses had been built in Breestraat, which led from the old town to the new gate of Sint Antoniespoort in the city wall and later became known as Sint Antoniesbreestraat or – near Vlooienburg – Jodenbreestraat (Joden meaning 'Jews'). In the Lastage district, Jonkerstraat was constructed, a straight road with back-to-back houses. Here, at the foot of the Montelbaanstoren (a defensive tower), the city's first Jewish religious services were held in 1602-1603, in the home of Rabbi Uri Halevie. This Ashkenazi Jew had come from Emden in 1601 at the request of Amsterdam's Portuguese Jews. Uri Halevie acted as both a cantor/prayer leader (chazzan) and a circumciser (mohel). The Torah scroll that this rabbi brought with him to Amsterdam is still in the possession of the Portuguese Jewish Congregation (fig. 5). On Yom Kippur in the year 1602, the sheriff (schout) conducted a raid and found the rabbi, who was suspected of fencing stolen goods, in prayer with a number of Portuguese merchants. Uri Hale-



vie and several others were taken into custody. After an interrogation in which the rabbi explained that they had gathered for a Jewish religious service, they were set free. The first Sephardim settled around Nieuwmarkt square in the Lastage district. Most other members of the fast-growing Portuguese Jewish community found homes in a completely new part of town: Vlooienburg, named after the meadows in a sharp bend in the Amstel river that regularly flooded (vloeide). The Houtgracht and Leprozengracht canals were dug there, after which the area of raised land was allowed to lie fallow for several years so that the ground would become firm. In 1602 the land on Vlooienburg – the present-day location of Water-

5 The Torah scroll from c. 1400 that Uri Halevie brought to Amsterdam and left with the congregation there when he returned to Emden.

6 Balthasar Florisz van Berckenrode, Detail from a map of Amsterdam (1657). The three Portuguese synagogues are indicated: 1. Beth Jacob (1614-1639), 2. Neveh Shalom (1612-1639), 3. Beth Israel (1618-1639) and Talmud Torah (1639-1675).

looplein and the Stopera – was parcelled out. Lange Houtstraat traversed the length of the island and Korte Houtstraat the width, dividing it into four blocks of buildings. The island was organized in a regular fashion (fig. 6). Vlooienburg was initially intended to provide storage space for wood merchants, but it soon became an ordinary residential area. The first edition of Balthasar Florisz's map of Amsterdam from 1625 shows hardly any undeveloped property on Vlooienburg. Portuguese Jews were not among those who bought land on the island in 1602, but by the mid-seventeenth century they owned twenty percent of the houses there. Another indication of the high concentration of Sephardim in this area is

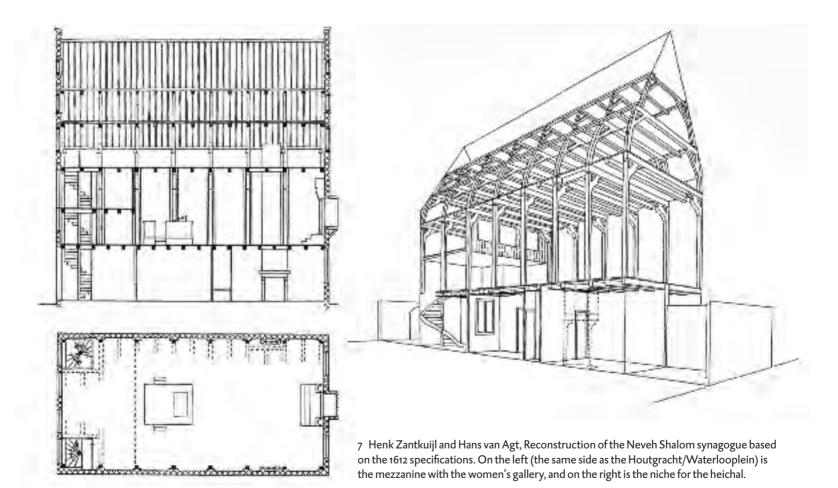
provided by marriage registers from the period, which show that eighty percent of them lived on the island or around Jodenbreestraat. Archaeological research confirms this picture: the vast majority of bones in the cesspools came from cows and chickens, while remains of pigs have been found frequently in cesspools elsewhere in the city. The ground level of one of the houses on the Houtgracht was converted into a Portuguese Jewish meat market in 1632, and in 1648 the Portuguese community built a new warehouse with a meat market further up the street, which remained in use until 1815. One of the better known Jewish residents was Jacob Jehuda Leon, who had moved to Amsterdam and exhib-



ited his models of the Temple, the Tabernacle, Solomon's palace and various ceremonial objects in his home in Korte Houtstraat.²

There were several congregations on Vlooienburg, with fairly inconspicuous places of assembly. The first synagogue there was set up in a converted shed in Lange Houtstraat. In 1607 the services moved to the home of Jacob Tirado, also known as Guimes Lopez da Costa, on the Houtgracht across from the former Vlooienburgsteeg, renamed Houtkopersdwarsstraat. The first congregation was called Beth Jacob (house of Jacob) and was named after Jacob Tirado. who had played a central role in founding it. Amsterdam's Portuguese Jewish Congregation still has a silver Torah shield presented by Jacob Tirado and his wife Rachel (fig. 174). From 1614 onwards, the Beth Jacob congregation rented Antwerpen, a former

warehouse on the Houtgracht, and used the upper storey as a synagogue. The house had a forecourt and was therefore somewhat recessed from the street. The house was entered through a narrow lane on the side of the building, and the synagogue on the upper storev extended over this lane. As was generally the case in houses of worship (Jewish or Christian) in private Amsterdam homes, large middle sections of the floors and joists were removed, creating galleries with a view of the service. The use of multiple storeys made it possible for many people to attend services despite the small surface area of the house. In house synagogues, the galleries were usually reserved for the female visitors. In Beth Jacob, the heichal (Torah ark) was made of Brazilian rosewood (palisander); the interior was graced with gallery columns and painted decorations. In 1630 the building was purchased by David



Curiel, also known as Lope Ramirez, and in 1638 the two rear annexes were bought. These annexes had already been in use as a seminary associated with the Talmud Torah a school since 1620.³

In 1608 the second congregation, Neveh Shalom (oasis of peace), was founded. At first, the members of Neveh Shalom met for synagogue services at the home of Don Samuel Palache. This congregation had a house built on the Houtgracht in 1612, to the left of the later Moses and Aaronkerk, which church is still standing today. This building too had a forecourt separating it from the street. On the ground level, there were two apartments, and above them was the synagogue. The heichal was in a protruding niche on the short rear side, as was also the case in some synagogues in other cities, and there was a mezzanine for women visitors on the opposite side, where the entrance was. The synagogue was decorated with panels bearing Hebrew inscriptions and decorated with plant and flower motifs. It has an alternating timber frame typical of the period, in which trusses composed of wall posts, a horizontal beam, and corbels alternate with beams placed in the bearing walls. The corbels were fashioned in the distinctive, graceful curving form of a swan's neck. Remarkably, the specifications that carpenter Hans Gerritsz used when building this house synagogue have survived (fig. 7).4

A dispute in the Beth Jacob congregation led to a schism in 1618, when a third congregation was formed under the name of Beth Israel (house of Israel). That year, Jose Pinto rented a former warehouse in the rear of a property in Jodenbreestraat. Again, part of the floor was removed, creating galleries on the sides. In 1619 this synagogue was expanded to include the adjacent warehouse on Houtgracht. Almost nothing is known about the interior of Beth Israel because of its later alteration and expansion in 1639, when it became the Talmud Torah synagogue.

Most members of these three Sephardi congregations were of Portuguese descent. The existence of multiple congregations presumably reflected different religious perspectives within the Portuguese Jewish community, which can probably be traced back to different places of origin and family connections. It has also been suggested that this rapidly expanding religious community outgrew the confines of a single house synagogue and therefore needed additional places of worship. Estimates of the number of Sephardim in Amsterdam show a rise from 350 in 1610 to 900 in 1630, 1,400 in 1650, and 2,500 in 1675.

TALMUD TORAH

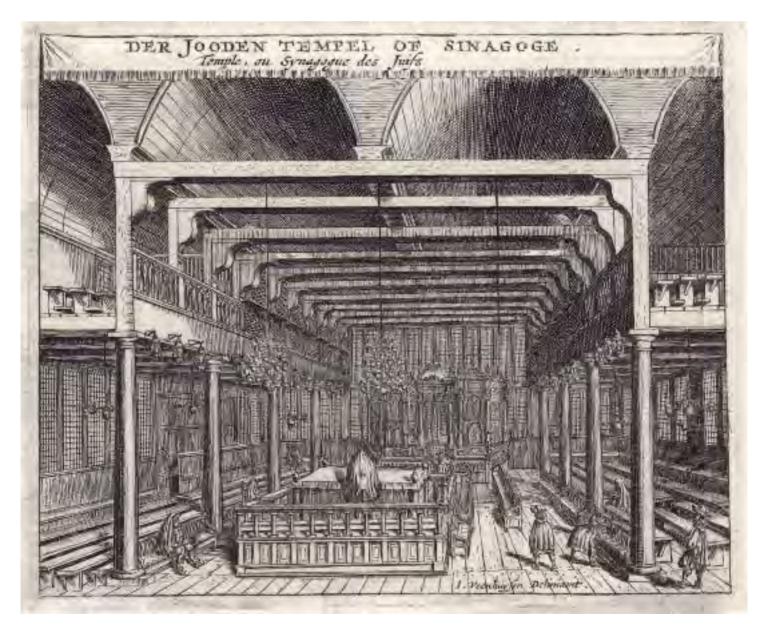
The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) led many Jews to migrate from Central Europe to the Dutch Republic, a haven of religious freedom compared to other parts of Europe.



8 Portrait of Rabbi Isaac Aboab da Fonseca (1605-1693).

These Ashkenazi Jews were less prosperous than their Portuguese brethren. Many of them found work as market vendors or butchers, also settling on and around Vlooienburg. In 1635 the Ashkenazi Jews established their first congregation. This increased the need for a single strong Portuguese Jewish congregation. The three existing congregations had already been working together for some time on many social activities, such as care for the poor, the sick, and the dead, aid for poor orphan

girls, education, the management of the Portuguese Jewish meat market, support for Sephardi communities in the Holy Land, and the purchase of prisoners' freedom. In 1639 the three congregations merged ('União') under the name of Kahal Kadosh Talmud Torah (Holy Congregation for the Study of the Law). From 1639 onward, the new congregation's bye-laws gave the mahamad absolute power within the community. To rule out the possibility of future schisms, the bye-laws included a prohibition



9 Jan Veenhuysen, Etching of the interior of the Talmud Torah synagogue (1665).

on establishing any other Sephardi synagogue in Amsterdam.

Saul Levi Morteira, David Pardo, Menasse ben Israel, and Isaac Aboab da Fonseca were appointed as the Talmud Torah congregation's rabbis; each came from one of the three predecessor congregations. Menasse ben Israel (1604-1657) became well known for travelling to meet Oliver Cromwell in 1655 and request his consent for the resettlement of Jews in England. He also founded the first Hebrew printing press in Amsterdam. Isaac Aboab da Fonseca (1605-1603) made his reputation as a rabbi in Recife during the period of Dutch rule in Brazil and as a driving force behind the construction of the new Snoge (fig. 8). The writings of Daniel Levi de Barrios (1635-1701), known under his marrano name of Don Miguel de Barrios, are the richest source of information about the seventeenth-century history of the Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam.

After the União, the house synagogues of the Beth Jacob and Neveh Shalom congregations were closed. The new Talmud Torah congregation used the former Beth Israël congregation's synagogue on the Houtgracht, expanding it considerably by purchasing adjacent buildings. During the Rosh Hashanah celebration in 5400 (in 1630 CE), the renovated synagogue was officially inaugurated. The interior consisted of a large hall for services with four barrel vaults under four parallel pitched roofs, the two roofs in the middle having been part of the earlier synagogue. The two smaller aisles held galleries, each supported by four Tuscan pillars. These gallery areas were mostly partitioned off and intended for women. The smaller sections with balustrades were reserved for men, as was the entire ground level. In the middle of the hall, against the short rear or east wall, was a magnificent heichal decorated with pillars and topped with a dome. Opposite the heichal was the tebah, also decorated with pillars. In the centre of the north wall was the mahamad's bench.

There were large chandeliers to illuminate the synagogue (fig. 9). Isaac Commelin described the synagogue interior in 1665 in Van Domselaer's Beschrijvinge van Amsterdam, explaining that the building had an entrance area in front with a water butt and towel for washing one's hands before entering the synagogue. It is believed that some of the chandeliers and benches were moved to the new Snoge in 1675. Our information about this synagogue comes not only from verbal descriptions but also from a number of surviving images. Romeyn de Hooghe's etching 'De geweesene Kerk der Ioden' (The former Jewish synagogue) is usually interpreted as depicting the exterior of the Talmud Torah synagogue after renovation in 1630. The rich classicist architecture of the facades, however, was probably the result of renovation after 1675, when the Jewish congregation had already stopped using the building (fig. 10).

After the Talmud Torah congregation had left the synagogue on the Houtgracht in 1675, the building was used for festivities, including many Jewish wedding celebrations (fig. 11). The building, which became known as De Herschepping (The Re-creation), was demolished in 1931. The place where the synagogue once stood is now marked by a sign commemorating its former presence there.

A PROSPEROUS COMMUNITY
From 1641 to 1671, the number of Jewish account holders at the Amsterdam Wisselbank rose from 89 to 265, a reflection of the growth in the community's capital, its wealth, and its share in the Amsterdam economy. The deteriorating economic situation in Spain attracted many marranos to the Dutch Republic – most notably, leading merchants and bankers such as the De Pinto, Lopes Suasso, and Pereira families. This had a profound influence on the growth of the congregation from 1660 onwards. The Jews played a major role in Dutch economic

development and therefore had very good relations with the Amsterdam city authorities and the House of Orange-Nassau. The wealthy merchant Antonio Lopes Suasso, also known as Isaac Israel Suasso (1614-1685), was raised to the nobility by King Charles 11 of Spain and received the title of Baron d'Avernas-le-Gras. His son, the

banker Francisco Lopes Suasso, also known as Abraham Israel Suasso (1657-1710), is known for having lent two million guilders, an astronomical sum in those days, to Stadholder William III for his expedition to claim the English throne (the so-called 'Glorious Revolution') (fig. 12). Isaac de Pinto, a wealthy merchant and member

10 Romeyn de Hooghe, Etching of 'The former Church of the Jews' (c.1695).





11 Jan de Beyer, The Houtgracht in 1757. The original Talmud Torah synagogue was on the site of De Herschepping at the far left. Beyond the righthand chain for raising the drawbridge, the Snoge is visible. The Portuguese Jewish Congregation had moved there in 1675. of the building commission for the new synagogue, bought a grand house in Sint Antonies breestraat in 1651. The house was named after him and refurbished by his son David Emanuel de Pinto, also known as Rodrigo Alvares, in 1686.5 The family's monogram, a P, can be found on the wrought-iron grillwork in front of the windows of the De Pintohuis (fig. 13). Thanks to their long experience in international trade and their many contacts, many of the Portuguese Jews gained appointments as diplomatic representatives. The best known of these diplomats came from the Belmonte, Nunes da Costa, Curiel, and Palache families. Manuel de Belmonte, also known as

Isaac Nunes (d. 1705), wielded great influence as the King of Spain's *chargé d'affaires*. In 1700 he bought the stately house at Herengracht 586. Mozes Curiel, also known as Jeronimo Nunes da Costa (1619-1697), was an agent of the king of Portugal. Samuel Palache (1550-1607) was a merchant, diplomat, spy, and privateer.

When the Dutch conquered part of Brazil and Prince John Maurice (Johan Maurits) of Nassau-Siegen proclaimed it the colony of New Holland in 1636, many Portuguese Jews settled in Recife, the state capital of Pernambuco. A fairly large Jewish community formed there. The reconquest of Brazil by Portugal in 1654 seriously damaged the tri-

angular trade between Brazil, Lisbon, and Amsterdam, and many Portuguese Jews returned to Amsterdam. After Shabbetai Tzevi (1626-1676) proclaimed himself Messiah in Gaza in 1665, many Amsterdam Sephardim made plans to emigrate to Palestine and join his messianic movement. Some even went as far as selling their houses. When Tsevi was forced to convert to Islam in 1666, it became clear to the Portuguese Jews that their future lay not in Palestine, but in Amsterdam. Continuing immigration and the collapse of their prospects for a future in Palestine swelled the congregation, which soon became too large for its synagogue and faced a choice between expanding it or erecting a new house of worship. The Ashkenazi Jews had by this time had a large new synagogue built on the Muidergracht (in 1670-1671) by



12 Portrait of Don Antonio Lopes Suasso, also known as Isaac Israel Suasso, merchant and Baron d'Avernas-le-Gras.



13 Romeyn de Hooghe, etching of 'Mansion of the Hon. Mr Pinto' (c. 1695).



14 Gerrit Adriaensz Berckheyde, View of the Ashkenazi and Portuguese Jewish synagogues (1675).

the master mason Elias Bouman and master carpenter Gillis van der Veen (fig. 14). The Portuguese Jews, who felt superior to the Ashkenazim in those days, refused to be outdone and made their own plans for the construction of a new synagogue.

In 1670 they bought a large parcel of land near the Talmud Torah synagogue, by the former Sint Antoniespoort, in what was known as the Vierde Uitleg, the large-scale city extension that gave Amsterdam its wellknown half-moon shape. To the east of the Amstel, this involved the creation of three new harbour islands in the IJ (Kattenburg, Wittenburg and Oostenburg), as well as the Plantage area with its abundant greenery and a residential district along the new canals. Many wealthy Sephardim moved from Vlooienburg to the part of the new canal district east of the Amstel, while less prosperous Jews generally found homes in Nieuwe Kerkstraat (New Church Street), which became popularly known as Jodenkerkstraat (Jew Church Street). Because the shipyards and harbour workplaces were relocated to the new Oostelijke

Eilanden (Eastern Islands) mentioned above, Marken, Uilenburg, and Rapenburg became residential neighbourhoods where large numbers of people, mostly poor Jews, were packed together.

In 1671, construction began of the building on the Muidergracht, which was intended to surpass the Ashkenazi synagogue across the canal in both size and character. The 'elders of the Portuguese Jewish Nation' had purchased every plot of land in the area bordered by the Muidergracht, Muiderstraat, Amstelstraat, and the Nieuwe Herengracht. On the other side of Amstelstraat was the Leprozenhuis, a leper colony dating from 1485; its trustees had to give up some of its land for the canal connecting the Houtgracht on Vlooienburg to the new Muidergracht between the synagogues. During construction of the Snoge, the city inquired whether the Portuguese Jewish congregation would prefer a square to a canal. This turned out not to be the case; the synagogue design was based on the assumption that the cellars could be rented out, and the canal was an essential traffic artery for



that purpose. The city treasurers had stated earlier that the streets alongside the canals could be paved with stone for an additional fee, but that offer was also declined. The area of land initially purchased was much larger than necessary for the planned synagogue and annexes; the unneeded parcels were sold in August 1671 and developed by private parties, mostly after 1680. The Snoge was thus absorbed into the rhythm of an urban web woven from parts of the old city – Leprozenhuis, Jodenbreestraat, Muiderstraat (an extension of Breestraat), and the small nearby square Markenpleintje in the

inner ring of the former city wall – and from Deventer Houtmarkt with the Grote Sjoel (or Great Shul, the Ashkenazi synagogue), the Oudezijds Huiszittenhuis, and Vlooienburg. For two centuries, the Snoge formed the limit of the built-up area. When economic decline paralysed the property market in the neighbouring part of the new city, the Plantage was created there, an area of greenery unprecedented in size where residential construction was prohibited. The Snoge was by far the most monumental building in this part of the city; the many views of the skyline make it clear that this

15 Jacob van Ruisdael, View of Amsterdam from the Amsteldijk (c. 1680). The Snoge towers above the buildings on the right side of the Amstel, to the left of the mill with white sails.



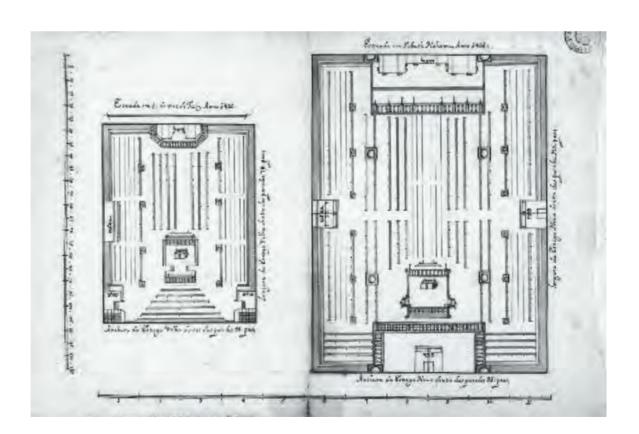


16 Bevis Marks Synagogue, London (1701).

17 Mikwe Israel Synagogue, Willemstad (1732). synagogue stood out from all directions until late in the nineteenth century (fig. 15).

The Portuguese Jewish congregation had the financial means to erect an impressive building, but it was thanks in large part to the energy and commitment of Rabbi Isaac Aboab da Fonseca that the monumental structure was actually built. On 23 November 1670, he gave a sermon calling on com-

munity members to contribute to the new synagogue, and they responded by donating some 40,000 guilders. The first four stones were laid on 17 April 1671 by four leading community members, who had paid 2,310 guilders between them for the privilege: Mozes Curiel, Joseph Israel Nunes (also known as Antonio Alvares), Imanuel de Pinto, and David Isaac de Pinto. Construction



18 Drawing of the arrangement of benches in Talmud Torah synagogue on the Houtgracht (1639) and in the Snoge (1675).

was delayed by wars and a hurricane and could not be completed until August 1675.

The inaugural ceremony, which took place on 2 August 1675, was attended by many notables, including the burgomaster and aldermen (*schepenen*) of Amsterdam. The beauty of the building, and of the ceremonial objects used inside it, attests to the wealth of the Portuguese Jews in those days and their love of beauty and art. It is truly remarkable that in seventeenth-century Europe, two monumental synagogues were erected in such a prominent part of the city, while Amsterdam's Catholic congregations had to make do with places of worship in private homes and warehouses until well into the eighteenth century.

Because Amsterdam's Portuguese Jewish congregation was the mother congregation to Western Sephardi congregations in the Netherlands and elsewhere, it held great authority, and the Snoge became a model for other synagogues. Its influence is visible, for instance, in the architecture of the Honen Dal congregation's synagogue in The Hague, built by Felix Dusart in 1725-1726 after a design by Daniel Marot (fig. 20). Other synagogues modelled after the Snoge were the Bevis Marks Synagogue in London (1701; fig. 16), those of the Mikwe Israel congregation in Willemstad, Curação (1732; fig. 17) and the Sedek Ve Salom congregation in Paramaribo (1737) (the interior of the latter was later transported to the Israel Museum in Jerusalem), the Touro Synagogue in Newport, Rhode Island (1897), and the synagogue of New York's Shearit Israel congregation (1897). The bipolar design, with the tebah and heichal along the same axis, was widely adopted in the Western Sephardi world (fig. 18).

CRISIS AND DECLINE
Until the early eighteenth century, there
was no country in the world where Jews
lived in such prosperity and luxury as in the
Dutch Republic. Many Portuguese Jews had

amassed large fortunes in international commerce, including the money trade, thanks to their knowledge of overseas trade routes and their international connections. By the late seventeenth century Amsterdam had become Europe's leading money market, and Portuguese Jews were active investors on the Amsterdam exchange, where business remained good until the mid-eighteenth century. Between 1763 and 1773, an economic crisis bankrupted numerous banks. This came as a heavy blow to the Portuguese Jewish community, many members of which were involved in currency exchange. During this economic decline, which had a profound impact on the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands, Amsterdam lost its central role in trade and European politics. One causal factor in this slump was competition from England and France. These were hard times for the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and West India Company (WIC), in which Portuguese Jewish merchants had invested huge sums. The WIC was liquidated in 1792 and the VOC in 1799. This led to a large number of bankruptcies and a general slide into poverty, bringing an end to the golden age of Sephardi trade. Deprived of their means of earning a living and excluded from guilds, many Portuguese Jews became paupers. By 1795, 54% of the members of Amsterdam's Portuguese Jewish congregation were relying on charity or public assistance. This became an intolerable drain on the congregation's poor relief fund. To reduce the demand for such relief, the congregation encouraged and financially supported emigration to Curação and Suriname. The Portuguese Jews were hit harder by the economic downturn than the Ashkenazim, who had long been accustomed to poverty and were better represented in craft occupations. Amid this political and economic adversity, the Snoge's centenary passed without celebration. In the late eighteenth century, Ashkenazi Jews managed to build up commercial contacts, and an upper crust

formed of Ashkenazim who felt every bit as good as the Sephardim. By this time the Portuguese Jewish congregation was in decline. Despite its proud past, it was overshadowed by the Ashkenazi congregation, which had become Europe's largest with some 20,000 members.

EQUAL CIVIL RIGHTS

In 1789, the French Revolution broke out. The French army invaded the Netherlands in 1793, and in 1795 the Batavian Republic was proclaimed. The 'Decree on the equality of the Jews with all other citizens' (1796) granted Dutch Jews equal rights. Most Jews did not expect the Enlightenment and equal civil rights to alter their lives radically. Privileges such as civil rights, suffrage, and eligi-

19 The Muiderstraat gate with the congregation's coat of arms in terracotta, made by Joseph Mendes da Costa, showing the pelican feeding her young with her own blood.



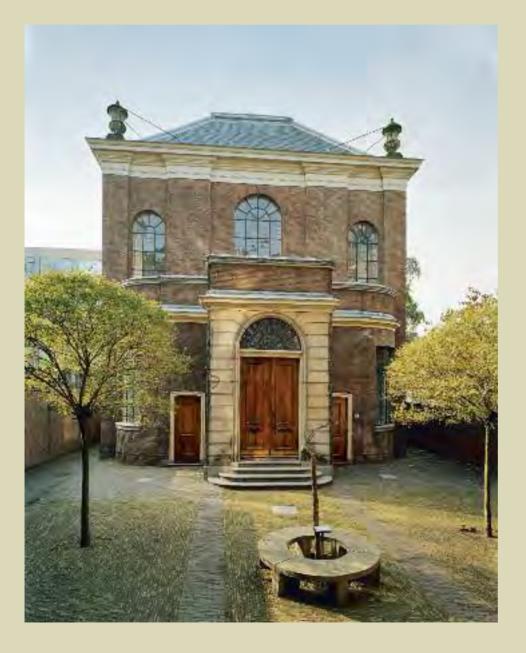
bility for public office had little practical significance for them. Some things undeniably changed, however: Jewish communities lost their autonomy, and the parnassim lost their authority and the special status it had conferred on them. Only a small group of highly educated Jews hoped that emancipation might usher in a new world and better lives. Until then Jews had been cut off from other citizens, partly because of the language barrier. The Portuguese Jews spoke Portuguese with one another, and the Ashkenazim Yiddish. Spanish was also used a great deal in prayer books and Bible translations. Before equal civil rights were granted, the Portuguese Jews had formed a closed community that had little contact with other social groups and not much even with Ashkenazi Jews. The two groups rarely visited each other's synagogues, and marriage partners were sought primarily within one's own circles, where people knew each other's backgrounds and could keep the family capital within the group. Civil equality led to emancipation, secularization, and assimilation. In higher social classes, a few Jews converted to Christianity. After Dutch sovereignty was restored under King William (Willem) I, the Jewish community in the Netherlands was reorganized, and a Central Committee for Jewish Affairs was established, which included Portuguese Jewish members. Although Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews were practically social equals by this stage, the rapprochement between the two groups was very limited. The Sephardi Jews looked down on the Ashkenazi Jews as their social and cultural inferiors, while the Ashkenazim saw the highly emancipated Sephardim as unfaithful to their religion. King William I promoted the use of the Dutch language for minutes of meetings and for sermons. As a result, Portuguese fell out of use as the language of everyday interaction and sermons at the Snoge by about 1845. The Portuguese language remained in use only for announcements at the synagogue and for

Portuguese Jews in Middelburg, The Hague, and the Vecht region

From the early seventeenth century onwards, Portuguese Jews tried to settle in various parts of the Netherlands outside Amsterdam, but the group was usually too small and their stay too short for them to establish a separate congregation.⁷ In a few places, however, they were

successful. For instance, Middelburg was home to a few Portuguese Jewish merchants by the early seventeenth century. Paolo Jacomo (Jacob Jessurun) de Pinto set up a synagogue in his home there in 1641, appointing Jacob Jehuda Leon, later renowned for his model of the

Temple in Jerusalem, as the rabbi. In 1655 a plot of land in the street now called Jodengang was leased for use as a cemetery. In the early eighteenth century, many Portuguese Jews moved on from Middelburg to Amsterdam and The Hague, with the last remaining



20 The Portuguese Synagogue in The Hague, designed by Daniel Marot (1725-1726).

21 Abraham Rademaker, Ruischenstein, Manuel Ximenes Belmonte's country estate on the Amstel (1730).

few joining the local Ashkenazi congregation in 1725.

The largest Portuguese Jewish congregation outside Amsterdam was in The Hague. There was evidently a small group of Portuguese Jews in The Hague as early as 1677. but the official congregation was established only later, in 1692, by Jacob Pereira. He established Beth Jacob (House of Jacob) Synagogue in a house next to his home in Korte Voorhout (fig. 144). A parcel of land along the Scheveningseweg was purchased for a cemetery in 1604. A second Portuguese synagogue was founded in 1698 by Jacob Abenacar Veiga in his guest house on the Bierkade and later moved to Casuariestraat and Lange Voorhout, the fashionable part of The Hague where the wealthy Portuguese Jews lived. In 1700 this congregation took the name Honen Dal (support the poor). In 1725-1726 a new. detached synagogue was built at Jan Evertsenstraat 7, behind the stately patrician homes along the Princessegracht, on the model of the one in Amsterdam (fig. 20). Jacob Pereira's synagogue closed when the two congregations merged in 1743, and the synagogue on the Princessegracht remained in use until the Second World War. Of the nearly four hundred members of this congregation in 1940, only eight were still alive on 5 May 1945. The synagogue was sold in the mid-1950s. The building was rented for the High Holidays by Beth Yehudah, The Hague's Liberal



Jewish congregation, in 1968. This congregation purchased the building in 1972 and restored it, returning it to its original religious function. The authentic eighteenthcentury heichal and tebah have been preserved.

From the mid-seventeenth century onward many wealthy Portuguese Jews, mainly from Amsterdam, had country houses along the Amstel and Vecht rivers. This led to the formation of several congregations in these rural areas (fig. 21), which often gathered for synagogue services in the country house of one of the members. In Maarssen, the Portuguese Jews founded the Neveh Shalom (oasis of peace) congregation. This congregation's synagogue was sold and then demolished in 1836. After various travels, the heichal ended up in the Almere

Synagogue. The town of Naarden also had a Portuguese synagogue in the seventeenth century. In the late eighteenth century, under French rule, many Portuguese Jews lost their fortunes and had to give up their country homes. After the Portuguese Jews had left Naarden, the synagogue was handed over to another Jewish congregation. the Nederlands Israëlietische Gemeente, in 1887. In 1935 the building was declared a ruin and demolished and the copper chandeliers, candelabras, and ornaments were given to Naarden town hall on long-term loan. They were returned to the Jewish congregation in Naarden-Bussum in 1993 and are now in the synagogue in Kromme Englaan. ■

the prayer for the Royal House and the city authorities. In 1875, the Snoge's bicentenary was marked by lavish festivities (fig. 148).

Around 1870, the community's economic situation improved thanks to developments in the diamond, cigar, and ready-to-wear industries. These developments, along with the rise of socialism, gave many people in the lower classes opportunities to make more of their lives. The socialist ideology that emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries replaced old religious loyalties for many of Amsterdam's Portuguese Jews, especially among the working classes. This led to a further decline in the size of the congregation. Zionism, which was also on the ascent in the late nineteenth century, won little support among Portuguese Jews. This may have been a delayed repercussion of the disappointment about the false Messiah Shabbetai Tsevi in the seventeenth century, when many families had made and then abandoned plans to emigrate to Palestine. In 1021 all contributing members of the congregation – including women – were granted the right to vote.

The Portuguese Jewish community gave rise to a number of prominent nineteenthcentury figures. One well-known example is the physician Samuel Sarphati (1813-1866), who laid the groundwork for modern-day Amsterdam, improving city education and hygiene and planning new urban districts, the Paleis voor Volksvliit (a grand exhibition centre on the model of the Crystal Palace), and the Amstelhotel. Salomon Rodrigues de Miranda (1875-1942) played a central role in urban regeneration, the construction of swimming pools, and the creation of the Amsterdamse Bos, a wooded city park. A large proportion of Portuguese Jews were in the legal, medical, and linguistic professions. There were also many artists, especially painters. The well-known sculptor Joseph Mendes da Costa learned the craft in his father's stone-cutting workshop, where his responsibilities included carving tombstones.

The congregation's coat of arms with the pelican above the entrance to the Snoge annexes on Muiderstraat is his work (fig. 10). Mozes Salomon Vaz Dias (1881-1963) was a pioneer in press agencies and radio news and, in 1904, the founder of the press agency Vaz Dias. Community members also founded major financial institutions. The Teixeira de Mattos brothers established the banking firm of the same name in 1822, and Isaac Franco Mendes launched the Franco Mendes insurance company in the mid-eighteenth century. The author and book dealer Emanuel Querido set up the successful publishing company Em. Querido's Uitgevers-MII N.V. in 1915. Daniel Henriques de Castro, who was also a noted art collector and glass engraver, established the De Castro chemist's shop at Muiderstraat 14 in 1832. The shop is still in operation at that address today. The Faculty of Hebrew and Jewish Studies at the University of Amsterdam is named after Jehuda Lion Palache (1886-1944), a professor of Semitic languages and literature.

'We are permitted to sing in public and starve to death,' Mozes Asser said, and these words are often quoted to illustrate that the equal rights of the French period did not improve everybody's lives. At the end of the eighteenth century, approximately sixty percent of Amsterdam's Jewish population was living in poverty. When the first census was taken in 1795, the officials lost count in the congested Jewish quarter. The quarter gained a reputation as a colourful part of town, and in the course of the nineteenth century many outsiders were drawn there. Sint Antoniesbreestraat and Jodenbreestraat were perpetually filled with street traders, vending stands, markets, film and theatregoers, and through traffic (fig. 22). To limit the chaos, a second daily market was opened in the new square Waterlooplein in 1893, in addition to the one in Nieuwmarkt, which had been in operation

since 1879 (fig. 23).8

THE OLD JEWISH QUARTER



22 View of the Jodenbreestraat from Rapenburgerstraat, facing the Zuiderkerktoren, in front of the synagogue and the junction with Muiderstraat.

In the final years of the nineteenth century, the vast majority of Jews were still living in the old Jewish quarter, but the migration to newer parts of the city had begun in the 1870s. At first, the main destinations were districts near the city centre, such as the Plantage and Weesperbuurt and, later, Amsterdam-Zuid (the southern district). One of the first areas to which Portuguese Jews resettled was the Oosterparkbuurt. Because this was very far from the Snoge, the fraternal organization Ahabath Chesed (Love and Goodwill) established a Portuguese synagogue in the back garden of I.E. Querido's home at Blasiusstraat 46

in 1893. This building, which was expanded in 1905, seems to have been the only Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam other than the Snoge in the centre and synagogues in homes for the elderly. The 5 by 8.25 metre synagogue had different areas for men and women and could hold about fifty people. Like the Snoge, the building had arched windows in the front façade and a curved ceiling under a pitched roof. This synagogue remained in use until the Second World War. After the war the interior was radically altered, and the building was later demolished.

Despite the steady flow of the Jewish com-

23 Markenplein in 1898, with Jodenbreestraat on the left and Muiderstraat on the right. The front building of the Snoge is visible in the right foreground. The large gate is a temporary structure erected for the investiture of Queen Wilhelmina.





24 Jacob Kuyper, Map of Amsterdam divided into neighbourhoods (1867). This detail showing the Snoge area clearly indicates the high concentration of Jewish organizations.

munity into newer parts of the city, the area around the synagogues in Jonas Daniël Meijerplein remained the heart of Jewish Amsterdam for many years, not only because of the houses of worship there, but also because other Jewish institutions were concentrated in the quarter (fig. 24). The area around the Snoge changed profoundly when part of the Houtgracht and the Muidergracht near Deventer Houtmarkt was filled in, creating a new square, the Jonas Daniël Meijerplein, in 1874, and when the rest of the Houtgracht followed in 1882, along with the Leprozengracht on Vlooienburg. Another event with major consequences was the demolition of parts of the old, overcrowded, impoverished Jewish quarter.
Housing and living conditions in the Joden
Houttuinen, on Uilenburg, and on Marken
had become so inhumane that these areas
were the targets of a slum clearance programme between about 1900 and 1930 (fig.
25). This programme not only got rid of
many dilapidated buildings and unsavoury
alleys, but also forced the residents to clear
out. Many moved to the Transvaalbuurt (a
neighbourhood in the east) or to Amsterdam-Zuid. The six decorative stone tablets
(gevelstenen) in the masonry of the Snoge's
entrance gate form tangible reminders of a
few nearby buildings that were demolished.⁹

THE SECOND WORLD WAR The German invasion on 10 May 1940 ended a period of more than 350 years in which Jews in the Netherlands had led their lives undisturbed. For a while, most of the Portuguese Jewish community had confidence in promises by the Germans that they would not be deported to the camps in the east because of their Spanish and Portuguese origins or because of their partly non-Jewish descent. They also heard reassuring reports of Portuguese Jews being sent to Portugal. None of this turned out to be true, however; almost the entire community was sent to the east, where they were almost all murdered in the extermination camps. The German lawyer Hans Calmeyer was the director of the office in The Hague responsible for registering Jews as a separate racial group. In that role, he ruled on objections submitted by people who claimed they had mistakenly been identified as Jews. He tried to use this position to save lives, successfully in some cases, but despite his efforts he could not save the Portuguese Jewish community (fig. 26).

Before the Second World War, the Snoge had been designated as a historic building that required special protection given the threat of armed conflict. In 1939, the Dutch authorities had therefore carried out plans made by the Inspector for Art Protection in consultation with the synagogue board, taking structural measures to protect the Snoge from fire. The national government paid for these measures, on the condition that the congregation provide surveillance in wartime. In 1939 a fire patrol was formed, consisting of around forty men. A small number of them were officials of the Portuguese Jewish community; the others were volunteers, mostly congregation members. A typical patrol was made up of five or six men, generally community officials during the day and volunteers at night. The fire patrol headquarters was the synagogue's exhibition space, which had previously been used as a funeral parlour. The patrol only had to act once and was never called on to put out any fires. In 1939 a number of major objects in the synagogue's possession were sent on loan to the Rijksmuseum. Other items, such as the gilt leather wall hangings used on religious holidays, three pairs of finials, and the scroll of the law used in taking oaths, were placed in the safes of the Amsterdam Kasvereniging. These safes were ransacked by the Germans, and unfortunately, the objects in them were lost. All the scrolls of the law and decorative mantles in the heichal remained there, untouched, throughout the occupation. The ornamental copper light fixtures were miraculously spared in a time when copper had to be turned over for use in the war industry. In February 1041, when the rumour spread that the WA (Weerafdeling, the armed militia of the Dutch Nazi party) planned to set fire to the Snoge, the trapdoor providing access to the vaults under the synagogue was nailed shut to prevent an attack with dynamite. Hauptsturmführer F. H. Aus der Fünten visited the Snoge in the winter of 1941-1942 in connection with plans to set up a deportation centre in Amsterdam. When it was pointed out to him that it would be very difficult to black out the building, with its many large windows, the idea of using it for this purpose was abandoned. The nearby



25 Batavierstraat prior to slum clearance (1925).

Hollandse Schouwburg, a former theatre, proved to be a more suitable location, since theatres have hardly any windows. Religious services continued in the Snoge until 26 May 1943, when the fire patrol concealed the ornamental objects remaining in the building, along with a copy of the membership records, at the bottom of the vaulted ceiling. After the Snoge was closed, the Saturday and holiday services continued in secret in the home of the married couple Salomon and Elisabeth Mendes Coutinho-Sarphati, on the second storey of the house at Nieuwe Keizersgracht 33. Salomon Mendes Coutinho (1908-1976) was the Snoge's samas (sexton), and until late in the Second World War he

provided funeral services for Jews who had died in hiding, burying them afterwards in Ouderkerk aan de Amstel and elsewhere. 10 The congregation owns two drawings of such services by the artist Anton Witsel, who lived on the ground floor and was responsible for security (fig. 28). After the last remaining Jewish members of the fire patrol were taken into custody on 2 February 1944, their work was taken over by non-Jews. It was because the fire patrol remained active throughout the war that the Snoge came out of it almost undamaged. During the winter famine of 1944 (the Hongerwinter), all other vacant buildings, including synagogues, were stripped of their wood, which was used

as fuel for heating stoves and for cooking (fig. 29).

The question is why the Germans left the synagogue almost untouched during the occupation. They may have been motivated by their respect for art and impressive historic buildings, in combination with the prospect of using the building after the war, perhaps as a museum of the vanished Jewish culture. They may also have been influenced by requests from Amsterdam's mayor, E.J. Voûte, and the directors of the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam and the Museum Boymans in Rotterdam, D.C. Röell and D. Hannema. These three men visited the synagogue complex in February 1944, after the



26 Jonas Daniël
Meijerplein (renamed
Houtmarkt during the
war years) in 1943. During
the German occupation,
the city had an official
ghetto for the first time.

Beth Haim Cemetery in Ouderkerk aan de Amstel

After settling in Amsterdam, the Portuguese Jews tried to obtain land in or near the city for burying their dead. They were unsuccessful at first, and so in 1602 they bought land in Groet, near Alkmaar. Because of the difficulties involved in transporting dead bodies long distances, they went on looking for a place closer to Amsterdam. In 1614 they were finally able to buy land in a more convenient location, Ouderkerk aan de Amstel, and thev held their first funeral there. The cemetery in Groet remained in use, however, until work was completed on the site in Ouderkerk. This new cemetery, called Beth Haim (house of life), was officially opened in 1616. The human remains from the cemetery in Groet were then brought to Ouderkerk. This cemetery was expanded four times in the seventeenth century through purchases and donations of land. At its centre is the Rodeamentoshuis, the 'house of circular processions', where funeral ceremonies take place before burial. The oldest part of the cemetery has impressive tombstones, some pyramidal in form and others decorated with

exquisite, highly skilled stonemasonry, typically including biblical scenes or symbolic images and inscriptions, and often in verse (fig. 27). The biblical scenes, which generally relate to the deceased. were usually drawn from contemporary engravings. High-relief representational carvings of this kind are forbidden by the second of the Ten Commandments, which prohibits the making of 'graven images' of anything on heaven and earth. This style of decoration, also found on non-Jewish graves from the period, shows that the Portuguese Jews were highly influenced by their Christian, aristocratic Spanish background and were already integrated into Dutch society. It also attests to their passion for art and culture. Almost all these gravestones sank deep into the marshy ground over the centuries. David Henriques de Castro (1826-1898) recovered these cultural treasures. described them in detail, and took inventory of them. Some 27,000 people are buried on the site, which is the largest Portuguese Jewish cemetery in the Netherlands. The cemetery was originally divided into

three classes; like the profuse decorations, this practice is contrary to Jewish tradition, which states that all are equal after death.

In 1923, after the entire cemetery had been filled, the ground level was raised in one section so that new graves could be dug there. The original intention was to create new space for graves for a relatively brief period, but after most of the community fell victim to genocide during the catastrophic years of the Second World War, it now appears that the available space will last until the mid-twenty-first century. A memorial stone at the centre of the cemetery, made by the artist Frank de Miranda, commemorates those who were murdered between 1940 and 1945. In front of it are 23 urns holding the remains of congregants who died at the camp in Westerbork. The cemetery was restored between 1999 and 2002. Other Portuguese Jewish cemeteries in the Netherlands can be found in The Hague, Middelburg, and Rotterdam.^{II} ■



27 Abraham Bloteling after Jacob van Ruisdael, engraving of Beth Haim Cemetery in Ouderkerk aan de Amstel.



28 Anton Witsel, Drawing of the service at Nieuwe Keizersgracht 33 on the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur), 1944.



29 The ransacked interior of the Nieuwe Sjoel (New Shul) after the war, now part of the Jewish Historical Museum.

city government had been placed in charge of the Portuguese Jewish Congregation and the Snoge. They were deeply impressed and wrote to the German authorities. The museum directors noted that this exceptionally beautiful synagogue had been designed by the 'Arvan architects' Daniel Stalpaert and Elias Bouman and proposed that the City of Amsterdam buy 'the entire building and its contents'. Then they could decide after the war what purpose it would serve. Mayor Voûte likewise contacted Dr. W. Schröder, the Beauftragte (senior German official) for Amsterdam. The mayor observed that the synagogues in Houtmarkt - as Jonas Daniël Meijerplein had been renamed by the Germans in 1942 – were no longer in use for their original purpose and requested that the buildings be placed at the city's disposal to alleviate the terrible shortage of office space for municipal employees. Voûte sang the praises of the seventeenth-century architects and specifically mentioned the Portuguese Synagogue's copper chandeliers and its benches, which he explained were among the finest and most distinctive fashioned in the seventeenth century and bore 'not a single Hebrew inscription'. Two other celebrated historic European synagogues that survived the 1940-1945 period undamaged were the Alt-Neu synagogue in Prague and the synagogue in the French town of Carpentras.

RECONSTRUCTION

The Portuguese Jewish community lost most of its members during the Second World War; only a few returned from the camps in Eastern Europe or from hiding. Out of more than 5,000 community members in 1940, fewer than 1,000 survived the war. The working class was hardest hit, since its members lacked the resources or contacts to postpone deportation or avoid it altogether by fleeing or going into hiding. The first meeting of Jewish survivors after the liberation of the Netherlands was for a special reli-

gious service in the Portuguese Synagogue on 9 May 1945 (fig. 30). This was almost the only Amsterdam synagogue that had made it through the war intact. The undamaged state of the Snoge encouraged the small group of survivors to revitalize their congregation. The near-total destruction of the Jewish community in the Netherlands fundamentally altered the relationship between Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews, because in such a small Jewish community, all the members have to rely on each other. Before the war, the central nave of the Snoge (the part under the large central vault) had been reserved exclusively for Portuguese Jews, and the Ashkenazi Jews had to sit in the aisles, which were referred to as 'cap boxes', a reference to the caps generally worn by the working-class Ashkenazim in contrast to the more distinguished hats typical of the Sephardim. The war eliminated this distinction.

Most of the community institutions that had existed before the war could not be rebuilt. The Portuguese Jewish community had become too small to maintain its many institutions, such as its hospital, retirement home, and vouth organization. After the war, the community began using the services of non-denominational Jewish organizations, such as the hospital Centraal Israëlietische Ziekenverpleging (CIZ), the retirement home De Joodse Invalide, and the general Jewish vouth associations. De Joodse Invalide moved from its old building on the Nieuwe Achtergracht corner of Weesperplein, now far too spacious for its needs, to the former Portuguese Jewish hospital building in Henri Polaklaan. The Portuguese Jewish meat market in Nieuwe Kerkstraat was not reopened, and the Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities began working together to provide kosher meat. Over time, the Matsebet Aben funeral insurance plan for Portuguese Jews was incorporated into the non-denominational Jewish funeral organization Joods Begrafeniswezen, and



education for young people became yet another area of close cooperation with the Ashkenazi community.

After the war, the Portuguese Jewish congregation became even smaller, because many people in the postwar generation stopped practicing their religion or else entered into mixed marriages and severed their ties with the congregation. Furthermore, many Holocaust survivors were elderly people. After the state of Israel was founded a number of congregants, mostly belonging to the religious core, emigrated there. But immigration of Jews from Suriname, who saw no chance of a good religious life for Jews there in the future, as

well as of refugees from countries on the Mediterranean rim and Jews from Israel, limited the numerical decline of the congregation. Still, its composition changed drastically. Its antiquated bye-laws have now been updated, and membership is no longer restricted to Sephardi Jews. The Portuguese Jewish Congregation is an Orthodox congregation, based on Torah, tradition, and tolerance. The community's history of religious tolerance is probably one reason that relatively few members have left for Liberal congregations.

The proclamation of the state of Israel in 1948 also brought changes to the congregation. In addition to the prayers for the Dutch

30 The first service in the Snoge after the Second World War, 9 May 1945. Photograph by Boris Kowadlo.

royal house and the Amsterdam authorities, the service came to include a prayer for the welfare of the state of Israel and its residents. The congregation has also supported this cause in material ways. At difficult moments in Israel's development, it has provided considerable financial support to the fledging state, and it has donated many Torah scrolls from its large collection to new communities in Israel. When the four Sephardi synagogues in Jerusalem's old city were reinaugurated in 1972, the Amsterdam congregation contributed a set of antique rimonim (decorative finials).

Before 1940, most of Amsterdam's Jewish community lived in the Jewish guarter or within walking distance of it. After 1945, more and more Jews settled in new urban extensions such as Nieuw-Zuid and Buitenveldert and the neighbouring municipality of Amstelveen. Jewish law forbids the use of vehicles on Shabbat and holidays, a prohibition that has forced almost all the synagogues in the city centre to close for lack of visitors. Synagogues were established in the new districts. This same tendency was visible within the Portuguese Jewish Congregation. Since the 1990s, Sephardi services have been conducted in the homes of congregants in Amsterdam-Zuid and at the

31 The interior of the synagogue in Texelstraat.



Cheiderschool in Buitenveldert. In 1995 a former corporate building in Texelstraat in Amstelveen was purchased and converted into a synagogue (fig. 31).

Changes in the city – the large-scale prewar clearance of Marken, Uilenburg, and Rapenburg, postwar demolition to make room for an 'urban motorway' that was intended to pass straight through the centre of town but now turns into the IJ tunnel, the construction of Amsterdam's first metro line, and the complete razing of the former Vlooienburg to build a new city hall – left the Snoge isolated within the urban fabric.

In the 1980s, measures were taken to protect the synagogue complex and its visitors from the growing threat of terrorism. While the complex was in use, the large gate was no longer kept open the entire time. But this detracted from the openness of the building, and the entrance was moved to the former residence of the samas (sexton), the Mendes Coutinhohuisje, named after the last samas to have lived there. In 1984, the Snoge's large windows were fitted with wire screens.

The costs of maintaining a congregation and all its facilities are substantial. Besides preserving the Snoge, there is also the challenge of managing a large range of cultural heritage, including Beth Haim Cemetery, Ets Haim Library, and the many antique objects used in religious services. The small Portuguese Jewish Congregation is not capable of financing all these activities, and the costs over the years have almost completely drained its financial resources. In 2003, this cultural heritage was placed under the care of Cultureel Erfgoed Portugees-Israëlietische Gemeente (Cultural Heritage of the Portuguese Jewish Congregation; CEPIG) to ensure its preservation. Today, in 2012, the Portuguese Jewish Congregation consists of about 250 households, some 600 people. The Snoge serves not only as a house of worship for this small congregation, but also as the public face of the Jewish community in the Netherlands.

Ets Haim seminary and other Portuguese Jewish organizations

The Portuguese Jewish community attached great importance to a good education and established the Talmud Torah (study of the law) association for this purpose in 1616. This theological seminary provided various levels of education, from classes for five-year-olds to rabbinical degrees. From 1620 onward, the seminary was housed in one of the Beth Jacob synagogue annexes on the Houtgracht. In 1637 the Ets Haim (tree of life) association was established to provide financial support for students. Over time, the name Ets Haim came to be used for the educational institution, the seminary, the association, and its library. In 1675, the seminary and library were moved to the annex of the new synagogue, which had just been completed. The curriculum was broadened over the years to

include secular subjects. Until 1814, all the education was offered by Ets Haim, but after that time, the association was responsible only for religious subjects. The librarian David Montezinos (1828-1916) had his own substantial private book collection of Hebraica and Judaica, which he donated to Ets Haim seminary in 1891 (fig. 32). The name Livraria Montezinos was then added to the name Ets Haim. In 1943 most of the library's collection was sent to Germany to be added to the holdings of the Alfred Rosenberg Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage in Frankfurt, where research was to be carried out into Jewish culture after the genocide of the Jewish people was complete. A few months after the liberation of the Netherlands, most of this collection was recovered by the United States Army and

returned to Amsterdam. In 1947 the ceremonial reopening of the library took place. The catastrophe had greatly reduced the number of seminary students; after the war, only one person was trained as a rabbi. In 1080, much of the library was sent on long-term loan to the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. After the restoration of the area housing the library in 1999, during which a climate-control system was installed, the entire book collection was reunited in Amsterdam in the vear 2000. After that, the collection was thoroughly restored. Ets Haim, the oldest Jewish library in the world, was added to the register of protected world heritage sites in 2003 (fig. 98).

The Portuguese Jewish community had many associations and charitable organizations, inspired in part by the commandment to give to the needy. One of the earliest associations to be formed was the Santa Companhia de Dotar Orphas e Donzellas (Holy Company for the Arranged Marriage of Orphan Girls and Young Daughters), known simply as Dotar. This association was founded in 1615, on the model of one in Venice. It provided financial support for arranged marriages with orphan girls and young daughters who had no dowries, thus help-



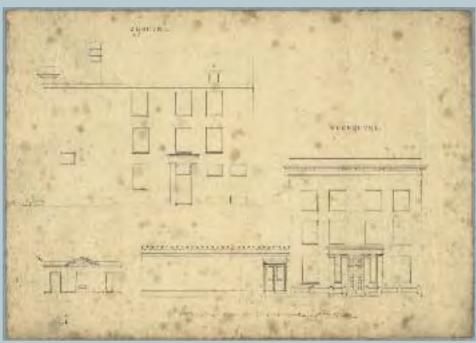
32 The interior of Ets Haim Library in 1910. At the table are the librarians, David Montezinos (left) and Jacob da Silva Rosa (right). Photograph by J. Huysen.

33 The front façade of the former Portuguese Jewish old-age home for men Mishénet Zequéniem at Nieuwe Herengracht 33.

ing to sustain the Portuguese Jewish community.

In 1740 the Portugees Oudeliedenhuis (Portuguese Old-Age Home) was founded in Weesperstraat, and in 1887 the Tehuis voor Portugees-Israëlietische Gehuwde Oudelieden (Home for Portuguese Jewish Married Elderly People; PIGOL) was founded. Aby Jetomiem (Father of Orphans), an orphanage for Portuguese Jewish boys at Plantage Middenlaan 80, was founded in 1930. The only two organizations of which remnants are still visible are the Portuguese Jewish old men's home Mishénet Zequéniem (Support for the Elderly) at Nieuwe Herengracht 33 (fig. 33) and the Fernandes Nuneshuis, a home for poor elderly Portuguese Jewish women at Nieuwe Kerkstraat 16, founded shortly after 1788, both of which have Hebrew inscriptions on their façades. These inscriptions were removed after the buildings were ransacked by the Germans in 1943 but restored in 1995. In 1833 the Portuguese Jewish community was granted the use of the former Ashkenazi hospital at the corner of Rapenburgerstraat and Rapenburg. For this location, the architect J. van Straaten designed the old women's home and hospital Mesib Nefes (Refreshment of the Soul), which remained there until 1916 (fig. 34). Its successor was the new Portugees-Israëlietisch Ziekenhuis (Portuguese Jewish Hospital) in Henri Polaklaan, designed by the Jewish architect Harry Elte and dec-





34 Johannes van Straaten, Design drawing of the Portuguese Jewish women's hospital and old-age home at Rapenburgerstraat 2 (c. 1833).

orated with a stone tablet showing the congregation's then coat of arms, a pelican feeding her three nestlings. A similar tablet from the demolished Mesib Nefes hospital can be found on the house on the corner of Rapenburg and Rapenburgerplein.

In response to the dramatic rise in poverty among the congregation, the Portugees-Israëlietische Armenschool (Portuguese Jewish School for the Poor) was founded in 1814; it closed in 1870. Education was a crucial foundation for earning a decent living and staying out of poverty.

Elias Bouman (1635-1686), the architect of the Snoge

Pieter Vlaardingerbroek¹³

Since 1934, art historians have not been in any doubt about the identity of the Portuguese Synagogue's architect (fig. 35).14 That year, A.M. Vaz Dias published an article about Elias Bouman, the first to quote and translate into Dutch the parnassim's official resolution to erect the building. This resolution states that 'different models were displayed, from which one was selected that had been made by Master Elias Bouman.'15 Before 1934, the architect's identity had been quite uncertain, despite D. Henriques de Castro's words in his outstanding 1875 study of the synagogue: 'Among the many designs submitted, Elias Bouman's had gained preference, and [the project] was carried out under his capable management and under the oversight of the city authorities.'16 S. Seeligmann did not accept that Bouman was the architect, however, instead arguing that city architect Daniel Stalpaert (1615-1676) must have designed both the Portuguese Synagogue and the Great Synagogue, because the buildings had the 'stamp of superior architecture' and hence could not have been designed 'by an otherwise unknown master mason'.17 M.D. Ozinga, the specialist in seventeenthcentury Dutch church architecture, also considered it unlikely that Bouman was the architect; instead, he regarded Stalpaert and Adriaen Dortsman (1635/6-1682) as the most likely candidates. 18 Both of those architects had designed major Amsterdam churches, Dortsman the Ronde Lutherse Kerk on the Singel (1668-1671) and Stalpaert the Oosterkerk (1668-1671).

It is easy to understand why there were doubts about Bouman; scholars were mainly interested in well-known designers, and preferably ones mentioned in archival sources. 19 So little was known about Bouman that he was thought to belong to the category of 'humble' masons incapable of designing a building. Much more recent research, by R. Meischke, has shed new light on the world of seventeenth-century master masons and carpenters, drawing a distinction between small craftsmen and the major construction entrepreneurs, who headed large companies that dealt with substantial sums of money. Some of these major builders were leading community members with great wealth and status, especially in seventeenth-century Amsterdam. In many cases, they were not only responsible for construction but also supplied the architectural design, the quality of which depended on the talent and training of the designer.20

To determine which group of master masons Elias Bouman belonged to, we will look at his personal history. Many new facts suggest that his ambitious father Claes – another master mason – played a central role in Elias's career. We will see that Claes paved the way for his son, so that Elias could ultimately become the city's master mason, one of the highest offices in the department of public works in seventeenth-century Amsterdam.

CLAES BARENTSZ BOUMAN (1612-1679)

Claes Barentsz (Bouman) (1612-1679) came from the village of Weidum in Friesland.²¹ In 1634, he registered to marry Siucke Eelkes, stating his occupation as 'baker's journeyman'.²² They were married in the Netherlands Reformed Church, and their first son

Eelck was born in Leeuwarden in 1635 and baptised on 15 April. Soon afterwards, the couple moved to Amsterdam, where they had several other children: Willem (1638), Trijntgen (1641), Barent (1644) and the twins Abram and Sara (1646).²³ Various alterations of their mother's Frisian name, Siucke Eelkes Vliet, are found in the Amsterdam baptismal records: Sjoucke Eelkes, Schoucken Elias, Sijtge Elijns, and Sijtje Elias.²⁴ Similar changes were made to the Frisian name of her eldest son Eelck, who was called Elias in Amsterdam and later became known under that name as the architect of the Portuguese Synagogue.

In 1651 Claes bought a parcel of land on Waalseiland (an urban island that had been created in the IJ sea arm), on which he built a house under the name of Bouman. Sijtje died in 1654 and was buried in the Oude Kerk on 25 July. 25 Claes did not remain a widower for long; he was married again in 1655, to Trijntje Fredricx van der Linden. Both Claes and Trijntje had accumulated a degree of wealth. Their prenuptial agreement stated that Trijntje would receive 4,000 guilders if Claes died and Claes 2,000 guilders if Trijntje died.26 At that point five of Claes's six children were still alive; only Abram had died.²⁷ At the time of the marriage, the family moved into a new home. The old house was sold in 1655, and another house was erected in the same neighbourhood, at what is now Binnenkant 39, the site of a nineteenth-century school building. Claes had the house built before he acquired the land on which it stood.²⁸ The family's domestic bliss was complete when Trijntje gave birth to a son in 1656, who was also named Abraham.29

Claes Bouman's career can easily be traced starting in 1640, when he became a citizen (poorter or burgher) of Amsterdam, giving his profession as mason.³⁰ Only citizens could register with the masons' guild as independent master masons, as Claes did on 18 April 1640.³¹ After just two months, he took his first apprentices: his two sons, five-

year-old Elias and two-year-old Willem.³² His plan was clearly for them to join his business. Claes took many other apprentices in the years that followed: in 1646, 1652, 1655, 1658, 1659, 1661, and 1662 (two).³³ He must have enjoyed the respect of his fellow masons, since he was appointed dean of their guild, the Onze Lieve Vrouwegilde (Guild of Our Lady), in 1659 and had his portrait painted by T. van der Elst with the other guild officers (fig. 36).³⁴ He was also an arbiter³⁵ or counsellor³⁶ in a number of disputes.

A great deal is known about his work as a mason, because his name is mentioned often in the notarial archives. In 1659 he authorized his sons Elias and Barent to act on his behalf in a case brought against him in small claims court (before the commissarissen van kleine zaken) by a brick-seller.³⁷ His involvement in the relocation of the shipyards of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) from Rapenburg to Kattenburg has often been mentioned in the scholarly literature, but his role turns out to have been quite small. In two houses, he demolished a dividing wall and a fireplace, and he repaired part of a garden wall.³⁸ A major assignment followed in 1661, when he was responsible for at least part of the masonry for the Oost-Indisch Zeemagazijn, which was the VOC shipyard on the urban island of Oostenburg and Amsterdam's largest building yet (fig. 37).³⁹ He continued to alternate between larger and smaller jobs, such as repairing a house in Spuistraat⁴⁰ and building a house in Korte Koningsstraat. 41 He and his son Elias were both involved in the construction of the Oosterkerk designed by Stalpaert, and he was paid for work done by his foremen (in 1670) and masons (1672) (fig. 53).42

Like many master masons, Claes was also active as a property developer. Transfer deeds for real property show that he bought land, built houses on it, and then rented them out.⁴³ He was especially active on Oostenburg, where he owned at least ten buildings and had two other plots of land that re-



35 Gerrit
Adriaensz
Berckheyde,
The synagogues
of Amsterdam,
with the Portuguese Jewish
Synagogue on
the right and
the Ashkenazi
Synagogue, or
Great Synagogue,
on the left
(c. 1675)





36 T. van der Elst, The officers of the masons' guild, with Claes Barentsz Bouman in the centre (1659).

mained undeveloped until after his death, when they were sold. He held participating interests in five houses in the city centre; after he died, three parcels of land on Kattenburg and one on the Herengracht were sold in an undeveloped state. This real property investment portfolio was dealt with in the will made by Claes and Trijntje on 17 February 1677, in which they appointed each other lifelong trustees of their community property after their demise and named their children as their actual heirs. If widowed, Trijntje would receive assistance from Elias, Abraham, and Johannes Hasewindius, daughter Trijntje's husband.44 The four of them were expected to take joint responsibility for 'renting out, repairing, renovating, and selling' the property, in consultation with one another.

It is unclear how Claes financed his business in the early years. Earlier research revealed that by the time of his second marriage, in 1655, he was already well off. In 1674, in connection with the wealth tax known as the 200ste penning, his net worth was estimated to be 5,000 guilders. He also borrowed money from patricians, members of Amsterdam's governing class. In 1664 he borrowed 3,120 guilders from Anna de Haze,

paying off the debt in 1675. 46 Another indication that he received financial support is his purchase, in 1655, of the land on which his house on the Binnenkant stood. The famous physician and burgomaster Nicolaes Tulp (1593-1674) and commissioner of maritime affairs Zacharias Rode stood as guarantors. Rode had married into the De Vlaming van Outshoorn family, a well-known dynasty of Amsterdam burgomasters. 47 These influential contacts earned money by investing in property, a standard practice among Amsterdam patricians. 48 Claes Bouman apparently had good connections among the city's elite.

ELIAS BOUMAN (1635-1686)
At the age of five, Elias was registered as an apprentice to his father, and it was from his father that he received his practical training and probably learned the basic principles of design. He may have attended a drafting school at a later stage, run by a contractor who gave architecture lessons. 49 On 23 September 1659, Elias became a citizen of Amsterdam, probably so that he could register as a master mason with the guild, as he did that same year. 50 He took his first apprentice in 1661, and two others followed in 1662, the



37 The Oost-Indisch Zeemagazijn, designed by Daniel Stalpaert, as depicted in an anonymous painting (c. 1700).

same day that his father also took two apprentices.⁵¹ The father's social ascent was complemented by the son's intellectual ascent; on 16 March 1663, Elias obtained the official title of surveyor. Surveyors could be educated at universities, at private schools, or through practical training. They were highly proficient in arithmetic and geometry, useful skills for architects and contractors. To be awarded the title of surveyor by the Hof van Holland (Court of Holland), applicants had to submit a testimonial or take an exam. Unfortunately, Bouman's certificate of admission does not tell us how he acquired the requisite skills, but we do know that he took an exam administered by the mathematician and fortifications architect Genesius Paen, controller of public works and fortifications. It therefore seems plausible that he came by his knowledge of surveying in practice and through independent study.⁵² Notarial deeds describe Elias primarily as a surveyor and only secondarily as a master mason; this confirms that he had risen higher on the social ladder than his father. In 1670 Elias married the twenty-fiveyear-old Anna Bartels.53 They had a son, who was baptised under the name of Johannes on

16 December 1671. When Johannes died two months later, the couple was living on the Keizersgracht. ⁵⁴ Elias was unfortunate in his home life; his wife died just a few years later and was buried in the Nieuwe Kerk on 22 November 1674. ⁵⁵ Their address at the time of her death was Amstel 240, a house owned by the master stonecutter Pieter Pietersz van Kuijck, who had been involved in building the Portuguese Synagogue. Bouman paid 250 guilders a year in rent, the equivalent of a skilled artisan's annual salary. This suggests that it was a stately house. ⁵⁶ Bouman's net worth that year was estimated at 2,000 guilders. ⁵⁷

Elias was obviously doing very well in his career. In 1680 he followed in his father's footsteps by becoming the head of the masons' guild.58 Shortly after, in 1681, he was appointed as Amsterdam's master mason. This position came with an annual salary of 800 guilders and an official residence in the masons' yard, which he had to refurbish at his own expense (fig. 38). From 1682 onwards, he combined this office with that of city brick inspector, and in 1684, he became the supervisor of the city's stonecutters' vard as well, and his stipend was increased to 1,100 guilders.⁵⁹ In 1681-1682 he was involved in constructing a dam in the IJ, in cooperation with the city's master carpenter Hans Jansz van Petersom and Jan Hendricksz van den Berg, overseer of excavation and dredging. Poor communication between them led to mistakes and delays, however, increasing the cost of the project enormously. The burgomasters were so dissatisfied that they called the three men to account, stating in no uncertain terms that the 'miscommunication' (misintelligentie) must end.60

We also know of a few smaller projects from his days as a city official. In 29 January 1683, Bouman reported on the street level in Molenpad and the vicinity. That same year, he was involved in the expansion of the Aalmoezeniershuis on the Prinsengracht. 62

On 18 March 1686 Elias Bouman, the wid-

ower of Annetje Bartels, died. His place of residence at the time was on the Leidsegracht. The only real property he owned consisted of the houses he had inherited from his father and father-in-law; he had evidently never bought a house for himself. The 'books of the late Elias Bouman, former master builder to the city, comprising many mathematical and many architectural works, as well as many curious instruments' were sold at auction on the Nieuwendijk. The auction catalogue, which could have offered considerable insight into his education and interests, has unfortunately not been preserved.

Claes and his son Elias worked together closely and offered each other whatever support they needed. As mentioned above, Claes authorized Elias to act on his behalf in a case in small claims court. Conversely, in a legal document from 1668, Elias Bouman authorized his father Claes to settle all his outstanding debts.65 This document seems to suggest that the father, who was empowered to act as he saw fit, was better at dealing with such matters than his son. Unfortunately, there is no indication of the projects to which this related, but it is not inconceivable that he had carried out projects for Jewish clients. In 1668 Elias was a witness at the marriage of Moses Israel from Livorno and Hanna de Rootje (da Rocha). Vaz Dias also mentions a dispute between Jacob Aboab Osorio and Josua Abendana in which Elias served as arbiter, regarding Romeinskeysershooft, a house in Jodenbreestraat.66

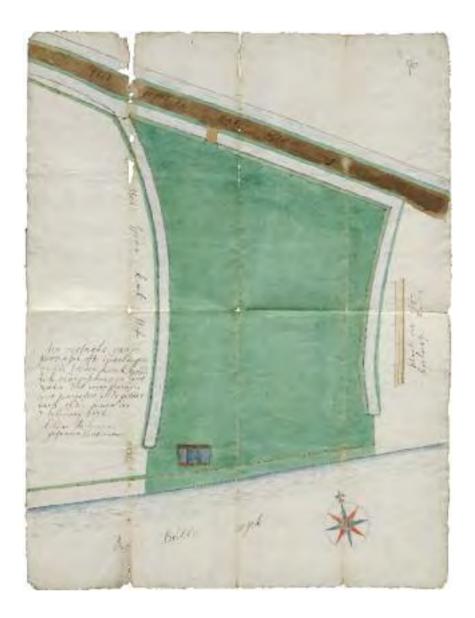
As a master mason, Elias received a number of major assignments. In 1669 he was paid 1,208 guilders for his work on the foundations of the Oosterkerk, which was designed by Daniel Stalpaert and completed under the supervision of the architect Adriaen Dortsman (fig. 53). After construction was finished, he was responsible for regular upkeep of the church's masonry, for which he charged more than 1,700 guilders. On 28 March 1670 Elias Bouman signed a con-



38 Gerrit Lamberts, The official residence of the city's master mason on the Leidsegracht (1810).



39 Cornelis Danckerts, The frontage of the buildings at Amstel 224-266, with masonry by Elias Bouman (c. 1700).



40 Elias Bouman, Survey drawing of Beth Haim Cemetery in Ouderkerk aan de Amstel (1678).

tract to perform the masonry work for the Ashkenazi synagogue or Great Synagogue, also designed by Daniel Stalpaert. He negotiated a price of 3,300 guilders. The carpentry work went to Gillis van der Veen (van der Vin) for 2,300 guilders. Van der Veen had also been involved in building the dome of the Ronde Lutherse Kerk. The two men were promised bonuses of 300 guilders apiece if they managed to limit the cost of construction to 20,000 guilders or less.⁶⁸ In 1671, Elias performed construction work on the buildings at Amstel 224-226 for David Amstel Cardoso - a Portuguese Jew - and Wolphert Vlieck (fig. 30). In two notarial deeds, they paint a picture of a somewhat

imprecise mason: the chimney flue in Cardoso's building was one and a half feet from the centre of the room, and a vaulted ceiling in or behind the house was six and a half inches lower than the drawing had indicated. The contract price for the work was 1,200 guilders. ⁶⁹ The legal documents do not state that Bouman was also the designer, as has always been supposed.

In 1671 Bouman received the prestigious assignment to build the Portuguese Synagogue. The resolution of the board of parnassim states that many architects and masters had submitted a design, and that Elias's design had been chosen. This is an interesting way of putting it; the parnassim made a distinction between architects who simply submitted a design and masters with their own building companies who could both submit designs and perform the construction work. Unfortunately, the names of the other candidates are not mentioned; likely architects include Daniel Stalpaert and Adriaen Dortsman, and besides the master mason Elias Bouman, the master carpenter Gillis van der Veen, for instance, could also have submitted a design.⁷⁰ The submissions have not been preserved, although a note in Portuguese handwriting mentions a design with walls seven stones thick on a foundation of 10,000 piles, encircling a large area without pillars and surmounted by a dome.71

No explanation is provided of why Bouman was chosen. He experience with church masonry probably worked in his favour, and his Jewish connections may have played a decisive role, but it is also conceivable that his estimated costs were lower than those of his competitors. Perhaps he offered a good design at an affordable price. Large payments were made to Bouman during the building work. These were intended to cover the costs of the design, construction, and materials. All the payments until 1675 came to a total of 14,581 guilders and 10 stuyvers. In 1676, he received a payment of 3,486 guilders and 6 stuyvers for additional work. Most of this

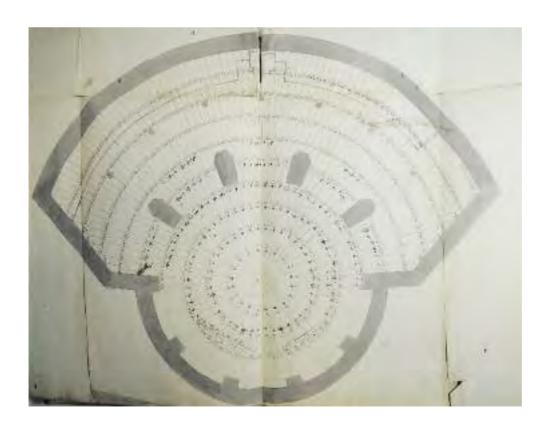
money was for materials. Bouman was permitted to spend 13,100 guilders on materials, and the fee for his own work was 1,500 guilders. The work done by Bouman in 1676 indicates that after construction was completed, he carried out maintenance work on the synagogue complex. On 26 February 1677, Bouman received payment for a few minor jobs, and a small sum was paid for copies of Bouman's statement of work. The spends of the synagogue was paid for copies of Bouman's statement of work.

We do not know whether Bouman designed anything else in the course of his career. The De Pintohuis in Sint Antonies-breestraat is often mentioned as a possibility, but there is no evidence, either archival or stylistic, that he was the designer. During his life as a master mason, he also remained active as a surveyor. In 1678 he made a map of Beth Haim Cemetery in Ouderkerk (fig. 40), and another source shows that he surveyed land for a farmhouse and its fields in Abcoude. He also did surveying work in the Ronde Lutherse Kerk that same year, receiving nine guilders for measuring the gravestones (see below).

SUMMARY

Elias and his father Claes Bouman can best be described as social climbers; they were successful property entrepreneurs with thriving masonry businesses. Claes was a very active networker; his business contacts with Burgomaster Nicolaes Tulp say enough. This hard-working father never had the opportunity for further education, but his son Elias was trained as a surveyor and officially recognized as such by the Court of Holland.

Elias presumably earned his reputation in Amsterdam as a mason for large churches and other buildings, such as the Oosterkerk and the Great Synagogue. His experience strongly recommended him to the parnassim for the construction of their Portuguese Synagogue. Elias had proven that he could complete large building projects successfully. Nevertheless, there was one key difference. Elias was not only the builder of the Portuguese Synagogue, but also designed it and supervised its construction – as far as we know, for the only time in his career.



The Snoge: A Jewish building in a Dutch architectural style

Pieter Vlaardingerbroek

For many centuries, synagogues have not formed a recognizable architectural category. There is no distinctive synagogue style: the form and structure of a building do not mark it as a Jewish place of assembly. Synagogues have been built in prevailing national styles and in keeping with local building traditions. During Moorish rule in Spain, Jews built in an Arabic style, and in medieval Germany their buildings resembled those of the Germans. In the nineteenth century, many architectural styles coexisted, in general and in synagogues. Many Western European synagogues were designed in an Arabic style, which was sometimes perceived as characteristically Jewish, while others were in revival styles: Neo-Byzantine, Neo-Romanesque, and Neo-Classicist. To this day, synagogues are built in the architectural and design tradition of the country where they are found. The function of the building imposes no mandatory stylistic requirements.78

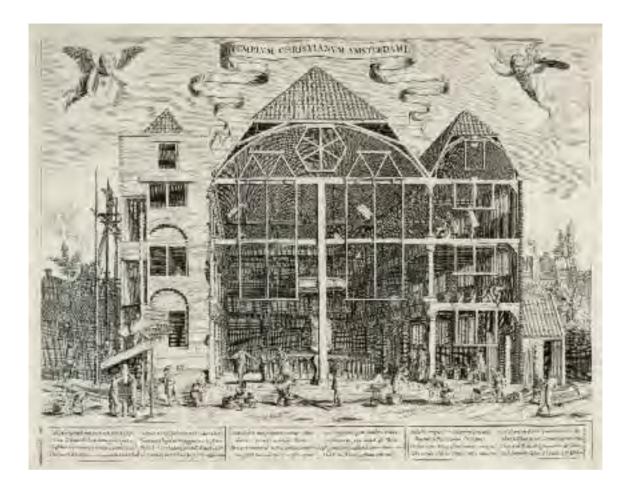
The most distinctive feature of many synagogues is that they have been concealed from view through much of history, often erected on out-of-the-way building sites or hidden in housing blocks. They were sometimes in neighbourhoods specifically designated for Jews (ghettos) and always in places where many Jews lived side by side. In large parts of Europe, building monumental synagogues was out of the question until the nineteenth century. From that time on there was some distinctively Jewish ornamentation; the Star of David and the Tablets of the Law came into use as gable ornaments.

In contrast, synagogue interiors had been identifiable as such for many centuries.

Their decoration and furnishings made it clear that these were not Christian but Jewish houses of worship. The liturgy required a podium for reading (tebah) and a heichal or ark, the cabinet containing the Torah scrolls; these could not be mistaken for a pulpit or an altar. Yet the internal structure of the building was for the most part not distinctively Jewish; only the separate seating for women made synagogues unlike Christian churches. Women had part of the building to themselves, either adjacent to the main volume or (in the Provence region, for example) on a separate level beneath the men.⁷⁹ Holes in the walls or floor allowed the women to hear the service and see the Torah scrolls, so that they would not be excluded from the proceedings. The most common solution was to place women in a gallery in the main area of the synagogue, where they sat behind grated partitions.

THE SITUATION IN THE DUTCH REPUBLIC

In the medieval Netherlands, the situation had probably been more or less as described above. Jews met in inconspicuous structures surrounded by ordinary houses and other buildings. This situation did not change immediately when, around 1590, the first Sephardi Jews arrived in the United Provinces. Fleeing oppression in Spain and Portugal, they settled in the Netherlands so that they would be free to practice their beliefs. Because Amsterdam was a major centre of trade, the city attracted a variety of ethnic groups and was thus a place of great religious diversity. Besides the Calvinists who controlled city government, the city



41 Frans Brun, Engraving of the Remonstrantse Kerk on the Keizersgracht, the 'Rode Hoed' ('Red Hat'; 1630).

was home to Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Mennonites, Remonstrants, and, from the late sixteenth century onward, Jews. This religious pluralism did not, however, lead to diversity in church architecture, because freedom of religion was not accompanied by the freedom to publicly practice the faith of one's choosing. Only Calvinist groups were permitted to express their faith openly. Even the Lutherans, another Protestant denomination, were not permitted to establish their own churches in Amsterdam until 1602. The initial ban on Roman Catholic and other non-Reformed religious services was gradually relaxed as the seventeenth century went on, and many clandestine churches, or house churches, were formed. These gathering places were not identifiable from the street as houses of worship, but everyone knew of their existence.81

In the late sixteenth century, Jews in Am-

sterdam began assembling in small sittingroom synagogues. At first, the city authorities were not aware of all these places of worship. In 1630 the three Sephardi congregations merged into the Talmud Torah congregation. 82 One of the existing synagogues was expanded in 1630 to accommodate all the congregants.⁸³ The building front on the Houtgracht (Waterlooplein) looked like that of a private home. The interior structure of the building corresponded to that of other period churches (clandestine or otherwise), such as the Remonstrantse Kerk on the Keizersgracht (De Rode Hoed, 1629-1630, fig. 41), the Oude Lutherse Kerk on the Spui (1632-1633), and the Doopsgezinde (Mennonite) Kerk on the Singel (1639). These had high central areas with galleries on three sides.

In the third quarter of the seventeenth century, the rules grew less strict. Between

42 The clandestine Catholic church Ons' Lieve Heer op Solder (1662) on the Oudezijds Voorburgwal.

1668 and 1671, the Lutherans built the exceptionally imposing Ronde Lutherse Kerk on the Singel, designed by the architect Adriaen Dortsman. Roman Catholics likewise had greater architectural freedom, although their gathering places still had to be unrecognizable from the outside. The Sint Nicolaaskerk (Ons' Lieve Heer op Solder), dating from 1662, looked like a merchant's home on the outside (fig. 42). Unlike Catholics, however, Jews had a great deal of



freedom in how they built their synagogues. No other part of Europe offered such freedom, which probably attests to the economic importance of the Jewish community and the fact that seventeenth-century Protestants looked to Old Testament Israel as a model. The Ashkenazi Jews were permitted to build the Great Synagogue (1670-1671), an impressive building on the corner of the Muidergracht and Nieuwe Amstelstraat (fig. 35). In 1660 or 1670, the Portuguese Jews began making plans for a new building of their own. In early 1670 Jacob del Monte, also known as Jacob del Sotto, had offered to lend 100,000 to 150,000 guilders to the Portuguese Jewish community on the condition that each member of the board of parnassim would personally guarantee repayment.84 The parnassim declined this proposal.

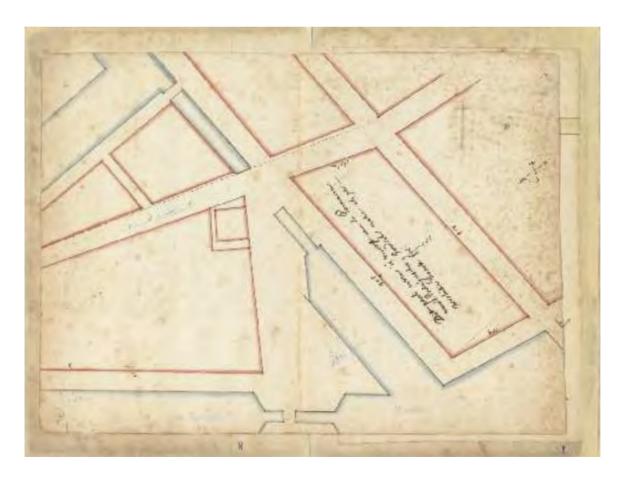
The lack of space in the old Portuguese Synagogue on the Houtgracht became an increasingly urgent problem, and two solutions were considered: a new building on the site of the existing synagogue, or a new building on a new site. In late 1670, decisive moves were made to resolve the issue. On 16 November, Rabbi Isaac Aboab da Fonseca presented a petition to the parnassim with the support of several members of the congregation. It envisaged a new and, above all, larger synagogue, 'sufficiently large for all to pray together to the Divine Majesty for forgiveness of our sins'. This petition was successful; on 22 November 1670 an advisory commission was formed under the leadership of Isaac de Pinto to weigh the pros and cons of each alternative. 86 On 23 November, Da Fonseca made an appeal to the congregation to contribute towards the costs of the new building. On 26 November, the commission concluded that erecting the new building in a different location would not be much more expensive and would have great practical advantages. The most conclusive argument in favour of constructing a new building seems to have been the religious law that a synagogue may not be demolished until the new one is completed.⁸⁷

The new site that the commission had in mind was opposite the Leprozenhuis and corresponded to the present-day block of buildings bordered by Mr. Visserplein, Jonas Daniel Meijerplein, the Nieuwe Herengracht, and Muiderstraat. Apparently, the parnassim had investigated the possibility of buying this plot of land at an earlier stage and received a favourable response from Amsterdam's burgomasters. On 11 December 1670 the parnassim decided to buy the site, and they did so on 12 December at a price of 10 stuvvers per square foot.88 The purchase brought the congregation a step closer to a new synagogue. The parcel of land was 418 by 151 feet in area and not entirely regular in shape, but it had one tremendous advantage: its orientation was east-southeast, towards Jerusalem (fig. 43).

This satisfied the requirements of the biblical verse I Kings 8:48, which explicitly states that prayers must be directed towards Jerusalem and specifically the Temple. ⁸⁹ The plan was to use the front part of the parcel for the synagogue and divide the back of the parcel into separate building plots that could be sold. The commission asked a number of architects and master artisans to submit designs. To make it clear what conditions had to be met, they must have come up with terms of reference and communicated them to the candidates, whether orally or in writing.

THE CLIENT'S WISHES

The terms of reference must have included not only functional requirements stemming from the intended use of the building, but also requirements issuing from Halachah, Jewish religious law. 90 The terms of reference have not been preserved, but the reso-



43 Map made by the City of Amsterdam with an inscription on the parcel of land intended for the Snoge (1670).

lutions of the parnassim and a few seventeenth and eighteenth-century manuscripts offer an impression of what was demanded.

On the 280 by 151 foot parcel, a 100 by 125 foot synagogue was to be erected in a court-yard. The size of the synagogue was determined by the available site and by the wish to ensure adequate space for all visitors during services. These dimensions had no special meaning and probably simply reflect the Sephardi tradition of rectangular synagogues. The old synagogue on the Houtgracht was a 59 by 78 foot rectangle, and the new synagogue had similar proportions.

A strong need was felt for a courtvard where the congregation could stroll quietly and where their children could play. 91 The synagogue also had to include a kind of service centre with seven classrooms for a Torah school (beth midrash), a library, two official residences for the samasim (sextons), two official residences for the chazzanim (cantors), and a washing area for visitors.92 It is unclear whether the terms of reference included a ritual bath in which women could immerse themselves after menstruation. The mikvah is not mentioned under that description in the source documents.93 For the buildings to be economically viable, the attics and cellars of the annexes had to be suitable for rental as storage space.

It was mainly the interior of the synagogue that was subject to religious requirements. In particular, a separate space for women was required, which had to have its own access route; women could be no more than dimly visible from the men's area, because it was felt that otherwise they would distract the men from the service. The synagogue built in 1639 had included galleries with upright grated partitions, and it seems likely that this was a mandatory element in designs for the new building. The synagogue also had to be furnished in a certain way for services; the placement of the tebah and the heichal was especially important.

These requirements were partly based on ancient traditions, which must have also influenced the 1639 synagogue. A vaulted interior was emphatically requested, because the building commission believed this would improve the acoustics and hence make it easier to understand the cantors.

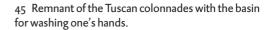
Finally, the terms of reference must have included some general remarks on the external appearance of the synagogue. The intention was to erect a grand edifice that would be the pride of the congregation and outdo the Ashkenazi synagogue on the other side of the canal in its monumental qualities. Probably not much beyond that was said about the architectural style. The synagogue was primarily a place of assembly where the congregation could pray and learn, as long as at least ten adult men – a minvan – were present. Its religious value was derived not from the building or its external appearance, but from the people in it, who together formed the house of God.94 It was, however, asserted in the Tosefta, a supplement to the Mishna and part of the body of Halachah, as well as in the influential writings of the Rabbi Maimonides, that a synagogue should be a city's tallest building, or at least taller than all the buildings surrounding it.95 The architect was undoubtedly also reminded of Deuteronomy 22:8, which states that a building must have a balustrade around the roof. If the owner did not have one, then he was liable for the consequences if anyone fell from the roof, and he could even be found guilty of involuntary manslaughter.96

THE DESIGN

On 15 Shevat 5431 (26 January 1671), Elias Bouman's design was selected (fig. 44). He used the irregularity of the site to create a large architectural volume in the front that held all the synagogue services. This U-shaped architectural volume ran along what is now Muiderstraat, Mr. Visserplein, and Jonas Daniël Meijerplein and consisted of a basement, an upper storey, and a roof



44 Romeyn de Hooghe, Print with various views of the design by Elias Bouman (1675).







46 The three barrel vaults with the Ionic colonnades.

(fig. 71, 102). Along Muiderstraat and Jonas Daniël Meijerplein, galleries of Tuscan columns were erected, which were closed on the street side. The northern gallery included a place where congregants could wash their hands before the service. On the Mr. Visserplein side, an architectural volume was created that was to hold the four residences of the two samasim and two chazzanim, a school, and a meeting room for the mahamad. Peat could be stored in the attics, and the cellars could be rented out as storage spaces. There was a gate in each of the three sides of the simple brick front building; on the front side, the Tuscan order was used for the slightly higher main gate (fig. 112). The front buildings were designed in a very plain style, with the sole exception of the galleries with Tuscan columns (fig. 45). Such colonnades were rare in the Republic and gave the courtyard a touch of grandeur.97

The irregular shape of the front building enabled Bouman to impose a symmetrical organization on the courtyard, the galleries, and the towering synagogue. The contrast between the outer ring of low buildings and the synagogue rising from among them gave the complex a very imposing appearance (fig. 35). By using this system of organization, Bouman met one of the conditions imposed by his clients: the synagogue was to be the tallest building in the vicinity. The completed synagogue was 130 feet (36.8 metres) long and 100 feet (28.3 meters) wide, and the side walls were therefore close to the galleries of the annexes. The rectangular plan of the synagogue included three naves with barrel vaults divided by rows of Ionic columns (fig. 46). The central nave,



almost 20 metres high, was wider and had a higher vault than the side naves. The tebah and heichal were placed in the central nave, the tebah close to the entrance in the west wall and the heichal against the east wall. In each of the side naves, there was a women's gallery supported by Ionic columns. These women's galleries could be reached by two staircases in the annexe at the rear of the synagogue. The building had brick exterior walls topped with reduced Doric entablatures with a balustrade or attic above them, as required by the building commission (fig.

47). The front and rear walls had five window bays and the side walls seven, with the middle three bays of each wall designed as a ressault – that is, a projecting part of the exterior wall (fig. 48). Pilaster strips (pilasters without capitals) were added to the left and right of each central ressault and at the corners of the building. These pilaster strips had curving buttresses projecting outward at the base, a distinctive feature of this synagogue. This element is repeated as an ornament at the corners of the building and parallel to the brickwork of the outer walls.

47 The facade.

48 The southern side wall.



The windows are organized into three layers, with rectangular windows above and below the arched ones in the middle. There were also round windows in the attic over the front and rear walls. On each side, the synagogue had an entrance in the middle with a short flight of steps. The north entrance was never to be used; the main entrance, on the west side, was decorated with a Doric cornice and columns (fig. 49); and the above-mentioned east entrance led to the women's galleries in the synagogue by way of the annexe.

For the details of the Snoge's mouldings, Bouman drew on the rules of classical architecture, taking Vincenzo Scamozzi's treatise L'Idea della Architettura Universale as his guide. Bouman carefully studied this guide to architectural orders, making use of the different mouldings that Scamozzi had drawn, which varied from entablatures and cornices to large and small impost mouldings and door mouldings (fig. 51). These mouldings could be used to indicate differences in the importance of particular elements within the same order. For

49 Main entrance to the Snoge, in the Doric order. The Hebrew inscription in the frieze is from Psalm 5:8, 'But as for me, I will come into Thy house in the multitude of Thy mercy.' The Hebrew word for 'Thy house' has a numerological value of 432, which according to the short count corresponds to the Jewish year 5432 (1672 CE).

instance, the central nave in the interior of the Snoge has a reduced Ionic entablature – that is, one without a frieze – while in the aisles he used the architrave from Scamozzi's ornamento della porta maggiore (main gate), again without a frieze. One odd ramification was that the ceiling beams had different details on one side than on the other (fig. 50).

Bouman also followed Scamozzi's hierarchy, moving from the simple Tuscan order to the progressively more elaborate Doric, Ionic, and Composite orders and arriving at the highest order of all, the Corinthian. This had various implications for the complex. Bouman used the Tuscan order for the annexes around the synagogue, the Doric for the exterior walls of the synagogue itself, and the Ionic for the interior. The Ionic order was also used for the furnishings, as can be seen on the bench for the parnassim and the bottom of the heichal (fig. 153). The most elevated order is found in the most elevated of places: the Corinthian order was used for the upper part of the heichal, where the Tablets of the Law are depicted (fig. 52).99 The tebah, with its Doric details, is the only element that does not fit into the ascending hierarchy of the orders. The explanation is that Bouman did not design a new tebah, but re-used the one from the old 1630 synagogue.

THE ARCHITECT'S SOURCES OF INSPIRATION

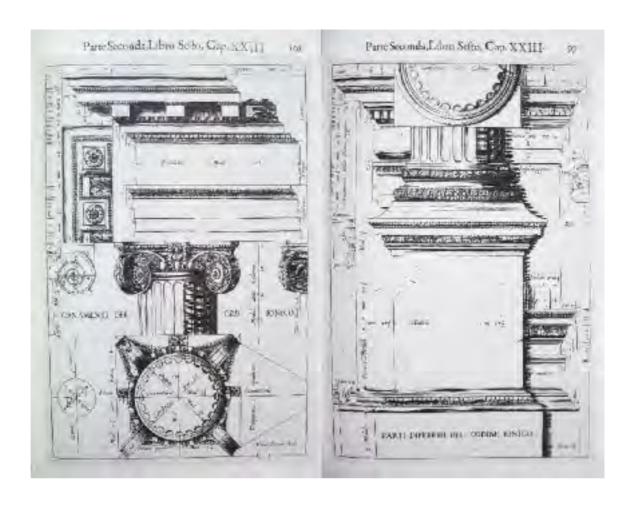
Bouman's design for the synagogue was inspired by the architecture of his day, particularly that of the church buildings on which he had worked as master mason. The





50 The heavy reduced entablature of the central nave and the lighter cornice of the side aisle.

51 Vincenzo Scamozzi, The various types of cornices in the lonic order.





52 The crowning section of the heichal.

influence of the Oosterkerk (1669-1671, fig. 53) and the Great Synagogue (1670-1671), both designed by city architect Daniel Stalpaert, is unmistakable. But Bouman had to think carefully about which elements to adopt; he could not uncritically copy everything. For instance, the plan of the Snoge could not be based on that of the Oosterkerk. The Oosterkerk has a square plan with a tall Greek cross embedded in it, an inappropriate form for a synagogue. The Great Synagogue offered more features that Bouman could use; it has a square plan with three parallel naves covered with barrel vaults, which organize the space longitudinally (fig. 54). Bouman adopted this arrangement in the Portuguese Synagogue, thus satisfying the wishes of the building commission, which had emphatically requested a barrel vault.

For the exterior walls of the Snoge, Bouman repeated the simple brick architecture of the Oosterkerk and the Great Synagogue. The exterior walls of the Great Synagogue have arched windows and cornices and are punctuated by buttresses that curve outward at the base. The front and rear walls have pediments that form visual expressions of the broad central nave (fig. 35). The side walls have the same rhythm as the front and rear walls, with three central bays and a corner bay on each side. The Oosterkerk has a similar architectural design. Special attention was paid to the curving buttresses at the corners, the purpose of which is to bear part of the force exerted by the building. To do this most effectively, the buttress must be perpendicular to the load that it supports. The weight of the load finds visual expression in the size of the buttresses. For instance, the buttresses for the Greek cross are larger than the buttresses used for the smaller corner sections. Bouman studied the Oosterkerk and the Great Synagogue, with their rectangular and arched windows and their curving buttresses, in detail. He literally had this knowledge at his fingertips,



53 The Oosterkerk in Amsterdam (1669-1671).

since he had been responsible for the brick-work of both buildings. Nevertheless, it must be said that he did not understand every nuance of architectural design. All the exterior walls of the Snoge follow the same pattern: a central ressault covering three bays and slightly recessed wall sections at the corners. On the front and rear walls, the central ressault reflects the internal structure of the building, with a broad central nave and two parallel aisles on the sides. Those walls thus give a correct impression of the spatial structure within. On the side walls, however, the use of a central ressault



54 The interior of the Ashkenazi Synagogue, or Great Synagogue, in 1938.

is distinctly odd; Bouman seems to imply that there is a transept running between those walls and therefore that the building has a cross-shaped interior, which it does not. For the Oosterkerk, which is perfectly regular and has four identical sides, it was essential for each exterior wall to follow the same pattern. But for the Snoge, with its longitudinal plan, this was the wrong approach. On the other hand, this 'design flaw' kept the side walls from becoming monotonous and humdrum.

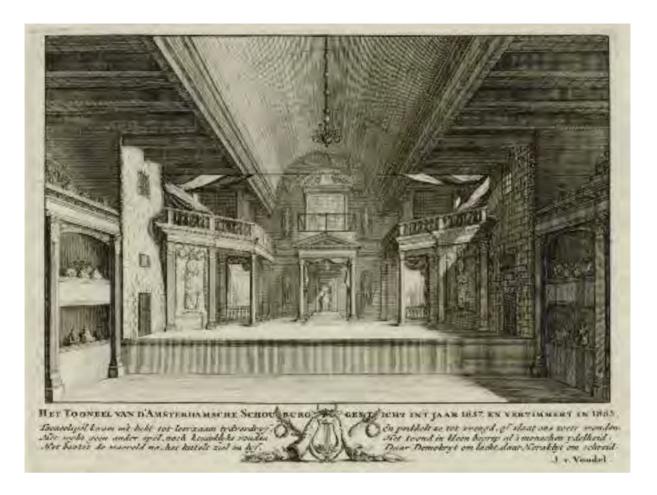
The curving buttresses of the Oosterkerk and the Great Synagogue also reappear in the Portuguese Synagogue, where Bouman used them at the sides of the central ressaults and at the corners of the building. He also turned the shape of the curving buttresses into an ornamental feature, for instance in the outermost bays of the exterior walls, where they are visible parallel to the wall (fig. 55). The use of a curving buttress parallel to the wall is inconsistent with the principle that a buttress should be perpendicular to the load. By using the curving buttress as an ornament, Bouman showed that he did not fully understand its purpose.

For the balustrade around the Snoge, Bouman fell back on the standard architectural practice of his day. This was a popular stylistic feature around 1670, used in many designs for houses by Adriaen Dortsman. The vestibule of the Oosterkerk also has a balustrade of this kind, which in fact is atop a reduced Doric cornice. At the time, the balustrade gave the Snoge a modern look.

Bouman found inspiration for the furnishings in a number of places. The design



55 The corner of the outer wall, with the curving buttresses used ornamentally.



56 The Amsterdamse Schouwburg (1637) after its renovation in 1665 with a view of the stage.

of the heichal seems to have been borrowed from the rear of the stage in the Amsterdamse Schouwburg, a theatre designed by Jacob van Campen (1596-1657; fig. 56). The bench for the parnassim was based on the regents' pews (herenbanken) in the Oosterkerk, in which the curving buttress motif was reiterated (fig. 57).

THE SYNAGOGUE AND SOLOMON'S TEMPLE

The Snoge is often compared to Solomon's Temple, because of its curving buttresses. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Temple became a topic of great interest among architects and theologians and was often reconstructed on paper. ¹⁰¹ According to many such reconstructions it had curving buttresses. One of the most influential Temple reconstructions was that of the Jesuit Juan Bautista Villalpando (1552-1608), pub-



57 The regents' pews in the Oosterkerk.

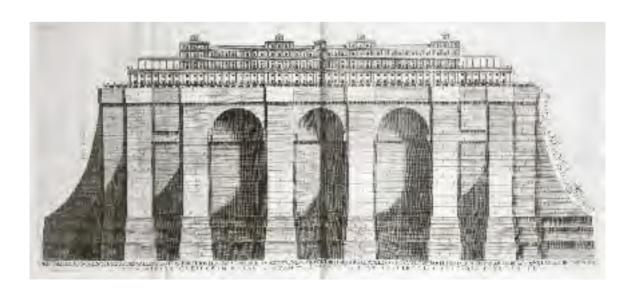
lished in the book In Ezechielem Explanationes et Apparatus Urbis ac Templi Hierosolymitani (1596-1605). Based on the vision described by Ezekiel, it describes the building down to the finest details. 102 Villalpando made no distinction between the Temple described by Ezekiel and the Temple of Solomon described in 1 Kings 5-7 and built in the tenth century BCE. He ignored the irreconcilable differences between the First Temple (destroyed in 586 BCE) and the Second Temple, rebuilt under Zerubbabel, which was expanded by Herod and described by Flavius Josephus. According to Villalpando, God himself had handed down ideal rules for the Temple, which was therefore immutable. For the design of the Temple, Villalpando made use of the classical orders, a choice he justified by claiming that the Temple had served as the basis of classical architecture. By ascribing biblical origins to the ancient architectural styles of the 'heathen' classical period, he made them suitable for Christian architecture.

Villalpando's book had large illustrations of the Temple, envisaged as an enormous square structure 100 by 100 cubits in size, or 10,000 by 10,000 ells (in his own unique system of measurement). The Temple had pilasters in the Solomonic order, which according to Villalpando had been much

like the Corinthian order. The exterior walls, with their pilasters curving outward at the base, were richly decorated with carvings of flowerpots and festoons with pomegranates. Cherubs, palmettos, and flowering vines adorned the interior of the Holy of Holies. This opulent edifice stood atop an enormous artificially raised hill, the Temple Mount (fig. 58). The Doric order was used for the Temple Mount, with large arched niches and enormous curving buttresses to keep the hill in place.

Another example of the widespread interest in the Temple is provided by the writings of the Jewish scholar Jacob Jehuda Leon (1602-1675), who was a member of Amsterdam's Portuguese Jewish community when the Snoge was built. Around 1640, he collaborated with the theologian Adam Boreel (1603-1665) on a reconstruction of the Temple. Boreel aimed to bridge the religious divide between Christians and Jews through close study of Jewish source texts and cooperation with Jewish scholars. 103

Because Leon hewed more closely to the Jewish sources than Villalpando, his plan looked very different, but the architecture was more or less the same (fig. 59). Leon first published his study in 1642, and his wooden model of the Temple must have been completed in 1643. To bring this model to the



58 Juan Bautista Villalpando, Reconstruction of the Temple in Jerusalem (1604).



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Van 't Festigenaemt den TOREN ANTONIA

Description in the state of the



60 Pieter Saenredam, Drawing from 1650 of the Nieuwe Kerk in Haarlem, designed by Jacob van Campen.

attention of a broad public, he had his book published in several languages and put his model on display at fairs. He also studied the Tabernacle, the Ark of the Covenant, cherubs, and Solomon's palace, publishing his conclusions and making additional models.¹⁰⁵

Villalpando's work profoundly influenced architectural thinking in the seventeenth century, especially his thesis that the Temple in Jerusalem was the wellspring of classical architecture and that all the classical orders were derived from its architectural order. Architects studied his book and examined his reconstruction. Curving buttresses appear frequently in the work of the architect Jacob van Campen; examples include his churches in Renswoude and Hoge Zwaluwe (1639) and the Nieuwe Kerk in Haarlem (1645, fig. 60). 106 The austere brickwork of these churches is comparable to the architecture of the Oosterkerk, the Great Synagogue, and the Snoge.

Nevertheless, it is improbable that the Dutch architects influenced by Villalpando intended their church buildings to become new Temples. The contrast between the plain Doric brick architecture of the churches and the rich Corinthian architecture of the Temple as described by Villalpando and Leon is simply too great. It was primarily the basic principles and proportions of the Temple that these architects borrowed. Instead, the Temple Mount seems to have been their primary source of inspiration, as indicated by the arched windows, plain exteriors, and curving buttresses in their designs. According to Protestant theology, the Temple as the centre of divine presence had been replaced by His presence in His word, which could be preached anywhere. Alluding to the Temple Mount was the most appropriate way of showing that the divine presence had been replaced by the divine word, that a new faith had risen on the foundation of Judaism. The dimensions of churches, too, often referred to those of the Temple, with plans that were 100 by 100 feet. 107 Some characteristic elements and proportions of the Temple were thus adopted as the basis for something

The key question is whether Bouman understood this special relationship between the Temple (and Temple Mount) and church buildings and whether he was able to establish a similar relationship between the Temple and the Portuguese Synagogue. Did Bouman carry off a genuine transformation, using elements of the Temple and giving them a new meaning in the synagogue setting? It seems that he did not, unless the reference to the Temple Mount is intended as an expression of sorrow at the loss of the Temple. The Snoge's proportions cannot be traced back to those of the Temple or the Temple Mount. The curving buttresses that Bouman used (not always correctly) are the only identifiable architectural reference to the Temple or Temple Mount.

There are a few additional references to the Temple in the furniture and, in particular, in the details of the heichal. The upper section with the Tablets of the Law is crowned with a segmental pediment with palm fronds supported by Corinthian columns. The use of the Corinthian order is an allusion to the architectural order of the Temple, as are the brackets on both sides (fig. 52). Because the Tablets of the Law were the most sacred objects in the Temple, this allusion is hardly surprising.

Perhaps Bouman's clients were not out to create a new Temple; synagogue services differ in fundamental ways from those at the Temple. The Portuguese Jewish congregation may have been more interested in erecting a modern house of worship, one that stylistically matched or outdid Christian churches and the Ashkenazi synagogue across the way. In this respect, Bouman succeeded magnificently, as we can see from the reactions of the many foreign visitors to the building in the seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries: 'fabrica veramente magnifica'; 'ein so herrlich und fürtrefflich Gebau'; 'magnifique et probablement la plus belle qui existe'. '109 The idea of the Temple may have loomed much larger in the minds of the architects and the theologians than in that of the client. If the congregation had wanted a synagogue based on the Temple, it would have been easy for them to involve Jacob Jehuda Leon, a teacher at Ets Haim, in the design process. Yet they did not do so.

In conclusion, Bouman designed a Jewish building in the style of Holland's seventeenth-century churches. It seems doubtful that he fully appreciated the theoretical implications of this architectural choice. Yet this in no way detracts from the beauty of the building. The stately architecture of its outer walls and the depth and spacious quality of its interior make it, if not one of the most intellectually rigorous architectural creations of the seventeenth century, then certainly one of the most aesthetically pleasing.

Construction and maintenance (1671-2000)

Coert Peter Krabbe and Dik de Roon"

On 17 April 1671, three months after Elias Bouman's design was selected, the construction of the Portuguese Synagogue began. This work was carried out by a number of artisans in collaboration, as was customary in those days. Because Jews were not allowed to join the guilds for the building industry, they hired non-Jewish artisans and their assistants. The master carpenter and master mason played leading roles in the construction process. Elias Bouman, the designer of the Snoge, was in charge of the masonry, while the carpentry was the responsibility of Gillis van der Veen. They were not allowed to work on Jewish holy days, according to surviving contract documents for the carpenters from 1671: 'the contractor and his crew are not permitted to work on Saturdays or other holy days and must cease work on Fridays or the days prior to holy days when so instructed by the contracting party'.

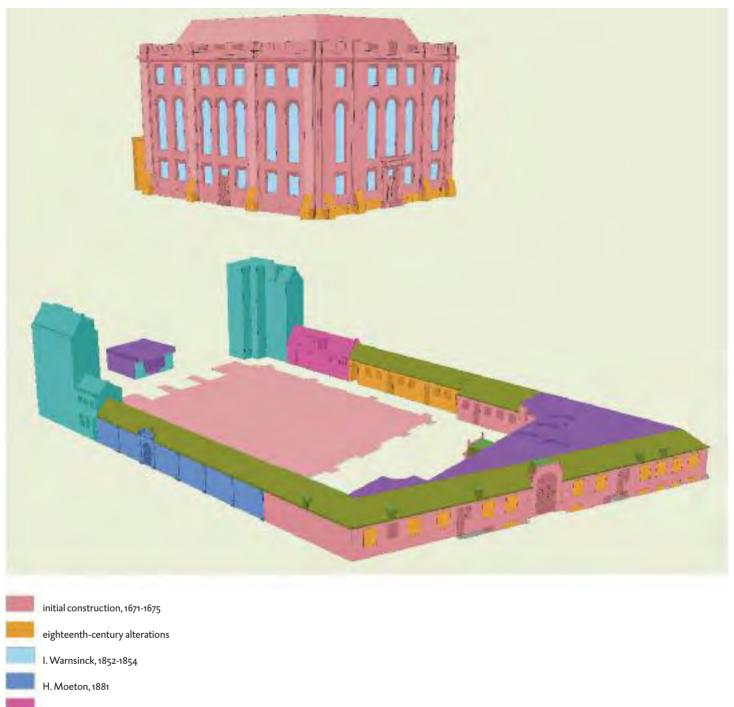
The Snoge's greatness lies in the building's tremendous authenticity; it seems to whisk visitors back into the seventeenth century. Yet the building has been through more than three hundred years of renovation, alteration, and restoration, which have left all sorts of traces (fig. 61). This chapter reports the results of studying the synagogue and annexes from the cellars to the roof, focusing on the history of their architecture and construction.

Construction

THE FOUNDATIONS The brick building, enormous by the standards of its time, obviously required a solid base. II2 A full 3,000 timber piles were needed for the foundations. II3 Long experience of the problems associated with laying foundations in Amsterdam, where the peaty, boggy subsurface presented formidable challenges, prompted the emphatic mention in the contract documents of technical measures required to avoid subsidence. II4 First of all, the excavation around the foundations had to be revetted to facilitate dewatering. It was also essential for the pile heads to remain intact and for the piles to reach the sand layer under more than twelve metres of peat soil, so that the weight of the structure would be transmitted to the sand layer.

Some pile heads had to be sawn off, of course, so that they were all level, and piles that had gone in too deep had to be extended with additional lengths of pile, attached with wooden nails to prevent them from tipping or sliding off.

The next step was to connect the pile heads with cappings (*kespen*) to prevent the foundation base from shifting: 'to be placed in notches over all the piles and nailed with wooden nails drilled in with a one-inch auger, one for each pile'. This passage tells us that the cappings were placed in notches in the piles and affixed with wooden nails. The word 'inch' in this chapter refers to an Amsterdam inch, or *duim*, which was about 2.6 centimetres. The heavy foundation floor, consisting of wooden panels three and a half inches (about nine centimetres) thick, had



P.W. Nijhoff, 1891 H. Elte, 1936-1939 Jac. S. Baars and J.W. Kuipers, 1954-1959 restoration and maintenance, 1991-1993

 $61 \ \ \, \text{Drawing of the Portuguese Synagogue and the annexes with the major periods of building work indicated}.$

to be nailed to this assemblage. The contract documents emphasize the importance of working fast, so that the top of the wooden base would not be exposed to the air for too long. Wood at the waterline is susceptible to rot, and it was thus important to make sure that this risky situation would not continue any longer than necessary.

Six brick barrel vaults were built on this wooden foundation. The imprints of the centrings on which the vaults were constructed are still visible (fig. 118). To prevent cracks from forming as a result of settlement, the vaults and the foundation piers supporting the freestanding columns in the interior were raised independently of each other (fig. 62). To this day, the bases of the vaults and piers are under the water table and the space beneath the Snoge is filled with water. The foundation vaults support the wooden floor of the building, which had to be constructed on wooden joists. The floor was made with planks two inches thick (more than five centimetres).

VERTICAL ELEMENTS

The construction of the walls was overseen by the master mason Elias Bouman. The Snoge is a rectangular building with few embellishments. Its brick exterior walls are divided by pilaster strips (vertical relief elements in the brickwork), which curve outward at the base. Each wall has three horizontal rows of windows, low windows on the top and bottom and high ones in the middle. The large middle row is halfway up the wall at the level of the women's galleries (fig. 47-48). The windows originally contained small panes of glass in a lead frame. An entablature crowns the exterior walls, on top of which is a balustrade with decorative vases. The balustrade conceals most of the roof from view, making the building appear even more rectangular. Like the other exterior walls, the facade of the Snoge is fairly plain in style; only the sandstone entranceway is emphasized architecturally, by Doric columns supporting an entablature.

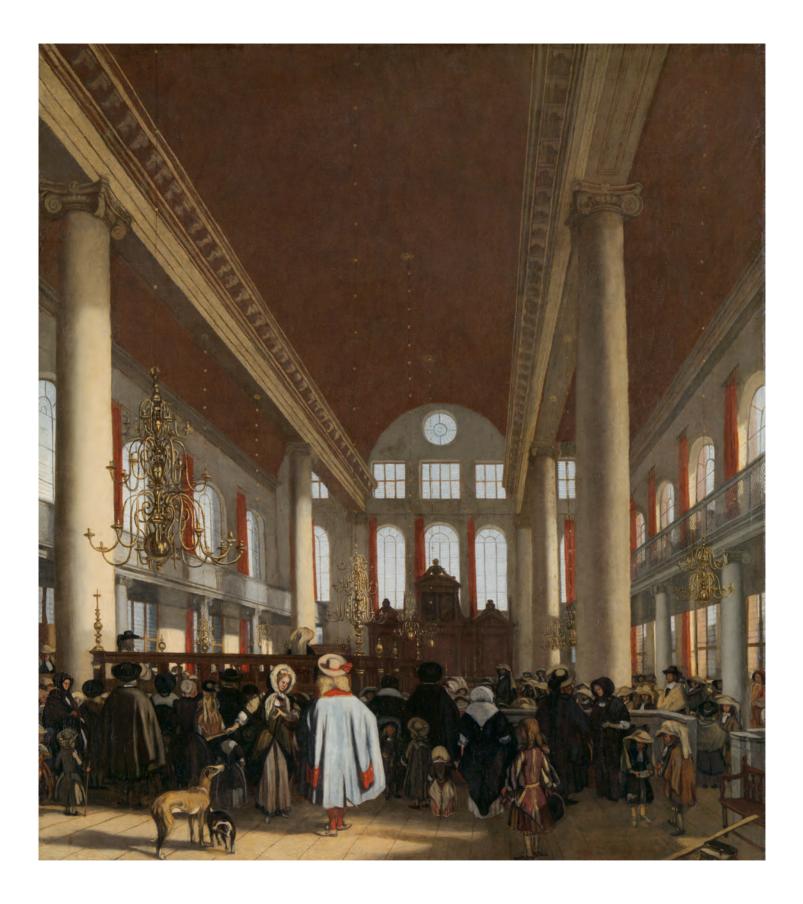
62 The vaulting beneath the synagogue, with the foundation piers under the women's gallery (left) and the foundation pier of one of the main columns (right).





The interior seems quite bright, with its white-plastered walls and many windows. The abundant daylight was originally somewhat muted by red curtains of Indian cotton. 117 Four colossal freestanding columns of Bentheim sandstone dominate the interior and separate the central nave from the two smaller aisles on either side (fig. 63).118 There are white-plastered brick half-columns against the front and rear walls, in line with the four freestanding columns. The columns and engaged halfcolumns are crowned by entablatures, which support the wooden barrel vaults of the central nave and the aisles. In a painting by Emanuel de Witte (1680) in the collection of the Rijksmuseum, the colour scheme of the entablatures matches that of the sandstone columns (fig. 64). This is probably an accurate representation of the situation at the time. The entablatures are now the colour of dark wood, as are the barrel vaults above the central nave and the aisles. The Jewish liturgical furnishings are in the central nave, the tebah slightly to the west of the centre and the heichal against the east wall. As is customary in orthodox synagogues, men's and women's seating areas are separated; there are two galleries for women, accessed by stairways at the rear of the building. The carpentry specifications state that the galleries are to be supported by columns of their own. Franco Mendes wrote in his manuscript on the Snoge (1772) that the original columns were made of wood, and that they were not replaced with sandstone columns until 1601, after Stadholder-King William III visited the synagogue in 1690 and

63 The interior of the Snoge, with the women's galleries on the left and right.

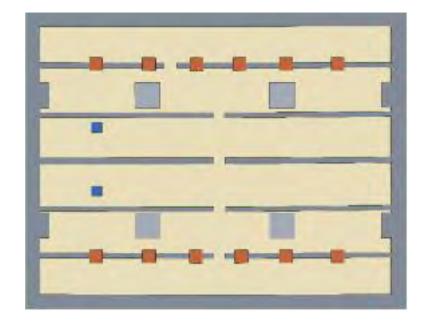


64 Emanuel de Witte, The interior of the Portuguese synagogue (1680). Strikingly, in this painting the entablatures are the same colour as the columns. The entablatures are now a dark wood colour.

65 Schematic diagram of the distribution of the foundation vaults and the masonry foundation piers under the columns of the synagogue. Grey: the piers of the large columns and half-columns; brown: the piers of the columns under the women's galleries; blue: two piers for columns for a planned west gallery, which was never built.

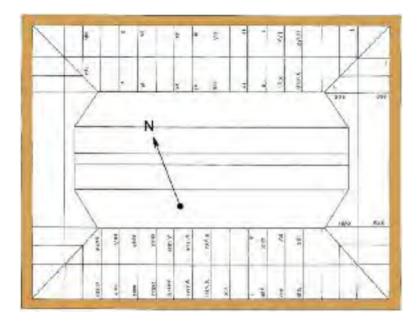
decided that such a magnificent interior deserved better than wooden pillars. 120 If we are to believe Franco Mendes, the stone for the columns was provided thanks to the stadholder's intercession. Yet this claim raises certain questions. The columns are mentioned in the carpentry specifications from 1671, because the master carpenter was to build a wooden gallery on top of them. The construction of the columns was not listed among the carpenters' activities; this seems to suggest that they were not made of wood. Furthermore, there was a dispute in 1676 regarding the supply of stone from Scotland, and it is tempting to draw a link to the columns for the women's galleries. These monoliths, almost 15 feet high (about 4.2 metres), may have required some other type of stone than Bentheim sandstone. The grev colour of the stone formed a consistent whole with the woodwork of the women's galleries, which was painted grey, as research has recently shown (see box: 'The colours of the women's galleries').121

The foundation piers supporting the columns in the women's galleries are discussed above. It is striking that two such piers are present on the west side, because no columns were placed there and they do not bear any other load. The intention was probably to build another gallery parallel to the west wall (fig. 65), or at least to keep this option open for later.





66 The roof above the south aisle.



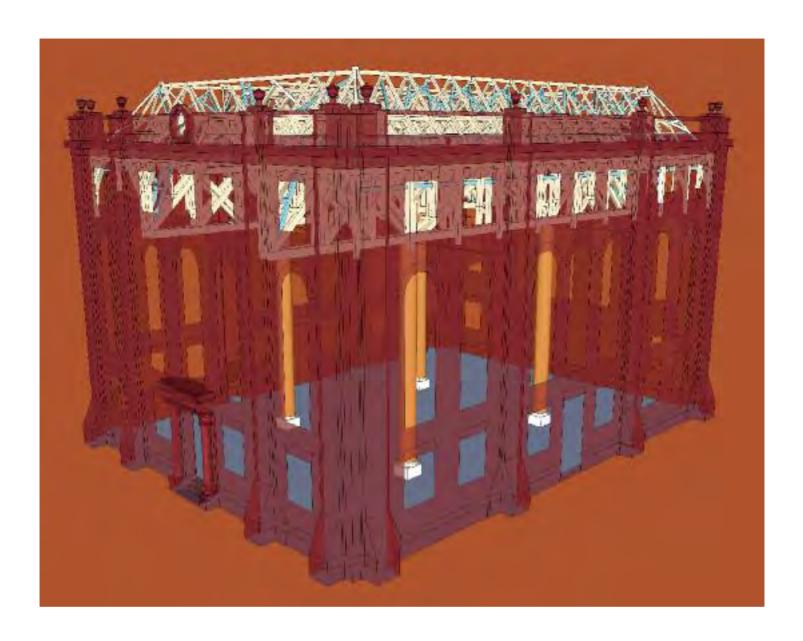
THE VAULTED ROOF

The carpentry specifications address the construction of the roof at some length (fig. 66). For many technical details, they refer to construction drawings that have unfortunately not survived: the proviel (cross-section), gronttekeningh (floor plan), and zijtekeninge (longitudinal sections). The specifications call for the wooden structure of the roof to be made of pine. Dendrochronological research has shown that the main structure does not contain any wood postdating the building's construction. 122 The components of the roof bear multiple distinct sets of assembly marks (telmerken), differing from one another both in handwriting and in the system of signs used (fig. 67). The striking thing is that the wooden structure is much larger than one would guess from the exterior of the roof. Much of the structure is embedded in the brickwork, so to speak (fig. 68).

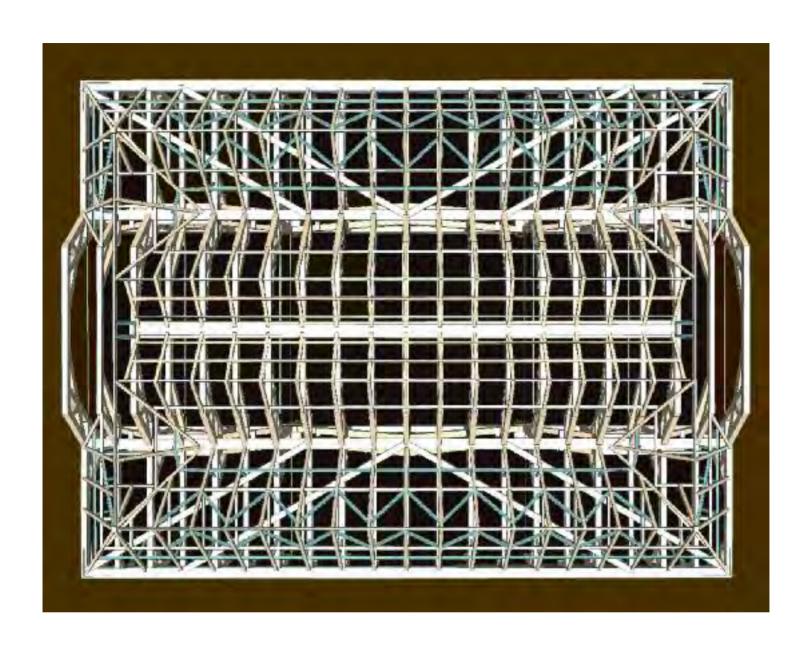
The roof structure above the central nave and the aisles is hidden from sight by barrel vaults. In the aisles, the barrel vaults are suspended within the timber frame under the actual roof structure. The barrel vault in the central nave is partly incorporated into

67 Drawing showing where the assembly marks (telmerken) are found at the attic level. These fall into several categories, a fact which may indicate that the trusses were constructed in groups.

the roof structure. In medieval vaulted roofs, the barrel vaults had tie beams at the base: in the Snoge, there are no such tie beams in the central nave. Bouman and Van der Veen's roof resembles various other seventeenth-century roofs in which master carpenters experimented with barrel vaults lacking tie beams at the base. This was most common in churches whose cruciform plan created an opportunity to leave out the tie beams, 124 such as the Grote Kerk in Maassluis (1620-1630) and the Nieuwe Kerk in Haarlem, designed by Jacob van Campen and built between 1645 and 1649.125 The roof of the Burgerzaal (central hall) in Amsterdam's city hall (now the Royal Palace in Dam Square), also designed by Van Campen, originally had a clear span of more than sixteen metres. In 1685, soon after the building's construction (1652-1650), part of the wooden structure was found to have rotted. 126 The roof was renovated around 1700 on the basis of a design by Hans Petersom the Elder, Adriaen de Jonge, and Jochem van Gent. 127 Again, a clear span was created. 128 The builders of the Snoge also strove to avoid the use of tie beams over the large (almost elevenmetre-wide) central nave, employing only four wrought-iron tie rods. To minimize thrust, heavy main trusses were designed that exert as little lateral force as possible. An unusual measure was taken to divert the remaining thrust. The middle section of the roof structure, above the central nave, was connected to the rigid corners of the building by means of large diagonal beams in the horizontal plane on the trusses of the aisles (figs. 66, 69).

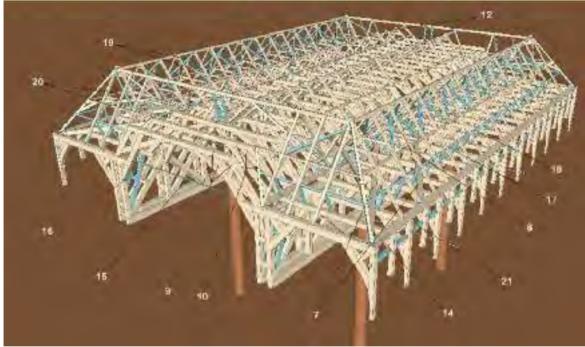


68 Drawing of the roof in the architectural mass. The trusses under the roofs of the aisles and the two enormous longitudinal sections supported by the large columns and half-columns are more than five metres below the level of the gutter board. These trusses have a different rhythm from that of the uppermost windows in the side walls, and hence some of the posts are located behind window openings. This is not apparent from the interior, because the uppermost row of windows is above the barrel vaults over the aisles. These windows thus serve no practical purpose and were installed for purely aesthetic reasons. The tall central nave and its barrel vault received special treatment; the ridge of this vault extends above the gutter board. The barrel vault protrudes through the roof surface with a dormer and connects with the balustrade on either side. The central nave is thus taller than one would guess from the exterior, while the opposite is true of the aisles.



69 View of the roof structure from above, with the striking diagonal reinforcements at the attic level in the aisles. The elements in blue were added later (mainly in the eighteenth century).





70 Measurement drawing of the roof. The base of the roof is formed by two large joists 1 running over the columns lengthwise. They support tall, straight posts 2 connected to each other by lengthwise horizontal joists 3 and reinforced with diagonals 4. Posts against the side walls 5, in combination with the posts in the two large longitudinal sections, form eleven trusses – alternating with ten intermediate trusses – that span the aisles together with the superimposed tiebeams 6. Large diagonal beams called roosterhouten in the specifications from 1671 7 were placed on top of these trusses to distribute the thrust of the central nave, both breadthwise and lengthwise. A-shaped trusses 8 were used for the roofs above the aisles. Eleven main trusses 9 and ten intermediate trusses 10 with sling braces span the large barrel vault of the central nave. The main trusses have additional support. The superimposed tie

beams 11 of these trusses support the two low central roofs 11. The tie rods connecting the main columns 13 across the entire breadth of the building were probably put into place during the original building work. In the eighteenth century, elements were added to the roof. These are shown in blue in the drawing. The extreme corners of the building were reinforced with wrought iron 14. The eight tie rods 15 further up in the barrel vault over the central nave also date from that period. Wooden braces 16 were also added, at the ends of the large longitudinal sections. Other eighteenth-century alterations include the diagonal struts 17 with purlins 18 and wind braces 19 in the roof sections above the roof plates. The same applies to the joists 21 across the entire length of the side wall, which pass through the triangles formed by the corbels, posts, and tie beams.

SETBACKS DURING CONSTRUCTION

The parnassim's expectation was that the construction of the Snoge would take a fairly short time. The carpentry specifications stated that work had to be largely completed a year later. Although the frieze above the entrance states 1672 as the date of inauguration, the building process ran into delays. In the Rampjaar ('disastrous year') of 1672, the Republic was besieged by France, England, and the bishoprics of Munster and Cologne. The city of Amsterdam focused on defending itself, and very little building work took place. The construction of the Snoge ground to a halt. To make matters even worse, the building was damaged in a heavy storm on I August 1674.

These events probably played a role in the 'disagreements and disputes' regarding extra work and work reductions relative to the original contract. The parnassim and Bouman sought arbitration to resolve these matters, ¹²⁹ and Bouman was ultimately awarded an additional sum of 3,484 guilders and 6 stuyvers; this payment also covered extra work on the annexes. There was also a dispute with Gillis van der Veen about extra work. After arbitration, he was ultimately paid an additional 236 guilders. ¹³⁰

Political threats facing the Republic and the city of Amsterdam had a negative impact on the construction of the rest of the complex; the carpentry and brickwork contracts for the annexes were not awarded until 1674, the year that peace was made with England.

THE ANNEXES: CONSTRUCTION AND FUNCTIONS

The Snoge and its forecourt were enclosed by low wings on three sides: a triangular annexe with an entrance gate on the west side (the front) and two long wings at right angles to that. The parts of the north and south wings on the forecourt have rooms in the interior, while the parts alongside the synagogue were designed as colonnades (fig. 71). The triangular western annexe housed activities that were indispensable to the life of a Jewish congregation; it included classrooms, a library, offices for the parnassim, and residences for the two chazzanim (cantors) and two samasim (sextons) (fig. 72). It is unclear where the mikvah (ritual bath) was located in the seventeenth century; it may have been situated outside the present-day synagogue complex. There was a washing area in the northern colonnade for washing one's hands before the services.¹³¹

The contract documents for these annexes have been preserved. On 24 June 1674, a notary witnessed the award of the carpentry contract to Adriaen de Jonge, Jan de Jonghe, and Jan Uijlenburgh for 8,500 guilders, including both wages and materials. On 20 August, the masonry contract was awarded to Elias Bouman for 1,500 guilders, with the stipulation that he would receive a bonus of 100 guilders after satisfactory completion of the work. This sum was for wages; he also received 13,100 guilders for the materials listed in the contractual specifications. Bouman had to cover any building cost overruns himself, but if he spent less than the specified amount on materials, then he would receive an additional bonus of 200 guilders. 132 Strikingly, the general conditions detailing the responsibilities of the master carpenter and master mason were much more detailed than they had been in the case of the synagogue. Nonetheless, there was another conflict with Bouman about extra work, as mentioned above.

According to the masonry contract documents, the foundations of the annexes had to be nearly three metres deep, not an unusual depth for houses with cellars. This requirement stemmed from the wish for storage cellars. Equally deep foundations were specified for the open galleries alongside the synagogue. High-quality bricks were used for the visible single brickwork

of the exterior walls, and bricks of lesser quality elsewhere. Small yellow Gouda bricks were used for half-brick dividing walls and chimneys. Regular roofing tiles and Hasselt ridge tiles were used on the roof.

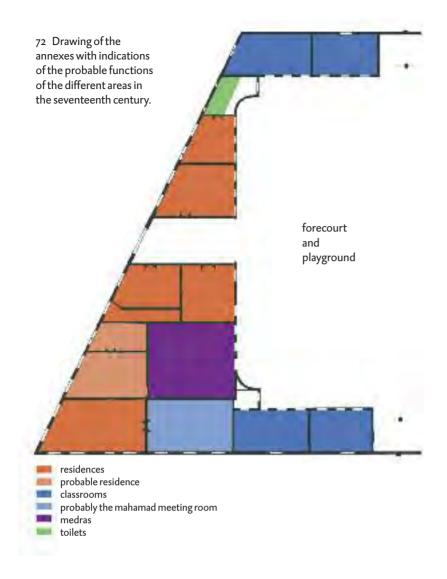
The contractual specifications tell us quite a bit about the detail work and finishing of the annexes. The entrance halls between the front door and interior of each residence had 'polished Swedish floors' made of red limestone tiles from the island of Öland, and the kitchen floors had glazed ceramic floor tiles. All the interior walls were rendered and plastered and finished off with a row of small white glazed tiles (witjes) at the bottom. The houses had closets for beds (bedsteden) with small cellars underneath them; pine mantels were adorned with oak woodwork in the form of an entablature, while the fireplace was tiled with wities. The residences also had hearths in the kitchen. each with an iron hearth plate and four andirons. 134 Small, simple chimney pieces for stoves were to be placed in front of the entrances to each classroom. Stoves were a rarity in the seventeenth century, used in places where open fires were not appropriate, particularly where writing took place. In the 'sexton's office' the specifications called for another chimney with wities in the fireplace 'so that a fire can be kindled in it' (figs. 73, 108).135

The location of three of the four residences is known to us; one on either side of the gate and one in the southwestern corner. Ets Haim seminary was in the present location of the winter synagogue, and its book collection was probably to its rear. The meeting room of the mahamad has probably always been situated in the place where the parnassim still meet today. The rest of the space was intended for the fourth residence and the classrooms in the two wings. Another striking feature was a group of toilets in the northwestern corner, specified in the contract documents; their sewer system still exists today. 136



The colonnades are explicitly mentioned in the carpentry specifications. The contractor was required to 'place elm wood columns under the two galleries on either side of the synagogue, each one hundred and fifty feet long'. The great advantage of elm wood over oak is that the exterior is not easily damaged; oak tends to develop small splits on the surface, an unattractive feature in a column. 137 In the cellars of the south wing, the original foundations of the colonnade are visible. On the north side, remains of the foundations discovered during restoration in 1954-1959 confirm that this colonnade was open as well. An etching by Romevn de Hooghe from 1675 shows a third colonnade behind the Snoge (fig. 44). This was undoubtedly an artistic liberty: none of the contract documents mention any such colonnade. The grounds were probably fenced off at the rear. According to the masonry specifications, the forecourt

71 Impression of the original condition of the courtyard and the synagogue, viewed from the east.



and the grounds as far as the eastern end walls of the colonnades on either side of the synagogue were to be paved with 'good medium-sized clinkers from Leiden and Friesland that are not irregular in shape. as they will be divided into beds (parcken).' This reference to 'beds' or parcken meant that the paving in the courtyard would be divided into square sections. Brick drains were installed in the courtvard for rainwater, covered with blue limestone slabs containing iron grates. These drained rainwater into the space beneath the synagogue's foundation vaults: the water inlets there are still visible. Under the western entrance gate a large cistern was installed, which held rainwater for use as drinking water by the residences. This cistern was found during restoration in 1954-1959, and recent archaeological research shows that it was built in accordance with the specifications. The rainwater probably came from the roof of the annexe on the west side. Because of this annexe's triangular shape, its roof was fairly challenging to build; the specifications for the carpenters referred them to a model of the roof (which has not been preserved) to clarify what was required.

In 1675 the complex of synagogues and annexes was completed. On 26 March 1676, when the accounts were balanced, the total costs of construction were 162,469 guilders and 10 stuyvers. This sum did not include an additional 3,484 guilders and 6 stuyvers paid to Bouman later in the year for extra work, nor did it cover the costs of gilt leather (448 guilders). ¹³⁹

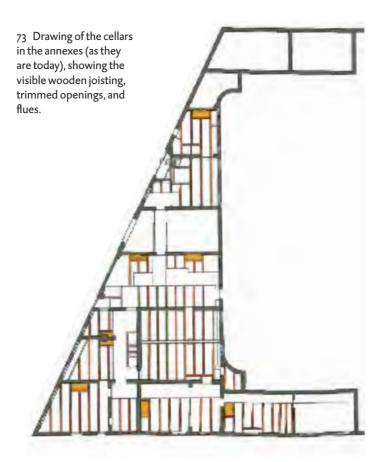
THE ANNEXES: APPEARANCE OF THE EXTERIOR WALLS

Although the annexes in their current state are the result of various renovations, drawings and prints offer us a general impression of their original appearance in the seventeenth century. We must not jump to conclusions, however; these images cannot be relied on to faithfully reproduce the details and exact placement of doors and windows. Originally, cross windows were placed only in the western annexes, where most of the service areas were located. The dimensions of these cross windows were smaller than those of the sash windows in the exterior walls today (fig. 74). A blind niche still present in the west wall to the north of the main gate provides an impression of the dimensions of the original cross windows. 140 Various doors offered direct access from the street to the residences, the classrooms. and perhaps even rooms used for other purposes. Angled hatches opened onto the storage cellars. The colonnades had blind walls on the street side, which were

divided by pilaster strips corresponding to the columns in the colonnades (fig. 82). ¹⁴¹

To make the forecourt regular in appearance, the windows and doors were arranged symmetrically. The wall opposite the Snoge was embellished with higher, rounded corner elements, which created a graceful transition between the wings (fig. 75). The north and south wings originally had cellar windows, by analogy with the west wall of the courtyard. In the breastwork, closers — halved heads of bricks used at the ends of courses — mark the original positions of these windows. ¹⁴²

Around 1700, the south colonnade was walled in to create additional service areas. On the cellar level, new arches were placed on the foundation piers that had previously supported the pillars. These arches supported the newly constructed exterior wall facing the courtyard. Other arches were





74 Adolf van der Laan, Engraving of the Amsterdam synagogue complex (circa 1700-1725), with the Snoge and the west wall of the annexes on the far left.



75 The Snoge's forecourt, with the entrance gate in the western annexe..



76 Jan Spaan (attributed to), The Snoge and the south wing of the annexes as depicted in the eighteenth century. Four cross windows are shown on the sides of the side entrance on the Muidergracht.

placed at right angles to these to support the dividing walls between the rooms at street level. To provide natural light in these rooms, cross windows were placed in the side wall on what was then the Muidergracht, now the Jonas Daniël Meijerplein (fig. 76). Probably all the original windows

were replaced with larger sash windows in the eighteenth century.

The north colonnade was never entirely walled up; the two-bay section with the washing area remained open (fig. 45). Much of the north wing was refurbished in the nineteenth century and is discussed below.

The eighteenth century

THE EASTERN EXTENSION OF THE SNOGE

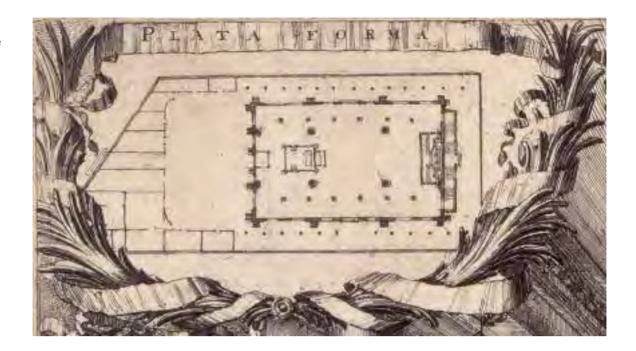
The most significant change in the eighteenth century was the renovation and expansion of the stairways on the east side of the synagogue giving access to the women's galleries (fig. 77). Before discussing this renovation, let us consider the original appearance of the rear of the building. A floor plan by Romeyn de Hooghe, made to mark the inauguration of the Snoge in 1675, shows an annexe that is much less deep than the present one (fig. 78). We see an entrance in the centre and behind it, parallel to the synagogue's rear wall, two flights of stairs with landings in the middle. 143 This construction is in keeping with the carpentry specifications from 1671, which call for 'two large flights of stairs with landings'. 144 During research in 1953 prior to restoration in the years that

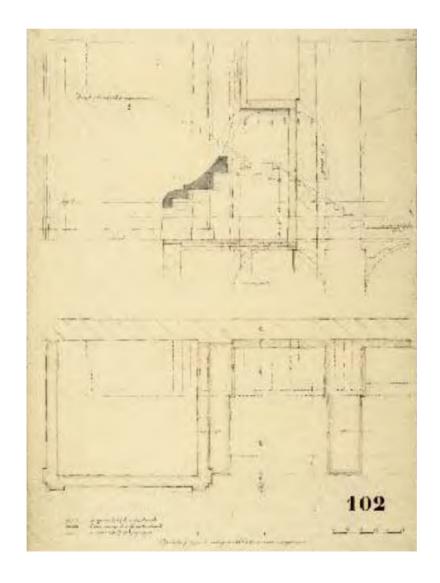
followed, it became clear that Romeyn de Hooghe's floor plan had been accurate: the remains of the stairways were found along the rear wall of the synagogue (fig. 70). 145 The restoration architects Iac. S. Baars and J.W. Kuipers made an attempt (in August 1953) to draw the original appearance of the rear facade (fig. 80). 146 They based this drawing on a view by Romeyn de Hooghe, dating from circa 1605 (fig. 81), of the synagogue's eastern extension. But the accuracy of this print is questionable. It appears in the print as though one could simply walk into the synagogue through the eastern entrance, but of course this was impossible, because the heichal was against the east wall inside the building. The restoration report acknowledges that there was no way of drawing a reliable reconstruction: 'Attempts to reconstruct the appearance of the rear facade have



77 The east side of the Snoge (1973).

78 Romeyn de Hooghe, Etching of the Portuguese Synagogue during its inauguration (1675): detail with floor plan.

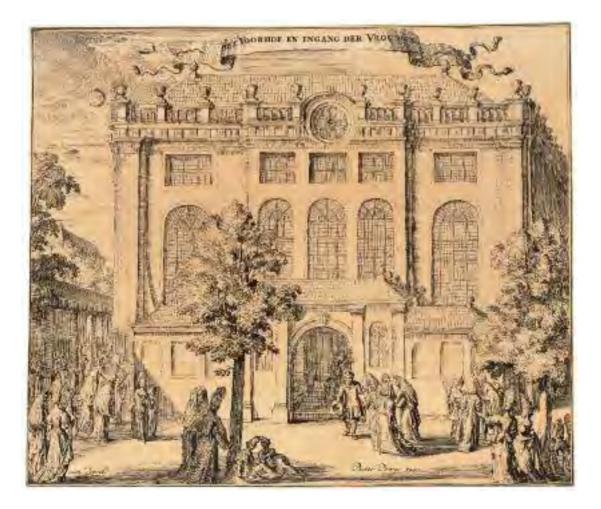




79 Jac. S. Baars and J.W. Kuipers, Measurement drawing from 1953 of the original stairways to the women's galleries: plan and section.



80 Jac. S. Baars and J.W. Kuipers, Reconstruction (1953) of the eastern extension: elevation and section.



81 Romeyn de Hooghe, Etching of the eastern extension (circa 1695).

82 Gerrit Adriaensz Berckheyde, The Snoge from the southeast (circa 1680-1685). The entrances to the women's galleries are not depicted accurately.



proved fruitless, because the remains discovered are inconsistent with historical drawings.'147

Another one of the rare artists to depict the east facade was the seventeenth-century painter Gerrit Adriaensz Berckheyde, in a drawing and three paintings that must have been completed soon after the construction of the synagogue was completed. 148 In the drawing, which served as the basis for the paintings, the view of the synagogue is partly obstructed by a shed or site hut (fig. 14). This structure is also visible in two paintings. In a painting in the collection of the Städelsches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt, Berckhevde leaves out the building in the foreground to provide a better view of the synagogue's east facade (fig. 82). The canvas shows two suspended architectural volumes connected to the women's galleries. This representation cannot possibly be accurate because it omits the stairways required for access to the women's galleries,

which must have been present, as shown above. Furthermore, Berckheyde does not depict an extension at ground level, but he does show a portal in the middle of the rear facade, which would have been unusable because of the placement of the heichal inside the synagogue. By the time Berckheyde painted this in his studio in Haarlem, he probably could not recall the exact structure of the facade. ¹⁴⁹

For the time being, we cannot say with certainty when the present-day eastern extension was added. In his monograph on the Snoge from 1875, David Henriques de Castro describes a building commission established in 1773 with a large construction budget of around 30,000 guilders. Unfortunately, Henriques de Castro does not provide any further information about the committee's work. ¹⁵⁰ J. F. van Agt, in his book Synagogen in Amsterdam (1974), assumes that this budget (or part of it) was spent on the expansion of the stairwells, ¹⁵¹

The colours of the women's galleries

Roos Keppler¹⁵²

Architectural paint research and analysis of paint samples showed that the first three or four finishing stages on all the components of the women's galleries are grey. Each finishing stage consists of just one grev paint laver, over which thin black layers are visible. With the aid of scanning electron microscopy (SEM-EDX), it was possible to determine that these lavers are rich in organic material, probably a combination of fatty acids and metal soaps that have separated from the paint and in which particles of dirt are encapsulated. In other words, these black layers are clearly layers of dirt. In a paint sample from the cornice above the columns in the women's galleries (fig. 83), the grainy dirt particles are clearly visible. These are particles of ash from the thousands of candles lit in the synagogue in the seventeenth century (a practice that continues to this day).

The fourth finishing stage follows the last grey one and is greenish in colour. It is composed of three paint layers: a grey ground followed by two green paint layers, both consisting of coarse particles of chalk and white lead. This greenish finishing stage contains fine grains of bright blue pigment, probably Prussian blue, a synthetic, inorganic

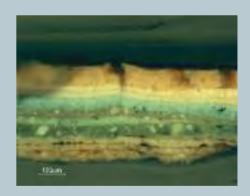
blue pigment discovered fortuitously in Berlin in 1704 by Heinrich Diesbach (a colourmaker) and Dippel (a chemist who provided the raw materials). Because of these origins, it is also known as Berlin blue. It was first produced on a large scale after 1724, which was when the formula became generally available and probably also when it first became commercially available. This paint layer can therefore be dated after 1704 and probably after 1724.

The greenish finishing stage is followed by the fifth, light blue finishing stage, which is composed of a grey ground and a light blue finishing coat. This layer of light blue paint was also found to include the pigment Prussian blue. The light blue finishing stage was found on all sections of the gallery.

All the wooden architectural components (the cornice, the partitions, and the ceiling areas underneath the gallery) were virtually identical in colour in each of the early finishing stages. From finishing stage six onwards, the amount and type of finish varied, as did the colour. For instance, three faux wood stages were found on the exterior of partitions (fig. 84-85), while the ceiling under the women's galleries shows only one faux wood stage.

In summary, a number of grey finishes were applied in succession to the cornice, the partitions, and the ceiling areas under the women's galleries in the seventeenth century. The colour scheme was monochromatic at each stage. The only contrast found between shades of grey was between the ceiling areas under the women's galleries and the rest of the woodwork. The stratigraphic studies and paint samples show that the colour of the ceiling areas was probably brownish-grey, somewhat warmer in hue than the light grey cornices around it.

Colour was not introduced until the eighteenth century, when a greenish stage was followed by a blue stage. These stages can be dated after 1724, and the pigment



83 This paint sample shows a cross-section of the paint layers and was taken from the cornice above the columns of one of the women's galleries (magnified 100x in incident polarized light). At the bottom, one can see the grey finishing layers and the thin layers of dirt coating them, followed by green and blue stages. The final finishing layer is the present-day faux wood, composed of two underlying yellow layers and a brown top layer.

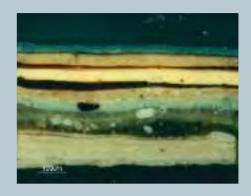
Prussian blue is present in both. After the blue stage, several faux wood finishes were applied.

The present-day colour scheme, in which the ceiling areas are turquoise green and the cornices and frames are dark brown, deviates from the principle of the original scheme, in which every element had more or less the same colour and a very limited degree of contrast was achieved through tonal differences.

Later colour schemes also adhered to this monochrome principle.
The present-day scheme, with two colours, is a result of the 1991-1993 restoration, in which a deliberate choice was made to depart from the original colour scheme by painting the partitions and the ceiling areas under the women's galleries turquoise green, a hue inspired by the eighteenth-century stage of green and light blue.



84 Stratigraphic study of the exterior of one of the ressaults of the partitions of the women's galleries. The paint layers have been exposed one by one with a surgical scalpel; this provides an image of all the different paint layers that are present, from the most recent one (on the left) to the earliest grey finishing layer (on the right).



85 Paint sample from the exterior of one of the ressaults of the partitions of the women's galleries, accompanying the stratigraphic study of fig. 103 (magnified 100x in incident polarized light). The first grey finishing stages are identifiable at the bottom, followed by a greenish stage, a light blue stage (with a very large grain of blue pigment), and three faux wood stages. The faux wood stages can be identified by the dark brown covering layers. The top layer is the present-day turquoise green finish.

and that may well have been the case. The rear extension was built in a single stage, and the stairways form an integral part of it. The scroll design of the newels at the bottom of either stairway confirms that this was an eighteenth-century extension (fig. 86). The stairways lead to landings providing access to the women's galleries. The extension also includes a corridor running between the two stairwells, which is illuminated by square windows. Arched niches under the corridor on the exterior harmonize with the high arched windows of the seventeenth-century building. Yet the most eye-catching elements are the buttresses that emphatically curve outward towards the base. These were not added for practical reasons but play a symbolic role. Their design appears to have been based on studies of the Temple of Solomon by Jacob Jehuda Leon (1602-1675). 154 This rabbi, who taught at Ets Haim, the seminary affiliated with the Snoge, had made drawings reconstructing the Temple and an architectural model of the building (fig. 59). In this reconstruction, the buttresses were not part of the Temple proper, but of the Temple Mount. In 1642, Jacob Jehuda Leon published the book Afbeeldinge van den Tempel Salomonis (Images of Solomon's Temple). The book – which of course is present in the Snoge's library – was published in multiple editions and languages. In addition (or above all). Leon became renowned for his model, which measured 1.8 x 1.2 x 0.6 metres. After his death, the model was forgotten, but it resurfaced in 1771. 155 If the hypothesis that the extension dates from 1773 is correct, the renewed interest in the Temple model at that time may explain the design of the extension. The newly added 'buttresses' show similarities to Leon's reconstruction.

During construction, the bases of the buttresses were faced with blocks of sandstone. In contrast, the curving blue limestone slabs at the base of the pilaster strips



86 The scrolled newel of the stairs to the southern women's gallery.

87 Detail of the synagogue roof, carved with the date 1773 and the unidentified initials IVO and DHZ.



on the other three exterior walls were a later addition, as shown by the fact that they are not always well integrated with the brickwork (fig. 55).¹⁵⁶ The pilaster strips were originally made entirely of brick, as is still visible at the corners in the rear of the

Snoge. The blue limestone skirting on either side of the entrance to the synagogue was also added later and is out of keeping with the sandstone around the entranceway, which dates from the original construction of the building. ¹⁵⁷

WORK ON THE ROOF

In 1773, when (as mentioned above) some 30,000 guilders was spent on renovations, work must have been done on the roof. That date was conspicuously carved into a beam on the west side in two places (fig. 87). It is

conceivable that eight additional tie rods were then added at the floor level of the attics of the aisles. Additionally, wood joints that were no longer a seamless fit were reinforced with wrought-iron fixing clamps. Other late eighteenth-century additions included struts on the structure above the freestanding pillars, as well as wind braces and purlins in the outermost roofs (fig. 70).¹⁵⁸ Another alteration to the roof was the rerouting of two hidden gutters inside the building and the addition of two new ones on the east side.

The nineteenth century

ISAAC WARNSINCK'S RENOVATION WORK

Between 1852 and 1854, the Snoge underwent a major renovation. Shortly afterwards, in 1854-1855, the Great Shul was also refurbished.159 There seems to have been a sense of rivalry between the Ashkenazi and Sephardi congregations, just as there had been when the buildings were first constructed. The Portuguese Jewish congregation engaged the services of Isaac Warnsinck (1811-1857), one of the leading Dutch architects of the 1850s (a time when not much construction took place) and one of the first professional architects in the Netherlands. 160 From 1842 to his early demise in 1857, he was the secretary of the Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Bouwkunst (Society for the Promotion of Architecture), a prestigious position in his profession.

Warnsinck had firm opinions about architecture, which greatly influenced other Dutch architects. He himself had been influenced by contemporary architecture in the surrounding countries, having taken study trips to Germany and other European countries in 1834 and 1838-1839. ¹⁶¹ In 1855, shortly after his engagement by the Portuguese Jewish

congregation, he was appointed as the Amsterdam alderman (wethouder) for public works.

Although he did not, as far as anybody knows, praise the Snoge in his writings as being an exemplary building, it matched many of his desiderata for the Dutch architectural ideal. Because stone was difficult to come by in northern regions, he advocated building with exposed brick. He opposed the practices, widespread among his contemporaries, of plastering brick in imitation of stone and of imitating classical architectural elements such as columns, half-columns, and pilasters. In his eyes, one inherent part of building with brick was the use of round arches above doors and windows. He saw this as the most logical structural form, a principle applied in the Snoge. Warnsinck's ideas were closely based on those of contemporary German theoreticians and architects, who applied this principle in their built work. In the Netherlands, the Germanism rondbogenstijl ('round-arch style') is used to describe this design method, after the German stylistic term Rundbogenstil. 162

Warnsinck's most significant contribution to the Snoge was the renovation of the windows, which had originally held stained glass panels with support bars. All of these original windows were replaced with window frames combining cast-iron tracery with wrought-iron support bars mounted in the brick wall with hooks. The windows showed a simple but graceful pattern of squares, diamonds, rectangles, and circles. In the somewhat earlier Grote Kerk in Gorinchem (1849-1851), which Warnsinck had designed in the rondbogenstijl with his apprentice A.N. Godefroy, he had designed cast-iron windows comparable to those in the Snoge.

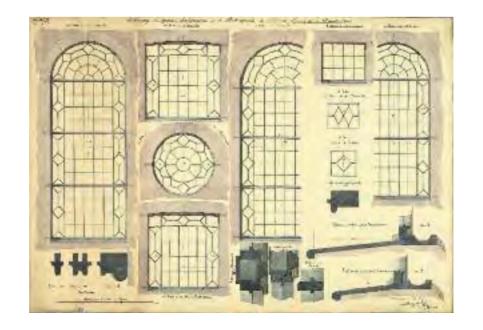
Warnsinck drafted numerous designs on paper for the window patterns. 163 A coloured drawing dated May 1852 shows the tracery of the various types and sizes of windows, with additional illustrations of details (fig. 88). A smaller drawing from November of that year shows a slightly different window pattern, with more diamond-shaped elements than the earlier design. Warnsinck also made a large drawing of the same window pattern dated December 1852, again with various window sizes and details. This drawing or a comparable one must have been appended to the contractual specifications, in view of the stipulation that the existing windows were to be 'replaced with newly cast iron windows, in the same shape or in accordance with the drawings accompanying these specifications'. 164 The result of this change was to admit more light into the building.

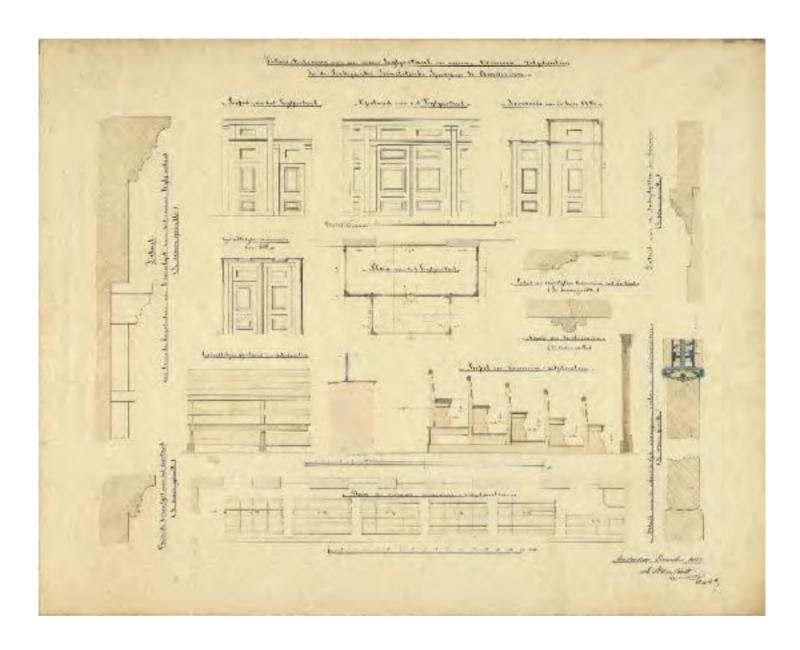
The new windows were filled with panes of 'half-white French window glass', rimmed with matt glass. This combination was removed during the restoration of 1954-1959. Warnsinck had the ironwork of the windows painted dark grey on the external side. Moreover, part of the stone was replaced, the brickwork and the pointing were restored, and the exterior walls were treated with linseed oil.

To replace the old enclosed porch behind the main entrance, Warnsinck designed a new one with oak-panelled doors.¹⁶⁵ Two drawings of the new porch have been preserved, from May and December 1852; each is combined with a design for benches in the women's galleries (fig. 89). 166 The latter of these designs was used. Comparison with the earlier plan for the enclosed porch reveals many differences in both the floor plan and the details (the shape of the panels). The oak porch that was ultimately built, which is still present, was painted in a faux oak pattern and is articulated by pilasters. As a novelty, Warnsinck installed a 'Howell device', a double-acting door spring that allowed the door to swing both inward and outward, 167 depicted in a detail illustration as part of the final design drawing.

The seating in the galleries was also altered in some respects. The original design shows panelling on the galleries, which is not present in the final version. The contractual specifications and conditions from 1852 state that six sets of new benches with backs were to be placed in one of the women's galleries to replace the old ones. The benches that Warnsinck designed are still present in the two galleries, but there are fewer of them than in Warnsinck's drawing: three rows on the south side and four on the north. The

88 Isaac Warnsinck, Design drawing of the shapes and patterns of the windows and mouldings on a single sheet (1852).



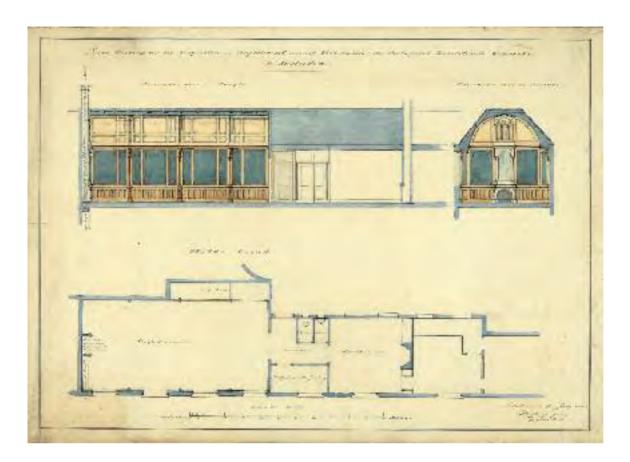


89 Isaac Warnsinck, Design drawing of the enclosed porch and the benches of the women's galleries (1852): plan, elevations, sections, and details on a single sheet. ceiling under the women's galleries, the architraves of the galleries, and the lattice screens above them were painted in a faux oak pattern.¹⁷⁰

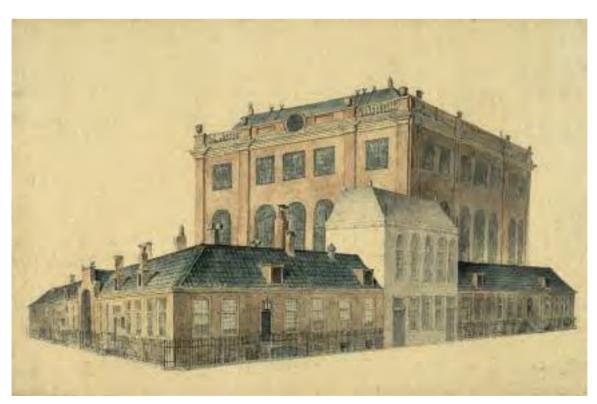
Remarkably, this restoration of the Snoge left the historic brickwork intact, aside from minor repairs; the same cannot be said of many other nineteenth-century restorations. This restrained approach probably reflected the client's wish to respect the building as much as possible, but Warnsinck's affinity with the brick architecture of the synagogue may also have played a significant role.¹⁷¹

A NEW MEETING HALL

At a meeting of the synagogue council (one of the congregation's two governing bodies at that time, the other being the board of parnassim) in March 1872, they discussed the need to improve their meeting room. The During their meeting on 29 July of that year, it was announced that plans for this purpose had been received. The minutes do not mention the designer's name, but it must have been the assistant city architect Willem Springer (1815-1907). A design of his for an expansion of the existing meeting hall in the south wing is dated 8 July 1872 (fig.

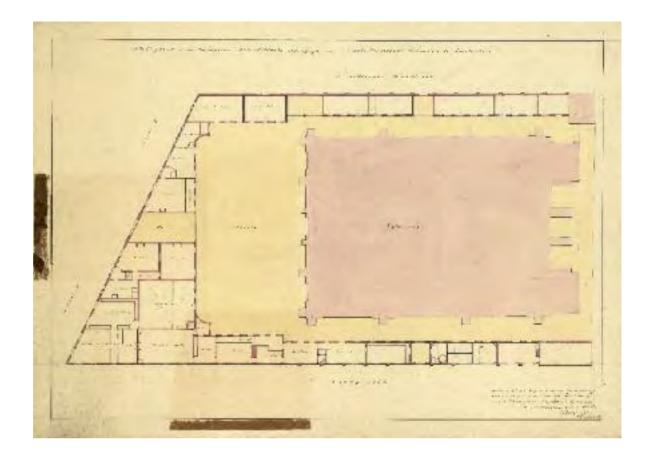


90 Willem Springer, Design for the renovation of the meeting room (1872): plan and wall elevations. The plan was to expand the area on the east side.

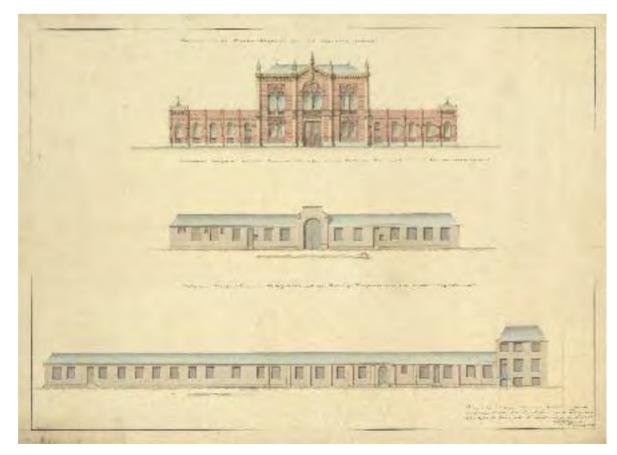


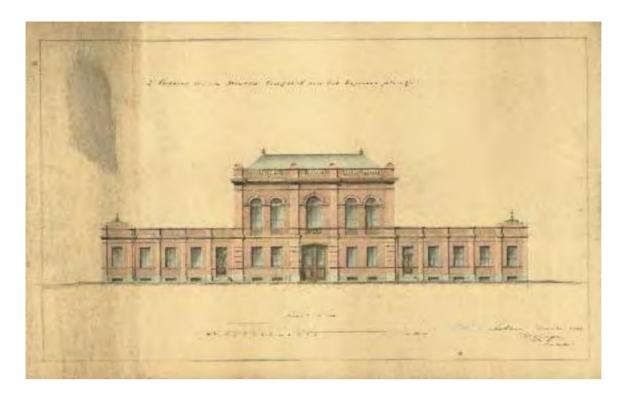
91 J.C. van Rossum, Drawing from 1872 of the Snoge and annexes, made in connection with the plan to add an upper level to the southern annexe.

92 Willem Springer, Plan of the annexes in their current condition (1872). The drawing bears traces of an overlay on tracing paper (which has been preserved) showing the proposed alterations.



93 Willem Springer, Design for a new west wing and the west and south wings in their current state (1872). This drawing, too, shows traces of overlays.





94 Willem Springer, Alternative design for the new west wing (1872). Springer designed rectangular windows, with the exception of the arched windows on the upper level of the central part. The balustrade may have been designed to echo the seventeenthcentury balustrade of the Snoge.

90);¹⁷³ this must have been the design presented at the July meeting. This plan involved redesigning the room. For the short west wall, Springer designed a mantelpiece and horseshoe arch, a shape clearly inspired by Oriental models. Above it he drew a large mirror and three linked rounded arches under a plastered barrel vault with coffers. Another striking feature is the delicate articulation of the walls by slender pilasters. By September of that year, an alternative plan had evidently been presented on the initiative of J. Henriques de Castro, which envisaged housing the meeting room on a new upper level over part of the south wing.174 The historian David Henriques de Castro, an active member of the congregation, was less than enthusiastic about this alternative, calling it a 'violation of symmetry such as, in his opinion, must never be committed'. The minutes show that he had a perspectival view drafted to demonstrate the repercussions of the proposed extension. This drawing, signed by one J.C. van Rossum, was found in the Amsterdam City Archives (fig. 91). 176 It does effectively

show to what extent the tall extension proposed would have obstructed the view of the Snoge and changed the appearance of the surrounding annexes. De Castro argued that this plan would inevitably lead to the eventual addition of upper levels to the other annexes, at the expense of the unimpeded view of the synagogue.

During the discussion of the plans submitted, S. Mendes da Costa, the president of the synagogue council, noted that a plan had been developed a few years earlier to add an upper level for a meeting room above the gate in Muiderplein (now Mr. Visserplein). This plan, which has not been preserved, was based on the idea that the entire west facade of the annexes would be reconstructed. It had not been investigated in further detail at the time, because it had been fairly expensive and not urgent, but Mendes da Costa believed that this design should also be considered. On this basis, Springer made a new plan for the west wing dated November 1872 (figs. 92-93).177 The use of arched windows (paired in the middle section), rounded arched friezes,

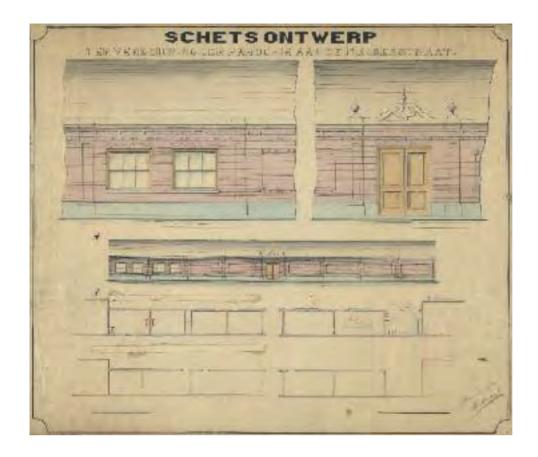
and turrets with onion-dome terminals give this design a highly Oriental character, commensurate with the international pursuit of a distinctive form for synagogues in this period, a tendency arising from the emancipation of European Jewry.¹⁷⁸ Yet we need not feel too much regret that this plan remained confined to paper; the extension would largely have obstructed the view of the synagogue from the present-day Mr. Visserplein.

An alternative, less spectacular design by Springer dated December 1872 has been preserved (fig. 94).¹⁷⁹ It has the same basic form – a tall middle section with a meeting room and lower side wings – but its formal idiom is simpler. At a meeting in November 1872, it transpired that D. Henriques de Castro (mentioned above) had also submitted a design. This was a floor plan, which has survived, of a design for a new meeting room in the place of the medras, the auditorium of Ets Haim seminary, and the adjacent residence.180 According to this plan, signed by H. Moeton, the medras would be situated in the former meeting room. Moeton, about whom little is known, would continue work-

ing as a building supervisor for the Portuguese Jewish congregation for many years.

Records of discussions held in 1873 and 1874 show that the congregation's building committee preferred Springer's design for the new west wing, with a meeting room on the upper level. Because the committee anticipated that other wings would also require rebuilding in the near future, the costs of the entire project were expected to be substantial, around 100,000 guilders. Yet the building committee's enthusiasm was reined in by the synagogue council, the majority of whom came out against largescale reconstruction on 20 April 1874. The council then went on to vote on expanding the existing meeting room on the basis of Springer's first design, and again the majority voted against the proposal. Finally, in December 1874, the council decided on a minor renovation of the existing meeting room, which involved raising the ceiling and improving the ventilation. In February 1875 the design 'produced by the building supervisor, Mr Moeton' was adopted (fig. 95).181 For the meeting room, he designed a barrel vault with stucco ribs decorated with rosettes, undoubtedly inspired by Springer's design. If we compare his designs with those of the assistant city architect, Moeton's clumsy draughtsmanship is striking. In selecting Moeton's design, the synagogue council sent the message that it no longer desired assistance from Springer, who had previously supplied various designs and advised the congregation on a number of

95 H. Moeton, Renovation plan for the meeting room (1874-1875): floor plan and three wall elevations.



96 H. Moeton, Design for the exterior wall in Muiderstraat (1881): plans, front elevation, and details. This wing was built in 1882.

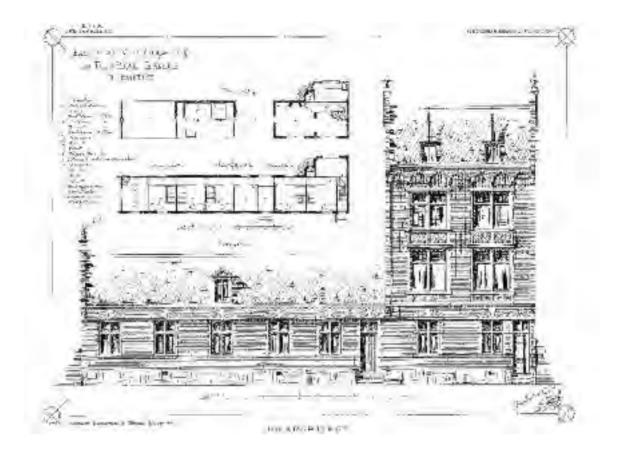
issues. The renovation of the meeting room was completed just in time for the Snoge's bicentennial celebration, which is commemorated by the marble memorial stones on either side of the heichal.

OTHER NINETEENTH-CENTURY ALTERATIONS

In 1881 the synagogue council were confronted with the poor structural condition of the wing in Muiderstraat. The building committee, concluding that renovation would be pointless, asked Moeton to make a plan for a new structure (fig. 96). This plan corresponds to the current situation, except with regard to the entrance gate, which is made of brick in the design and shows the formal eclecticism typical of the period. Presumably this element was not to the board's taste and Moeton was asked to change it. The gate that was ultimately built was made of stone and used a traditional classicist idiom. The specifications from

1882 mention Savonnières limestone as the variety to be used. 184 The tympanum shows a scene of a pelican feeding her young her own blood, the emblem of the Portuguese Jewish community at the time (fig. 10). This work of art (probably in terracotta) is said to have been made by Joseph Mendes da Costa (1863-1939), who was a young sculptor at the time. 185 The wing held an extension of the existing residence at Muiderstraat 2 and storage spaces. Only the extension of the residence, the easternmost part, had windows. The rest of the facade was blind and, as in the old situation, divided by pilaster strips, in keeping with the synagogue council's wish to maintain the same style in the new structures as in the older ones. 186 As during the earlier discussion of plans for a new meeting room, most of the council were in favour of leaving the general appearance of the annexes unchanged: simple, low structures with the mighty synagogue towering above them.

97 P.W. Nijhoff, Architectural drawing of the mikvah and the residence of the chazzan (cantor), which date from 1891.



In 1891 a proposal was discussed to convert this structure, which was less than ten years old, into a mikvah. Again, the building committee had turned to Moeton for a design. ¹⁸⁷ The architect placed the new windows asymmetrically in the existing niches, a rather unfortunate aesthetic choice.

One member of the congregation presented an alternative plan for a mikvah and a residence for the chazzan in the same place as the existing one, namely in the southeast annexes, to the right of the side entrance in the south wing. 188 The design had been drafted by the unknown architect P.W. Nijhoff (fig. 97). 189 This plan was carried out, with first and second-class bathing areas on the ground floor and a residence for the chazzan in the upper levels of the taller right section. 190 Only the left part of Nijhoff's extension remains, the low section with the second-class bathing areas, while the taller section containing the residence and the first-class bathing areas was given

up in 1939 to make room for a residential complex designed by Harry Elte.

In 1891 Ets Haim Library in the southwestern corner of the annexes was also renovated, so that it could accommodate the large private collection donated by its librarian, David Montezinos.¹⁹¹ During this renovation, the library was expanded onto the attic level and a cupola was added to admit light (fig. 98).¹⁹² A photograph from 1910 provides an impression of the interior (fig. 32).

The synagogue itself underwent major maintenance in 1889, when parts of the iron windows from 1852-1853 were replaced. 193 This work was entrusted to Z. Deenik en Zoon, a family business that had been active in Amsterdam's construction sector for almost 150 years and carried out similar work on the Ashkenazi community's Great Shul. In addition to this renovation, Deenik did a great deal of painting, but without significantly changing the colour scheme.

The twentieth century

THE WORK OF HARRY ELTE In 1907 Harry Elte (1880-1944), who was still at the start of his career, was appointed as architect to the Portuguese Jewish congregation. 194 This architect from the Jewish community was commissioned by the Sephardim for several major projects, such as the design for the Portuguese Jewish hospital in Henri Polaklaan in the Plantage district (1015-1016). Elte also worked for Amsterdam's Ashkenazi congregation, to which he belonged; for them, he designed the shul in Jacob Obrechtplein in the south of Amsterdam (1927-1928). Between 1904 and 1932, he built or renovated eleven other synagogues in Amsterdam and elsewhere. 195 As the architect to the Portuguese Jewish congregation, he was responsible for the Snoge, but his work on the building was fairly modest. In 1908 he performed some maintenance and repairs. 196 In 1925 the mahamad meeting room was renovated and refurnished in connection with the synagogues 250th anniversary (fig. 99).197

Just before the war, two very similar flat blocks designed by Elte were erected behind the synagogue. These are connected to the north and south wings of the service buildings (fig. 100). The flats in Muiderstraat date from 1936-1937 and those in Jonas Daniël Meijerplein from 1939. As noted above, the east section of Nijhoff's extension, which included the chazzan's residence, was removed to make room for the flats behind the Snoge. 198 Elte renovated the mikvah and incorporated it into the complex. The complex was his last built work; this gifted architect died in Theresienstadt concentration camp in 1944.

THE SNOGE IN WARTIME
In 1939 the Dutch national authorities
decided, in view of the threat of war, to take
measures to protect the Snoge. They

entrusted this task to the architect J. Roodenburgh. ¹⁹⁹ It was important to the Portuguese Jewish congregation that Roodenburgh work together with their own architect, but there was no budget to remunerate Elte for the extra work. Nevertheless, he decided to take on the task, 'guided by his great love for the building'. ²⁰⁰ Roodenburgh had the attic covered with a layer of fire-resistant paint and a thick rockwool blanket to protect it from firebombing. ²⁰¹

Other measures included the installation

98 Ets Haim Library as it is today.





of emergency water pipes for fires and fire escapes against the rear wall. The heichal was enclosed in a wooden structure with fireproof wire mesh and, at the bottom, a pile of wooden crates filled with sand (fig. 101).²⁰²

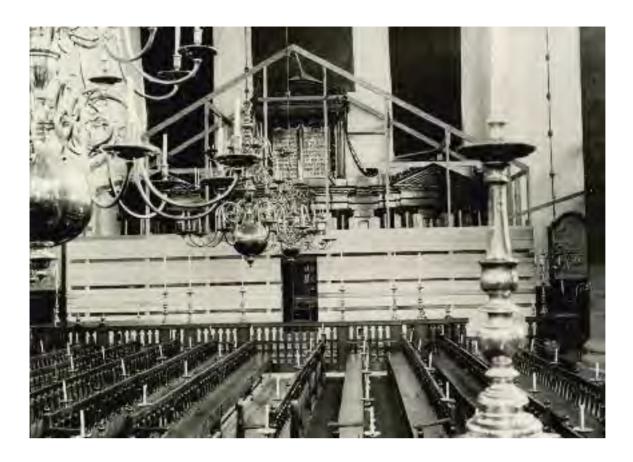
The Snoge came out of the war virtually unharmed; tragically, the same cannot be said of most synagogues, Jewish institutions, and Jewish homes, let alone of the Jews themselves. One memorable but also highly charged moment, considering the millions of murdered Jews, was the first Jewish religious service in the Netherlands after the war, held jointly by the Sephardi and Ashkenazi congregations in the Snoge on 9 May 1945.

99 The mahamad meeting room in 1927: the chazzan Jacob van David Blanes celebrates his twenty-fifth year in that role. The short wall on the west side includes curved doors in rococo style.



too The south side of the synagogue complex with the seventeenthcentury side entrance on the left, with the mikvah designed by Nijhoff in the centre and the flat block designed by Harry Elte on the right.

101 The interior of the Snoge in 1939 during the enclosure of the heichal.



THE RESTORATION OF 1954-1959

A major restoration took place in 1954-1959; the project was led by Jac. S. Baars and J.W. Kuipers.²⁰³ Jacob Baars (1886-1956) was one of the few Jewish architects in the Netherlands to have survived the Holocaust. Before the war, he had designed the synagogue in Linnaeusstraat (1927-1928, demolished in 1962). In 1925 he had applied for the job of architect to the Ashkenazi congregation in Amsterdam but lost out to Harry Elte. Outside Amsterdam, Baars designed synagogues in The Hague (1938) and Rotterdam (1054-1055). He died in 1056, during the restoration of the Snoge. From that time on, J.W. Kuipers was assisted by his younger brother W.J. Kuipers.

The objectives of this restoration, which took more than four years, were to repair the exterior walls and restore the brickwork of the balustrade to its original condition, to repair the furniture, and to renovate and

raise the level of the wooden floors.²⁰⁴ But the architects were also faced with unexpected issues. Fire prevention measures taken in 1939 had caused serious moisture damage to the roofs and drainage system. Parts of the roof structure and the gutters had to be replaced.²⁰⁵

The restoration architects had also been asked to address problems with the iron windows in the exterior walls. They replaced almost all the support bars. The architects had the parnassim bench, which was against the north wall, disassembled, and some parts (mainly internal) were replaced. They made a detailed drawing specifying how to reassemble the bench, 206 which also had its faux wood paint layers removed. The heichal, tebah, benches, banquettes, partitions, and enclosed porch were also refurbished.

The restoration architects had a preference for historic building materials. This was undoubtedly due in part to the scarcity



 $102 \ \ The west side of the synagogue complex in the early twentieth century, as depicted in the work \textit{Sprokkelingen in Nederland} \ by \ A. \ Loosjes.$



103 The west wall of the annexes. This photograph clearly shows that the placement of the windows in the section at the Muiderstraat corner (on the left) was altered during the restoration in 1954-1959.

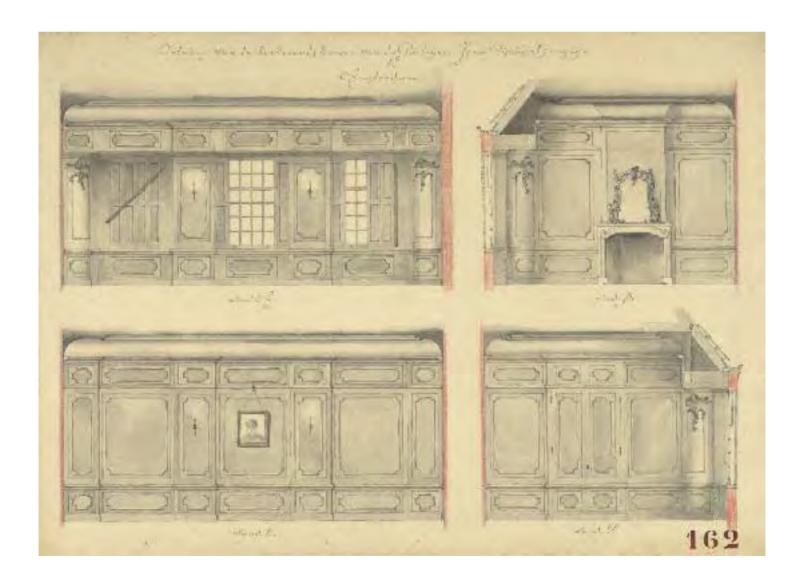
of new materials, but also to the wish for the renovated elements to appear as authentic as possible. The sandstone steps outside the main entrance were replaced, and an additional step was added. The blue limestone steps that were used came from the Maagdenhuis, which was refurbished around the same time. ²⁰⁷

Like many in their generation, Baars and Kuipers strongly disliked even the most understated nineteenth-century additions. Fortunately, financial constraints stood in the way of an ill-conceived plan to replace the cast-iron windows.

One major change was the restoration of the service buildings, which were in poor condition owing to inadequate maintenance. All the windows and doors on the street side of the courtyard were renovated. The casement windows in the courtyard, which had probably been added in the nineteenth century, were replaced with sash windows with glazing bars. The door frames with stable doors and the cellar window frames were restored without any change in type. On the street side, the cellar window frames were reconstructed on the model of one in Jonas Daniël Meijerplein that had been preserved (fig. 102-103). 209

In the annexes, almost all the floors were replaced. In the attics, the wooden joisting and the trusses were in alarming condition. The restoration report states, 'Without

104 Jac. S. Baars and J.W. Kuipers, Design drawing for the presentday meeting room (circa 1953): wall elevations.



exception, therefore, these attic joists, trusses, wall plates, and gutters were replaced.'210 The replacement of attic joists and trusses had consequences for the meeting room of the mahamad. Baars and Kuipers did not hesitate to remove the nineteenth-century barrel vault, an understandable decision in the light of their aversion to the architectural idiom of that period. Above the ceiling present today, the walls still bear traces of the vanished vault (fig. 100). The flat, coved stucco ceiling that replaced it was designed by the architects (fig. 104).211 They probably preserved the rococo-style arched closet doors on the short west wall by moving them to the opposite wall (fig. 99). For this room, they designed windows with an eighteenth-century pattern of glazing bars, as well as wainscoted walls. They also purchased a suitable mantelpiece with a mirror in rococo style, which probably came from a canal house.212

After the Second World War the medras, the lecture hall of Ets Haim seminary, was used as a winter synagogue. In 1954-1959 this room was adapted to this new purpose in various ways; it was expanded and furnished with a women's gallery. Several benches from the south women's gallery in the Snoge were placed there. The lists of names of the members of Ets Haim on the walls were left in place (fig. 163). An enclosed porch was added between the winter synagogue and the entrance door from the courtyard.

The library was reorganized; the gallery was expanded and made more easily accessible through the addition of an oak spiral staircase in the original period style. The skylights were restored in an altered form and new ones were added. In the south aisle, along Jonas Daniël Meijerplein, new concrete floors were poured in some of the brick cellars.²¹⁴

Soon after the renovations were officially completed, structural problems came to light, and there were complaints about the

quality of the work. Just a few years after the end of the restoration, the roof had to be repaired because parts had been eaten away by fungus and woodworm.²¹⁵ D. Verheus, who later performed other renovations and repairs for the Portuguese Jewish congregation, was engaged for this work in 1964. He was assisted by W. de Leon, the congregation's architectural adviser.²¹⁶

THE RESTORATION OF 1991-1993

In 1978, scarcely twenty years after the renovation by Baars and Kuipers, preparations were begun for new restoration work, ²¹⁷ prompted by the poor condition of the roof of the eastern extension. After long preparation, the national authorities approved the grant application in 1988, and a successful fundraising campaign was launched.

The restoration work took place from 1991 to 1993, with an emphasis on addressing structural problems. Parts of the roof damaged by mould and insects were replaced, and structural repairs were made to the exterior walls. The stone facing of the pilaster strips, which had come loose from the brickwork, was reattached. The cast-iron of the arched windows was in poor condition, and the rusted glazing bars of those windows was replaced with stainless material. The cramp irons, which were also severely rusted, had caused cracks and were renovated. All the dormers in the synagogue were replaced.

One important aspect of the restoration was the interior colour scheme. Gerard de Klerk (1925-2003), commissioned as a consulting architect, presented the board with two options. The first was to introduce a modern-day colour scheme with the aim of highlighting spatial relationships and adding accents. The alternative was to restore the original colour scheme from 1675. The board wisely settled on the latter

option, even though it necessitated the removal of the faux oak decoration added in the nineteenth century. The national historic preservation department (Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg) was asked to perform the research on the original colour scheme.219 Despite the decision to restore the seventeenth-century scheme, aesthetic considerations ultimately played a role, and the original colour scheme was not restored after all.220 The first grev paint laver was replaced with the cvan colour from the eighteenth century.22I On the ceiling beneath the women's galleries, the turquoise green colour was restored. The architraves above the four monumental columns in the central nave were left brown, in accordance with the findings of the Rijksdienst. The furniture, including the heichal and tebah, was repaired and cleaned, as were the chandeliers.

The annexes were also thoroughly refurbished. The facades were cleaned, wooden parts were repainted, and the roofs were repaired and retiled, with the old tiles remaining in use. The skylights in the library and the winter synagogue had to be replaced. The women's gallery in the winter synagogue was expanded, and an extra bench was added. The dilapidated gate in

Muiderstraat, dating from 1882, was disassembled and rebuilt.

When the restoration began, the forecourt was blighted with a wooden hut or sukkah built after the Second World War and consisting of two converted site cabins. Because it had become too costly to assemble and disassemble this structure each year, the hut had been permanently present in the years just prior to the restoration. ²²² In 1991, it was slated for demolition. An area behind the synagogue originally intended for storage was expanded and adapted for use as a sukkah. It was fitted with a roof that could be opened and is still in use for this new purpose.

In short, the work on the Snoge during its nearly 350-year history has been limited to maintenance and to addressing structural problems. The aim of the Portuguese Jewish Congregation has been to keep the building and its rich interior as well preserved as possible in their original state. The functions of the annexes did change somewhat over the centuries, but in the synagogue, time seems to have stood still. To this day, it has no electric lighting or heating. Above all, considering the catastrophic events of the 1940s, it is nothing short of a miracle that the building is still being used for its original purpose.

Restoring the past, creating room for the future

Kees Doornenhal

For many years, the Portuguese Jewish Congregation has wished to make the synagogue complex more user-friendly and accessible to the public. In November 2006. the board of parnassim announced a competition for this purpose, inviting five firms to take part. Each participating firm was asked to describe its vision of the architectural possibilities and opportunities and present it visually in a design sketch. The brief was to make the religious functions of the building central to the design, while expanding its educational and museum functions, so that a broad public could be introduced to the building. There was also a desire to expand the library areas and study facilities. Alongside these wishes, there was an urgent need for restoration of the entire complex and repair of the foundations.

The competition was won by Rappange & Partners, because of our vision for the innovative use of space and our respect for the existing situation. In close consultation with the working and steering group and the foundation Cultureel Erfgoed Portugees-Israëlietische Gemeente (Cultural Heritage of the Portuguese Jewish Congregation; CEPIG), we established the final user requirements for the synagogue complex. This article presents my perspective on the restoration as an architect (fig. 105).

A RESTORATION WITH RESPECT FOR THE BUILDING'S HISTORICAL STRUCTURE AND DEVELOPMENT All our choices were informed by a basic attitude of respect for the historical structure. Our aim in restoring the synagogue

was to preserve the character of this unique complex. With this in mind, we took a restrained approach to the restoration with an attitude of respect for earlier measures. New requirements and functions had to be incorporated into the architecture in a subtle, creative manner, with respect for the existing structure.

Both the use of the building over time and its construction history are of great significance in cultural history and must be handed down to future generations. The memory of the past should remain an integral part of the building's future. When planning new measures, our basic principle was to keep or make the references to the past as visible as possible. A case in point is the nineteenth-century faux wood filing cabinets in the area next to the gate in the south wing. The ceiling of this area is formed by a barrel vault, probably for reasons of safety or fire protection. The material used looks like concrete but is actually nineteenth-century reinforced plasterwork. The nineteenth-century safe is on a slab of limestone, and the windows have steel shutters (fig. 106). Another example is the hat closet in the entrance area of the mahamad meeting room, where the chazzanim (cantors) and the parnassim leave their tall silk hats during services. This closet is made of reused nineteenthcentury wood and was moved to its present location in the 1980s (fig. 107).

Many small remnants of the past have been preserved. As tiny as these historical traces sometimes are, they serve as reminders of how the building was once used and reinforce the historical experience, 105 Artist's impression of the main entrance with the glass security doors.



106 The nineteenthcentury archive, with two faux wood safes in the rear and a reinforced barrel-vaulted ceiling.





107 The closet in the entrance area of the mahamad meeting room for the tall silk hats worn during religious services.



108 The floor of the basement was lowered. It was originally just below the seventeenth-century iron hearth-plate and white tiles (witjes) on the wall.

109 Remnants of the original stucco on the wall of the mahamad meeting room. The shape of the barrel vault is still visible.





110 The former study area was converted into a winter synagogue in 1954-1959.

although visitors are often unaware of their influence. Such historical traces include the small white tiles (witjes) in the originally seventeenth-century kitchen and the remains of the fireplaces in the cellar, which also date from the seventeenth-century (fig. 108). Even parts of the building invisible to the public, such as the nine-

teenth-century remains of the ceiling of the mahamad meeting room, have been kept as intact as possible (fig. 109). We deliberately harnessed the intrinsic potential of the building.

Prior to restoration, we conducted a value assessment so that we could make careful choices in the final design. Our objective was to gain insight into the complex. Our research into the building's history began by focusing on the original architecture and structure of the building in the period around the opening in 1675 and on the significance of this information for our purposes. As far as possible, drawings were made of the original structure. Changes to this structure over time were then investigated and documented. We found that the use of the spaces in the annexes has changed over the centuries. For example, the mikvah and kitchens have been relocated several times. Since the late 1950s, the former study area has been in use as a winter synagogue (fig. 110). For security

reasons, the main gate in Mr. Visserplein was closed to visitors in the 1980s and the entrance was moved to the former residence of the samas (sexton).

Numerous ad hoc alterations had led to inefficient use of the complex prior to the restoration. Determining the heritage value of these later measures was not always easy. Measures dating from the 1980s and 90s that detracted from the original structure were accorded little value. It remained challenging, however, to respond to postwar measures that have already acquired some historical standing. In such cases, we took great care to consider all the factors at play.

RECONSIDERING BUILDING FUNCTIONS AND DEVELOPING

A NEW ROUTING SYSTEM One crucial design instrument was our routing analysis. The existing flows of users through the complex were researched and recorded. This information formed the basis for plans relating to the building's future uses. Developing a clear, safe new routing system for the different categories of users was one of our top priorities. Which areas had to remain accessible to visitors in the future, and which areas had to be accessible to congregants during Shabbat and religious holidays (fig. 111)? The new routing system had to satisfy the demand for openness that would permit organic. collective use by the whole range of user groups, while also providing a degree of privacy for religious uses.

For logistical purposes, we divided users into four categories: 1. religious users, 2. museum visitors, 3. office users, and 4. users visiting Ets Haim Library and the study areas. Obviously, religious uses take precedence. It was essential to ensure that users in these four groups could share the building without disturbing one another. This necessitated decisions about the public accessibility of different areas:



111 The new entrance to the women's gallery in the winter synagogue. This addition has logistically separated the women's gallery from the office areas.

when, and how often, they would be accessible to whom. It was important to keep in mind that religious uses of the Snoge take place primarily on Shabbat and religious holidays, but also include weddings and other special events. The museum facilities, study areas, and library were to remain open throughout the week, except on Shabbat. What is more, the complex had to be readied for use by a larger number of visitors.

The new routing system was to a large extent inspired by the synagogue's historical pattern of use. To give the complex a more open character and to make it more accessible to a broad public, we chose to bring the original entrance gate in Mr. Visserplein back into use. This gate serves as a high-capacity entrance for all user groups. Its large wooden doors are open and inviting, offering a view of the inner courtyard and the entrance to the synagogue. Security issues were resolved by installing double glass security doors in the entrance gate.

112 The new secure entrance provides a view of the Snoge during opening hours.





113 The mahamad meeting room with the phoenix coat of arms of the Portuguese Jewish Congregation in the carpet.

These doors are made of bulletproof glass (fig. 112). Two recesses were made in the side wall of the passage through the gate, one for guards assigned to the glass security doors and one inside the security gate for ticket sales. After passing through this central entrance, visitors can move freely through the grounds. The four user groups mingle in the forecourt but then follow separate routes depending on the purpose of their visit.

RELIGIOUS USE OF AREAS IN THE COMPLEX

The Snoge and the winter synagogue form the central religious areas of the complex. The annexes along the forecourt hold the meeting room for the mahamad and the kitchens (fig. 113). The mikvah (a religious bathhouse for women) is in the low wing along Jonas Daniel Meijerplein, while the hut or sukkah is at the rear of the synagogue. These religious areas are not directly connected to the Snoge. On Shabbat and religious holidays, they must operate independently of other uses of the complex.

The mikvah requires privacy; it must be possible to close it off from other areas. Furthermore, it must be accessible to users at times when the rest of the complex is closed. The separate entrance to the mikvah in Jonas Daniel Meijerplein was therefore left in place. Of the five ritual baths built in the nineteenth century, previous restorations had left only one. This bath is still in use. During the previous restoration, a former ritual bath had been converted into a cistern for rainwater. A small opening connects this cistern to the remaining bath (fig. 114). This

system for adding rainwater to the ritual bath meets the religious requirement that running water be used. To bring this area up to modern standards, a shower and bath have been installed. When the mikvah is not in use, museum visitors can view the bath through a window (which can be closed when necessary) and learn about its religious significance.

Because many members of the congregation live further than a Shabbat journey away from the synagogue, a tradition has formed of spending the night in the synagogue during major holidays. The dormitory areas have been made accessible through the same entrance as the mikvah, so that they too can be reached when the rest of the complex is closed.



114 The ritual bath in the mikvah.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR CREATING ADDITIONAL SPACE

When adapting the annexes to new uses, we gave as much consideration as possible to their historical purposes, while also working diligently towards an optimal routing system. Spaces such as the library, the winter synagogue, the mahamad meeting room, and the mikvah are deeply anchored in the complex and its religious uses. The other areas were considered adaptable to new uses because of their lack of religious significance. In the annexes, the issue of adaptation to new uses and expansion could therefore be addressed creatively.

To create additional space, the basement floor was lowered when the foundations of the annexes were repaired, and a new cellar was added beneath the gatehouse. The cellar areas are interconnected, forming a unique, integrated subterranean space. For optimal use of the cellar, it was critical to ensure accessibility without detriment to the structure of the ground level. A new external stairway installed in the forecourt provides access to these areas, so that they support the new role of the complex as a museum, with storage and reception, a cloakroom, and toilets. A new internal stairway leads through the central reception area to the library, the study area, and the offices (figs. 115-116).

In short, the new cellar plays a crucial role in the new routing system, as does the new external stairway. This adaptation has made it possible to accommodate large groups of museum visitors, who can enter and exit the museum area freely and then explore other parts of the complex. The cellar is also being used as part of the route for office users and visitors to Ets Haim; another new stairway leads up to the offices and the library.



115 The new external stairway was a major architectural addition.

116 After completion, the new external stairway is barely noticeable from the courtyard.

THE RESTORATION OF THE SNOGE

Developing a restoration vision for the Snoge was fairly straightforward. The use of the complex was clearly established and was to remain unchanged. Maintenance, conservation, and security were the main issues for this seventeenth-century synagogue, which was fundamentally in an excellent state of preservation.



One aspect of the restoration presented a difficult choice. The condition of the foundations was worrying: the exterior walls of the Snoge had been found to be sinking more rapidly than the four columns inside the building. Did the Snoge need new foundations? The construction firm of EversPartners played an important role in the assessment of all the data on the foundations. For more than thirty years, the building has been monitored at various points, both outside and next to the interior columns. Settlement is measured to the millimetre. This monitoring system offers a clear picture of differences in settlement rates. In Amsterdam, it is normal for buildings to sink slightly over time, and the Snoge is no exception. The original sand flat on which the building was erected consolidates a little bit each year. There is a logical explanation for the fact that the walls are settling more rapidly than the central columns: the timber piles under the sixty-seven-centimetre-thick bearing walls bear a much greater load than the stone columns (fig. 117). If settlement continues at the current rate for another fifty vears, the columns will have settled substantially less than the bearing walls. However, the wooden roof structure is capable of handling the resulting deformation without much damage to the building. Repair of the foundations would have a profound impact on the brick barrel vaults beneath the Snoge (fig. 118). Because the settlement in the years ahead will be minimal and will not damage the building, we decided not to repair the foundations at this time.

Because the Snoge has an unboarded roof, there is a serious risk of leaks. As we worked, we were very careful to leave this unique historic roof structure as intact as possible. In many places, however, we had to replace parts of the wooden roof structures (fig. 119). The roof structure was in especially poor condition in difficult-to-reach places between the roof and the

boarding of the vaults and adjacent to the barrel vaults. The roof covering went virtually unaltered. The unboarded roof was left as it was, and we refrained from adding foil under the roof tiles so as not to interfere with the ventilation in the roof. Many of the roof tiles had to be re-laid for a tighter, more waterproof fit (fig. 120).

The Snoge's sandstone cornice presented major problems. An earlier restoration made use of an unsuitable paint system, which caused the sandstone to crumble. In response to this problem, the entire Snoge was scaffolded and the stonework and masonry was scrupulously checked and repaired (fig. 121). The cast-iron windows dating from 1854 demanded special attention and care, because of the major threat posed by the rusting iron. Rust increases the size of iron by a factor of six, creating pressure that can crush the surrounding masonry and glass (fig. 122).

Another problem is related to humidity. Because the Snoge is unheated, the indoor temperature and humidity slowly adapt to the outdoor climate. This can lead to mould formation in the wood and stucco in the building. Excessive humidity in the space beneath the brick barrel vaults also poses a threat to the interior of the synagogue. The humidity in the heichal was too high for the Torah scrolls and the gilt leather. This humidity problem is probably related to the vents installed under the floor of the Snoge during the 1991-1993 restoration. When warm, wet air from the vents came into contact with colder masonry, condensation took place. By closing these recently installed vents, we restored the original moisture balance that had served the synagogue well for centuries.

THE RESTORATION OF THE ANNEXES

The exterior walls of the annexes have been altered in various ways over the years. The colonnades, originally open, were later closed off, and in the nineteenth century most of the north wall in Muiderstraat was



117 The brick barrel vaults under the Snoge and the masonry foot of the column passing through the vault.



118 The brick barrel vaults under the Snoge. The imprints of the centrings are clearly visible.



119 Restoring the beams under the roof of the Snoge.



120 Re-laying the Snoge's roof tiles The date 28 September 1788 is visible on the purlin.



121 Raking out joints and earlier repairs to the sandstone parts of the balustrade.



122 Restoring the Snoge's cast-iron windows.

replaced. The original cross windows in the outer walls of the annexes have been replaced with sash windows, and a number of windows have been added.

The most conspicuous exterior wall of the annexes is visible in Jonas Daniël Meijerplein. This wall has gradually become deformed and now slants approximately thirty centimetres backwards (fig. 123). This is peculiar, because in the past exterior walls were sometimes built slanting forwards, but never backwards. Masonry piers are attached to this wall in a number of places; these too slant backwards. Because no cracks are visible, it seems likely that the buildings became deformed at a very slow pace over the centuries. This deformation was probably caused by various interrelated factors, one of which was presumably the closure of the open colonnades and the simultaneous installation of a wooden floor. which replaced clinker paving on sand. The extra weight caused the foundations of this part of the complex to subside and eventually tilt like a house of cards. Another contributing factor may have been ground subsidence in the forecourt. Since the construction of the Snoge, the ground level in the forecourt has been higher than the level of the paving in Jonas Daniël Meijerplein. This discrepancy increases the load on the foundations on the inner side of this part of the complex (fig. 124). The courtyard was probably raised back to its original level on various occasions after construction, and consequently the foundations on the courtyard side continued to slowly subside.

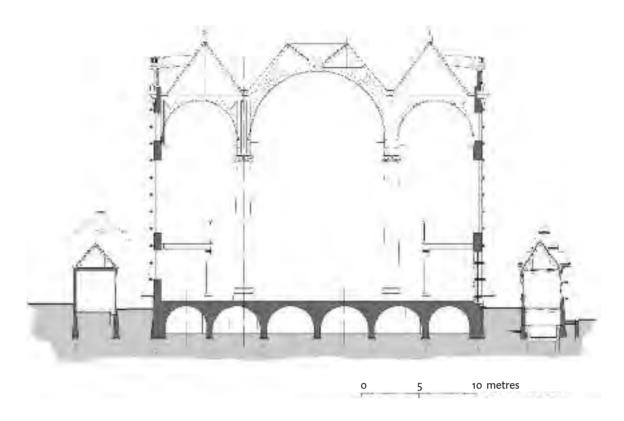
The masonry piers and two masonry arches are visible in the cellar of the south wing (fig. 125). It is not clear why two arches were built, since only one was needed to close off the colonnade. All the annexes have now been provided with new foundations, a measure that has put a stop to the centurieslong deformation of the tilted wall. The slant that had already developed has been preserved as a striking remnant of this long process. During repairs in the cellar, we



123 The exterior wall on the south side of the complex, with its extreme backward slant.

124 Cross-section of the complex. The contrast between the dimensions of the Snoge and those of the annexes is clearly visible. The right side shows the exterior walls of the south wing, which slant towards the courtyard, and the difference in elevation between the courtyard and the street.

125 Repairing the foundations in the south wing. On the left are the double masonry arches under the exterior wall facing the courtyard.







stumbled upon an underground cistern beneath the entrance gate. The existence of this cistern was unknown to us during the planning stage. It was not possible to adapt the plan for the new cellar and leave this cistern in place (fig. 126).

VIEWS OF THE DEPOTS

Exhibiting the unique Judaica collection to the public involves not only putting it on display, but also creating an environment in which the condition of art objects will not deteriorate. The nature of the collection and, in particular, the many textile items impose stringent climatic requirements on the exhibition space. The humidity and temperature

126 Two cisterns found during construction.

have to be kept as constant as possible and may fluctuate only slightly. The underground storage areas for the collection have several transparent glass walls, which make the collection visible to the public and permit optimal climate control in the storage area. The interior design for this area was provided by the firm of Kossmann.deJong (figs. 127-128).

The interior of Ets Haim Library was left unchanged during this restoration; it had already been adapted to strict modern-day climate control standards as part of the previous restoration. But we did have to connect the library to the upgraded climate control system, and we found space on the attic level to expand the library's study area.

INSTALLATIONS: HISTORY AND MODERN TECHNOLOGY IN CONFLICT

The appearance of the modern systems for humidity and temperature control in Ets Haim Library, the storage areas, and the museum exhibition areas clashed with the historic structure and desired atmosphere of the historic synagogue complex. We were able to conceal these systems from view by carefully choosing the locations of the units and by integrating their cables, ducts, and pipes into the existing structure. From the very start of the design stage, climate control systems were taken into consideration. We sought the advice of Karel Hubolt, who like us approached his work from the perspective of the building, and who sought to reconcile physical plant requirements with this approach. Sufficient space for the large units was found in the new cellar on the basement level (fig. 129). The cooling units required a location with direct exposure to fresh air but could not be placed on the roof because they would disrupt the historic appearance of the complex. We solved this problem by placing the cooling units in a recess in the rooftop. A sound-absorbing panel was placed over the units, making



127 Glass walls make the treasures of the Snoge visible to the public. This is the textile storage area.



128 The storage area for silver on the basement level of the front buildings.

them invisible from outside and preserving the aesthetic qualities of the roof landscape. We succeeded in preserving the historic appearance of the complex and found inconspicuous ways of installing advanced equipment inside it.

CONCLUSION

For our architecture firm, Rappange & Partners, restoring the historic integrity and value of the Portuguese Synagogue was an exceptionally challenging project. We ensured the quality of the restoration not

only by drawing up restoration plans and a design, but also by supervising the work performed by the contracting firm of Konst & Van Polen. This approach made it possible for the work begun on 25 January 2010 to be completed by 20 December 2011, at a total cost of 5,700,000, within the predetermined budget. The restoration has made the synagogue more accessible than in the past; with its newly open character, the complex now invites visitors and interested parties to explore Jewish culture, the history of the building, and religious practices.

129 Historic details, such as the remains of a fireplace, have also been left visible in physical plant areas



The festive inauguration of the Esnoga in 1675

Mirjam Knotter²²³

'This house of learning, the Jews' house of prayer,
Bouman's masterpiece, 224 the glory of this new edifice
On the Amstel and the IJ; this temple consecrated to God
Fears no conscience – no coercion, torture or death.
Grow noble Judaea's branch here and let your saplings flower.
How the nation's power does grow when its burghers multiply.'225

Romeyn de Hooghe (1675)

On Friday 10 Menachem 5435 (2 August 1675), a crowd of festively-dressed people congregated towards 5 p.m., just before the beginning of Shabbat, for the solemn inauguration of the large new synagogue (fig. 130). The Esnoga's interior was illuminated for the occasion by over 800 candles. This milestone in the history of the Portuguese Jewish congregation was immortalized in texts and images and is commemorated annually to this day. 226 The date of the inauguration had been chosen with great care, since it was the beginning of Shabbat Nachamu, the Sabbath of the Consolation, the first Sabbath following Tishnga Beab (Tisha B'Av), the ninth day of the Jewish month of Ab (Av). Tisha B'Av is a day of deep mourning that commemorates the destruction of the first and second Temples of Jerusalem and the exile of the Jewish people. This day – which is commemorated by Jewish communities all over the world with a day of fasting on which some congregations drape the entire synagogue in black – is followed by a period of 'consolation', starting with Shabbat Nachamu. The following seven weekly Shabbat readings, following the reading from the Torah, are from the book of the 'consolation prophet' Isaiah, as a form of comfort and as an assurance that the Temple will be rebuilt.²²⁷ Nachamu is the first word in the Book of Isaiah, 'Comfort, comfort ye my people' (Isaiah 40:1). The Portuguese Jewish congregation still celebrates the inauguration of the Esnoga on Shabbat Nachamu every year.²²⁸

THE INAUGURATION AND THE MEMORIAS OF DAVID FRANCO MENDES

The building and inauguration of the celebrated synagogue, the biggest in the world at the time, marks the acme of the golden age of the Portuguese Jewish community in the Netherlands. The inauguration of the synagogue had been awaited with eager anticipation since building had started in 1671, and no effort or expense was spared to express the community's great joy. Only a few years earlier, in March 1671, there had been the festive inauguration of the Great Synagogue of the Ashkenazi Jews, less than a hundred yards away, and now it was the turn of the Portuguese Jewish congregation. The building of these two large synagogues was truly remarkable in an age in which Catholics, Mennonites and Remonstrants were still obliged to hold their services in



130 Romeyn de Hooghe, Interior of the Portuguese Synagogue during the inauguration in 1675.

clandestine churches. Members of the Jewish community were acutely conscious of the special status they enjoyed in the Dutch Republic, and more specifically in Amsterdam, and celebrated the position they had secured as welcome newcomers to the city. They experienced quite literally the feelings expressed by the well-known Rabbi Menasse ben Israel (1604-1657) in 1642 in his festive welcome speech to the stadholder Frederik Hendrik and Queen Henrietta Maria, when they came to visit the old synagogue: 'For we now regard Holland, rather than Spain or Portugal, as our mother country.'²²⁹ There was no bigger or more tangible symbol for

this allegiance than the festive inauguration of the Esnoga in the presence of almost the entire Amsterdam city council. Even on this occasion, however, the Portuguese Jewish congregation retained a powerful awareness of the loss of the Temple, the exile of the Jewish people, the banishment of the Sephardim from the Iberian Peninsula, and their persecution at the hands of the Inquisition. For, despite the undoubted joy of the Portuguese Jewish community, the festivities took place 'with a solemnity appropriate to our state of exile', in the words of the historian David Franco Mendes (1713-1792) in his Memorias.²³⁰

In 1767, this translator, poet and historian of the Portuguese Jewish Community had started writing his chronicle of the history of Amsterdam's Sephardi Jews until 1772, entitled Memorias do Estabelecimento e Progresso dos Judeos Portuguezes e Espanhoes Nesta Famosa Citade de Amsterdam. In this unfinished manuscript, Franco Mendes also gives a detailed description of the events leading up to the building and inauguration of the Esnoga.231 It is not known why Franco Mendes did not complete this work, but his manuscript was preserved in Ets Haim Library, along with an unpublished Dutch translation of the Memorias, produced in 1872 by the historian, antiquarian, and collector of Judaica David Henriques de Castro (1826-1808).²³² De Castro also wrote a much-quoted book on the Portuguese Synagogue, De Synagoge der Portugees-Israëlietische Gemeente te Amsterdam, which was published in 1875 and reissued in 1950 for the Esnoga's 275th anniversary by Jaap Meijer, then librarian of Ets Haim.233

Although Franco Mendes's account of the Esnoga's inauguration, in his Memorias, was written almost a hundred years after the event, he tells the story as if he had been there himself. He describes the new Esnoga gradually filling up with invited guests, including the burgomasters and aldermen of Amsterdam, in the afternoon: 'everyone was dressed in festive garments and radiated an inexpressible joy, but accompanied by a sense of gravity'.234 We read that the candles in all the brass chandeliers and candlesticks were lit, and a select group had gathered in the new mahamad meeting room to carry the Torah scrolls in a festive procession through the courtyard and the side entrance on the south side into their new sacred place. Carrying the first scroll at the head of the procession was chacham Isaac Aboab da Fonseca (1605-1603), one of the initiators of the new synagogue, followed by the executive committees of the societies Ets Haim and Bikkoer Choliem. Then came the velhos, the elders of the congregation, each

one preceded by a designated member of the congregation with a burning wax candle or torch.²³⁵ This festive group completed three rounds of the synagogue's interior with the Torah scrolls covered with their silver and gold brocade mantles, embellished with gilded and silver finials and crowns (fig. 131). The senior chazzan, Jozef Cohen Faro (c. 1606-1681) recited the Shehecheyanu blessing ('Who has given us life') on behalf of the congregation. This prayer is almost 2,000 vears old, and is recited on occasions such as moving into a new house or buying or building a house to be lived in. 236 His fellow chazzan, Imanuel Abenatar Mello, then recited the Hanoten Teshua prayer for the government and the city council, which is still said today on every Shabbat and High Holiday. and on royal visits.²³⁷ After that, two prayers were sung: the Yimloch, which is sung before the Torah is returned to the heichal (Torah ark), and the 'Mizmor l'David' – Psalm 29, a Psalm of David about the omnipotence of the Almighty – while the Torah scrolls were



131 The congregation's Torah scrolls were placed in the heichal on the first evening of the inauguration after first being walked around the congregation in a processional three times (detail of previous fig.).



132 The placing of the Torah scrolls in the heichal (detail of fig. 130).

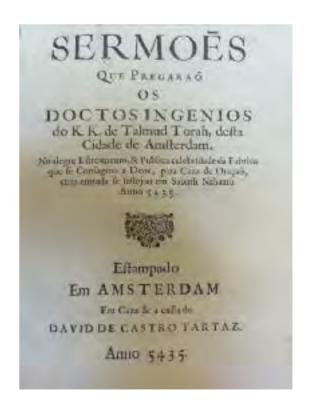
placed in the magnificently carved heichal of Brazilian rosewood (palisander; see fig. 132). This was followed by other psalms and religious songs and the prayers for the commencement of Shabbat. With this celebratory first service began the inauguration of the Esnoga, which went on for a full eight days, emulating the inauguration of the Temple of Jerusalem. It was a truly historic event, which still resounds with significance to this day.

THE INAUGURATION SERMONS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

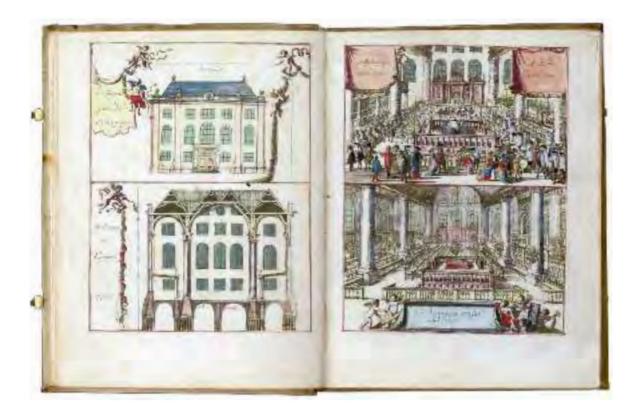
Since all were aware that the building of the synagogue was a momentous occasion, no trouble or expense was spared to record the inauguration festivities in words and images. In describing the festivities in his Memorias, Franco Mendes could rely on a variety of sources. As the honorary secretary of the Portuguese congregation, he had access to its archives, from which he had compiled a collection of historical documents from which he quotes liberally in his Memorias. These documents, which are bound in green vellum, were last docu-

mented in 1800 in the auction catalogue of the estate of David Henriques de Castro, after which they vanished.238 Franco Mendes's primary source was the preface to the collection of Portuguese inauguration sermons, which was published in 1675 under the title Sermoes que pregaraõ os Doctos Ingenios do K.K. de Talmud Torah, desta Cidade de Amsterdam by the Sephardi printer-publisher David de Castro Tartas (1630-1608; fig. 133).239 This small volume was produced and bound with the utmost care. L. Fuks, a former librarian of Ets Haim, described it as a 'typographic jewel, an outstanding example of seventeenth-century printing in Amsterdam',240

This collection of sermons is key to helping us understand the significance that Portuguese Jewish scholars of the day attached to the Esnoga. The congregation's leading scholars exerted themselves to produce fine speeches and expositions to celebrate the inauguration of the new Temple and to



133 Title page of the *Sermoes*, the collection of inauguration sermons published in 1675.



134 Romeyn de Hooghe (attrib.), The handcoloured illustrations in the Sermoes.

enhance the community's joy. De Castro Tartas had attended the inauguration himself and described it in his preface. There is a unique copy of the Sermoes, bound with some handwritten pages containing a survey of the building costs of the Esnoga and handcoloured illustrations, in Ets Haim Library (fig. 134).241 The preface and dedication are followed by four sheets, each with two vertically arranged illustrations. They show the tebah and heichal, a floor plan of the new complex of buildings, a bird's-eye view of the complex with the schools and open side galleries, a frontal view of the front façade, and a cross-section of the building with the vaults, the interior of the synagogue during the inauguration, and the empty interior with ornaments.242 Some authors have questioned the attribution of these illustrations to the well-known engraver Romeyn de Hooghe; the illustrator is not named in the Sermoes.²⁴³ The eight small prints were also issued in a unique single-sheet edition, surrounded by a border of flowers, fruit, and ears of wheat, symbolizing the growth and

flourishing of the Jewish community (fig. 44).²⁴⁴

The inauguration sermons that have come down to us in the Sermoes provide a good picture of the different religious interpretations and meanings that were attached to the new building by the congregation's rabbis and scholars.²⁴⁵ Each sermon was preceded by the publisher's dedication to an individual singled out for his importance to the community. The first one was given on Shabbat by the seventy-year-old chacham Isaac Aboab da Fonseca, one of the most prominent driving forces behind the plans to build the new synagogue, whose name is incorporated for that reason into the Hebrew inscription above the Esnoga's entrance (fig. 49). In his sermon he compares the miraculous circumstances surrounding the building of the Temple to those of the Esnoga. He also emphasizes that while there may have been a wish, in planning the building, to give something to the Eternal One, this was unnecessary, since both the Temple and the Esnoga were

intended for joyful gatherings in the presence of the Eternal One. The honorary function of opening the new heichal to take out the Torah scrolls had been allocated to Mozes Curiel, a member of the Board of Parnassim, who had donated the precious Brazilian rosewood. Several other members of the congregation were given the honour of carrying the Torah to the tebah, lifting it up, and reciting the *Haftarah*, and Mozes Pereira was chosen to say Kaddish.²⁴⁶ Pereira may have been the donor of the antique cloth that was reportedly draped over the tebah during the inauguration (fig. 130).

The second sermon was given on Sunday by chacham Selomoh de Olivera, who had devised a variation on the theme of the human being as a microcosm in relation to the universe, translated here into the synagogue as 'Mikdash Me'at', small temple, in comparison to the great Temple, that of Solomon. He described the members of the congregation as flowers – a fairly common metaphor within the Sephardic community (fig. 44) – and articulated the wish that they be transplanted to the 'holy ground'.247 The third speaker was Isaac Saruco. This scholar spoke inter alia about the three pillars that connect human beings to God, emphasizing the divine and worldly aspects of each one. The first is the Torah (the Law), which is spiritual and divine in its mystery and earthly in its precepts. The second is worship, in relation to which Saruco explains that the prayers said in the Esnoga are divine and must be construed as offerings, but the Esnoga itself is earthly. The third is charity, which is both divine and earthly, because everyone needs it. Saruco also emphasized that the Esnoga, in its opulence, was unique in the seventeenth-century diaspora, and expressed the expectation that this would be the last synagogue built in exile.²⁴⁸ The fourth speaker, Isaac Nieto, spoke primarily of the power of prayer and the importance of the synagogue as the place for the congregation's prayers that lead to the love of God.

The fifth sermon was by Eliyau Lopes.²⁴⁹ Lopes discussed the building and its significance in greater depth than the other rabbis. According to him, two important aspects can be distinguished in the Esnoga's magnificence. The first is the Esnoga's striking perfection from the viewpoint of Jewish Law, key elements being its height (that is, being higher than the buildings around it) and light. Lopes thus explains the name 'Esnoga' as a compound formed from the Hebrew words esh (fire, the element that reaches highest) and noga (light), since the House of God must be so bright that there is nothing apart from the light itself. The second important point, according to Lopes, is that the Esnoga has certain characteristics of the Temple. He bases this on the threefold division of the Temple ordained by God: the open-air courtyard, the somewhat more intimate, covered Holy Place, and the Holy of Holies as the most sanctified place. He then goes on to make the associations, which are well-known in synagogue architecture, between courtyard, the interior with the altar of incense, symbolized here by the tebah from which the Torah is read, and then the Holv of Holies, where the Ark of the Covenant with the Tablets of the Law was kept in the Temple, represented here by the large cupboard or heichal used to store the Torah scrolls. According to Lopes, this symbolic likeness to the Temple had succeeded remarkably well in the Esnoga. He also compares the synagogue's dimensions to that of the Temple: 'The proportions of this building surpass the perfection of an Esnoga [that is, a synagogue], and are comparable to those of a Temple.'250 Lopes explained the minute difference in these proportions as reflecting the mysterious wisdom of God, in that no single building can be exactly identical to the Holy Temple of Jerusalem.

The sixth (and longest) sermon was by Isaac Vellozino, who was then only 21 or 22 years of age. He divided the congregation into four categories, from poor to rich, all of

whom helped to make the building a reality. He also discussed the story from the Midrash according to which the Eternal One rejected several worlds before choosing the present one, just as the Portuguese congregation had rejected the three earlier Amsterdam synagogues before arriving at the present, perfect one.²⁵¹

The seventh and final sermon, by 25-year-old David Sarphati de Pina, discussed the historical contrasts between religion and politics, which he said the mahamad (board of Parnassim) had resolved. He compared those who had opposed the building of the Esnoga to the slanderers of Moses.²⁵² This sermon concluded the week of erudite sermons for the inauguration, the content of which was happily preserved for later generations, thanks to the Sermoes of De Castro Tartas.

THE INAUGURATION ETCHING: ROMEYN DE HOOGHE AND MOZES CURIEL

Besides his reliance on historical accounts and documents, Franco Mendes will undoubtedly have based his description of the inauguration festivities in part on the etching produced by the well-known engraver Romeyn de Hooghe. This large picture of the inauguration, with the caption 'De Tempel der Jooden tot Amsterdam', dates from 1675 and was published in several editions (fig. 130).²⁵³ Though most were on paper, one very limited edition was printed on white silk; these prints are said to have been presented as gifts exclusively

to members of the building committee in 1675. A unique copy was bequeathed to the Jewish Historical Museum by the Mendes da Costa family in 1982 (fig. 135).²⁵⁴ A few were also printed on blue silk, if anything an even more sumptuous edition.²⁵⁵

The decision to commission the etching from this non-Jewish artist was wholly understandable. His ties with members of the congregation dated from before 1668, the year in which he had produced a large drawing of a circumcision in the house of a Portuguese Jewish family, including clear portraits of several members of the Portuguese Jewish community.²⁵⁶ Several researchers have tried to identify the family, some suggesting that it may be that of Mozes Curiel, agent of the king of Portugal and administrator of the Portuguese Jewish Congregation when the synagogue's interior was being prepared.²⁵⁷ This same Curiel was one of those to have laid the Esnoga's four foundation stones, and in the preface to the Sermoes. De Castro Tartas writes that the heichal and tebah had been donated 'by the most noble Mozes Curiel, his generosity prompting general applause [during the inauguration], such that the work was



135 Romeyn de Hooghe, The special impression of the inauguration print on silk for members of the building committee (1675).



136 Romeyn de Hooghe, 'Hof van den Ed. Heer D'Acoste'; today Nieuwe Herengracht 49 (c. 1695).

137 Romeyn de Hooghe, 'T Profil van de Kerk' (Profile of the Temple) (after 1675). almost named after him.'258 We also encounter Curiel under his alias, Jeronimo Nunes da Costa, in a work dedicated to him by the publisher Pieter Persoy, consisting of illustrations of Solomon's Temple by De Hooghe in a work by Rabbi Jacob Jehuda Leon in which he reconstructs the Temple.²⁵⁹

In view of all these connections, it makes perfect sense that Curiel should have hired De Hooghe to immortalize the inauguration in an etching. These ties clearly lasted for many years, since around 1695, De Hooghe produced a series of 'Jewish' prints including an image of Curiel's house, with the caption 'Mansion of the noble gentleman Mr D'Acoste'; it may be Curiel himself who is depicted standing on the steps outside his canal-house (fig. 136).²⁶⁰

De Hooghe's inauguration etching is not only an accurate image of the festivities, but also an explicit image of the forces that had made it possible to build the Esnoga. Above the synagogue's interior is a symbolic scene representing the ties between the Jewish community, the city of Amsterdam, and the Dutch Republic. On the right we see the United Provinces (with the sash and the seven coats of arms), the Maid of Amsterdam (with the three Saint Andrew crosses) and on the left the Jewish community, symbolized by the female figure of the Synagogue with the stone Tablets of the Law and the high priest Aaron with an open scroll of the Torah (fig. 130).261 The Latin caption 'Libertas conscientiae incrementum



reipublicae' (Freedom of worship is the mainspring of the Republic) expresses the shared interest in these ties. As a tribute to all those who had exerted themselves to make the Esnoga a reality, the image is flanked by medallions containing the names of the parnassim (administrators), the building and financial committee members, the regents, and those who had played an important part during the inauguration. This print was produced in several variants, some of which – printed on paper – had captions with a brief, eulogizing description of the synagogue in Dutch, Spanish and French, as well as five signed poems in Dutch, Spanish, Hebrew, Latin, and French in praise of the Esnoga and the city of Amsterdam, by authors including the writer and poet Daniel Levi de Barrios. De Hooghe also produced an illustration of the exterior of the Esnoga with open gates and visitors flocking in, with the title T Profil van de Kerk (Profile of the Temple), furnished with a key and an inset containing a floor plan of the complex (fig. 137).262

POEMS AND MUSICAL ACCOMPANIMENT

De Hooghe's close involvement with the Esnoga, its congregation, and the building's festive inauguration is underscored by the poems he wrote about the event, in which he explains the significance of the symbolic image above his inauguration etching:

The tyranny of the Inquisitors rages against your people, oh Judah, with tributes, fire and sword, and it is not enough for you to hide away. You will find no safety on the banks of the Seine, nor on those of the Tagus. Wiser is the city on the Amstel: it recognizes and openly cherishes your synagogues within its walls.²⁶³

A choir and hired musicians provided the musical elements of the inauguration. In the

congregation's accounts, we see that a sum of 37 guilders and 16 stuyvers was channelled through (again) the parnas Mozes Curiel to pay for 'los tanedorez flamencos' that played in the Esnoga on the first day of the inauguration. ²⁶⁴ The music for the inauguration was composed by Salomo van Raphael Senior Coronel. Neither De Barrios nor Franco Mendes mentions his name. Still, the importance of this task in his life is reflected by the fact that his gravestone in the Portuguese Jewish cemetery Beth Haim in Ouderkerk aan de Amstel bears an inscription stating that he composed the music that was played during the inauguration. ²⁶⁵

De Hooghe was not the only one inspired to mark this remarkable occasion with a poem. Franco Mendes writes in his *Memorias* that the choir, led by instruments, struck up 'a very beautiful and pleasing melody' when the procession bearing the Torah scrolls in their festive garb entered the synagogue. He goes on: 'The poem was written by the chacham and was so sublime in both form



138 The firm of J.D.J.
Texeira de Matteos and
Son, The left-hand
commemorative tablet
of 1875 with the names
of the building committee
members and Elias
Bouman.

139 According to traditional accounts, this tebah cloth was used during the inauguration of the Esnoga.



and substance that it automatically elevated the soul.'266 Franco Mendes is referring here to the poem *Cheshki Chizki* ('Be spirited and strong'), written by the Chief Rabbi Isaac Aboab da Fonseca, who wrote several Hebrew poems to commemorate the inauguration.²⁶⁷ The melody that is familiar today, which was composed in the eighteenth century by Abraham de Casseres (c. 1690-1744), is still sung on major occasions and at the commemoration of the inauguration by the Portuguese Jewish men's choir Santo Servicio.

The illustrations, documents and writings in which the Portuguese Jewish congregation recorded the circumstances surrounding the building and the inauguration festivities helped later generations to understand the enormous effort that had gone into building the synagogue. The Esnoga's 200th anniversary was celebrated exuber-

antly in 1875, and the donation of a communal memorial was initiated by the festivities committee. It was decided to place memorial stones on either side of the heichal. The two stones, fashioned from Carrara marble and framed by mouldings in Napoleon rose marble, bear gilded inscriptions (fig. 138).²⁶⁸

A special service is held every year on Shabbat Nachamu to commemorate the inauguration of the Esnoga. Well into the 1990s, the tebah was still covered annually with the unique inauguration cloth in which it is said to have been robed during the inauguration (fig. 139). ²⁶⁹ Today, this extremely fragile cloth is taken out of storage only on extremely special occasions every twenty-five years. Recently, it was displayed in the newly built treasure-chambers in the vaults under the annexes on 20 December 2011, for the re-inauguration of the restored Esnoga, as a fitting memorial to the inauguration of 1675.

The Esnoga and the snogeiros: the interior and function of the synagogue and its annexes

The petition that the chacham Isaac Aboab da Fonseca (1605-1693) submitted to the administrators of the Portuguese Jewish congregation on 16 November 1670, which was signed by many members of the congregation, contained a request for a synagogue large enough 'to make it possible for us all to pray together to the divine majesty for the forgiveness of our sins'.271

Aboab asked for the provision of an adequate house of prayer (beth tefila), so that the first and most important function of a synagogue, prayer, could take place in the proper way. For daily prayer is one of the obligations of religious Judaism. Some prayers can only be recited when there is a quorum of ten males who have reached religious 'adulthood'. According to tradition, communal prayer is of greater value than individual prayer. The second function of a synagogue is as a house of meeting or assembly (beth



140 The zecher l'churban: in every synagogue, a detail is left unfinished as a reminder of the destruction of the Temple of Ierusalem.

Mirjam Knotter en Eloy Koldeweij²⁷⁰

haknesset). It was already common in Biblical times for gatherings to be held for public readings from the Torah; these later developed into services held in synagogue. The third function is that of a house of learning (beth midrash), since besides prayer and communal reading, the study of the Torah and Tanach, and their commentaries, is an important task in Jewish life. In ideal conditions, certain other essential facilities for the Jewish community can also be added to the synagogue: ritual baths, schools, and spaces to accommodate religious, administrative, and social customs surrounding birth, marriage, and death. With the construction of the large new Esnoga, the Portuguese Jewish community seized the opportunity to provide the synagogue and the Jewish community with several of these functions within a single complex.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE INTERIOR

After the loss of the Temple of Jerusalem in the year 70 and the exile of the Jewish people, the synagogue became the place of assembly and prayer, and it came to stand for the Temple and the Temple service. This function is represented symbolically in the interior, as is the commemoration of the destruction of the Temple. This is present in every synagogue in the form of an imperfection in the building, the zecher l'churban that literally means remembrance of the destruction. As a sign of mourning for the loss of the Temple, the early rabbis introduced the practice of leaving something unfinished, such as a piece of plasterwork, in every newly built synagogue. In the Esnoga this



141 The interior of the Esnoga by candlelight, with the heichal on the east side and the tebah on the other side.

took the form of an unfinished piece in the beam beneath the right-hand women's gallery (fig. 140).

The symbolic reflection of the Temple service in the interior of the synagogue is partly expressed by the Hebrew names and functions of the heichal (Ark) and the tebah (platform on which the Torah is read), the two most important elements of the synagogue interior, between which the service is conducted. In Biblical Hebrew, the literal meaning of heichal is palace or temple. This repository for the Torah scrolls is in the wall of the synagogue that faces Jerusalem. In the synagogue, the heichal represents the Biblical aron hakodesh, the Holy Ark in which the stone Tablets of the Law were kept in the Tabernacle, and later in the Holy of Holies in the Temple. The tebah (known as bimah in

Ashkenazi synagogues) is the dais from which the service is led and where the Torah is read.

In Biblical Hebrew, the word tebah is used both for a palace and for Noah's Ark. The Ashkenazi name for this platform, bimah, means ritual platform or place of offering. The tebah therefore symbolizes the altar in the Tabernacle and the Temple.

The interior of the Esnoga (fig. 141) is structured according to Sephardi custom: the tebah is at one end of the space rather than in the middle, as is customary in Ashkenazi synagogues. The benches are set up in two longitudinal axes, so that no member of the congregation ever sits with their back to the heichal or tebah. This structure was devised in response to the sixteenth-century commentary *Kesef Mishna* by Jozef Caro

(1488-1575) on the earlier precepts laid down by the Torah scholar Maimonides (1153-1204), which were based on a central tebah. However, Caro maintains that the tebah can be placed in any part of the interior. This was motivated by practical reasons in the period of the exile of the Iberian Jews, during which time spatial compromises had to be made when adapting small spaces for use as synagogues in new locations. The west side was generally the best place for the tebah, a tradition that was pursued in Western Sephardi circles, for instance in synagogues in Italy and Provence.²⁷² This was also the arrangement adopted in Amsterdam's earliest Sephardi synagogues, and it was maintained after lack of space had ceased to play a role. The same arrangement was chosen in later Sephardi synagogues in The Hague, Curação, and London.

THE HEICHAL OF MOZES CURIEL The Esnoga's impressive heichal takes up almost the entire lower section of the east wall of the central aisle: the structure is some 11.2 metres wide, over 8 metres high, and 2.5 metres in depth (fig. 142). The heichal has the classical shape of a temple with pediments supporting the three 'crowns of the law'. These crowns refer to the crowns with which Israel was crowned: 'There are three crowns: the crown of Torah (keter Torah), the crown of priesthood (keter Kehunah) and the crown of kingship (keter Malkhut)'.273 The central crown bears the Hebrew text for 'Crown of the Torah', while those on either side are inscribed 'Remember the Torah of Moses, my servant' and 'which I gave him on Mount Horeb' (left and right, respectively). These texts, referring to adherence to the Torah, are taken from Malachi 3:22.

The raised central section, with its columns and pilasters with Corinthian capitals on which the arched pediment rests, provides a canopy over the two impressive, rectangular Tablets of the Law, enveloped in

garlands of flowers, with the (originally) gilded Hebrew letters of the abbreviated version of the Ten Commandments (fig. 52).274 This is an early application of the Tablets of the Law with the shorter Hebrew text of the Ten Commandments on a heichal, which later became common practice. It may have been inspired by the heichal of certain Italian Sephardi synagogues, such as that of Urbino, dating from 1551, the inside doors of which were furnished with the Tablets of the Law with the Ten Commandments in 1622/23.275 The Tablets of the Law allude to the first and most important function of the heichal as the repository of the Torah. Because of this function, the heichal is a holy object that must be handled with great respect. When a Sephardi synagogue was demolished, the heichal would be dismantled and preserved in sections for reuse in another synagogue or buried in the Jewish cemetery, as is traditional with holy objects that are no longer used.

The scrolls of the Torah stand behind the five large doors of the heichal. These parchment scrolls, which are attached to shafts with wooden or silver handles (atzei chaim; lit. trees of life) are wrapped in precious cloth mantles and crowned with silver ornaments. The scrolls are placed upright on a support structure upholstered in red velvet and kept in place by oval wooden disks covered in velvet.²⁷⁶ When the heichal is opened, the custom is for all members of the congregation to rise and face it. The heichal is also opened symbolically on various other occasions, for instance for the prayer for the Royal House that is recited in the Esnoga every week. In earlier times, it was also opened for the pronouncement of a cherem, the banishment of a member of the congregation who had violated the laws of the community, and at the transfer of responsibility for the contents of the heichal upon the appointment of a new chazzan.²⁷⁷ Other special occasions on which the heichal was opened included

142 The monumental Brazilian rosewood heichal from 1675 is one of the largest of its kind.



the appointment of Willem Karel Hendrik Friso as stadholder in 1747,²⁷⁸ and situations of grave concern, such as the illness in 1728 of the chacham Salomon Aelyon (c. 1664-1728), at which time the five doors of the heichal were opened and the entire congregation prayed for the chacham's recovery.²⁷⁹

The heichal consists of an oak nucleus which is completely covered with a veneer of Brazilian rosewood (sometimes called palisander; this wood was known to the Portuguese as jacaranda, and called sakkerdaan by the Dutch in the seventeenth century); certain sections such as the capitals, bases and carving are executed in solid Brazilian rosewood. This rosewood was donated by the parnas, merchant and consul Mozes Curiel, also known as Jeronimo Nunes da Costa.²⁸⁰ Curiel possessed a monopoly in the Netherlands on the import of this precious timber. There is nothing strange about the use of this hard wood, one of the most precious kinds of wood that were available, for

the heichal.²⁸¹ In Holland's Golden Age, the Sephardi community was well known for always commissioning the best and most beautiful work that was available. Furthermore, the heichalot of two of the earlier Amsterdam Sephardi synagogues had also been made of Brazilian rosewood. Likewise the heichal in the synagogue of Beth Israel, dating from 1620, which had gilded bronze mouldings.282 In the synagogue of the oldest congregation, Beth Jacob, which moved to a new location in 1614 in the upper storey of Antwerp House on Houtgracht, present-day Waterlooplein, stood, according to a notarized document of 22 January 1630, a 'large cupboard, made of Sarader wood [Brazilian rosewood] with accessories, a large cabinet [tebah] of fine oak timber'.283

The names of the cabinetmaker and woodcarver who produced the heichal are unfortunately unknown, but this must have been an extraordinary commission for both. This is one of the best, largest, and most incomparable pieces of furniture ever made

in the Netherlands. The architectural design of this enormous piece of furniture, with its columns, half-columns, pilasters, obelisks, and pediments is of superb quality and the craftsmanship with which it was made is outstanding: it is still in remarkably good condition today. The quality of the veneer, executed in 'book match' (displaying the grain of the wood in a symmetrical pattern) and the length of the strips of veneer are quite exceptional. In order to finish the high columns and half-columns with veneer, sculpted floral wreaths were used to mask the joins between the strips of veneer (figs. 142-143).

The doors and walls of the lower cupboard sections have iron plates in between



143 Detail of one of the columns of the heichal with the 'book match' veneer displaying the grain of the wood in a symmetrical pattern and a floral wreath.



144 Bernard Picart, The synagogue of Beth Jacob in The Hague. Standing on the platform in front of the heichal are the kohanim (the descendants of the high priest Aaron), barefooted and with their faces covered. For the ritual washing of the hands before the blessing, silver ewers and basins were used, the water being collected – just as in the Esnoga – in a lead tank under the floor.

the woodwork. These have been present since the beginning, since the heichal also serves as a safe: this is where the congregation's precious silver and cloths were kept. The armour-plated doors are even fitted with security locks; most have several locks with their own keys. Some of these locks were added after the theft of a number of Torah ornaments from the heichal in April 1775 and a second theft from the synagogue in April 1777, in which a silver ewer and some ceremonial fabrics were stolen.²⁸⁴ The side cupboards of the heichal were also once used to store the two chatanim seats, and until the 1990s the Torah mantles and other ceremonial fabrics were also kept in the side cupboards and lower section of the heichal.

The raised area in front of the heichal, the duchan, is a sanctified place, here enclosed by a balustrade with eight large and six smaller brass candlesticks and four brass balls. On the days of fast Tishnga Beab (Tisha B'Av) and Yom Kippur, it was customary to remove the large candlesticks in front of the heichal. Nowadays they are shielded from view with black veils on Tisha B'Av and only removed on Yom Kippur, when they are replaced by large rectangular brass blocks with spikes for the large candles that burn for the entire Kippur, that is, for over twenty-four hours. The heavy balustrade dates from 1671-1675, when the synagogue was built, but the platform was probably modified or possibly even completely replaced in or around 1778.²⁸⁵ This date, which is inscribed on the structure, also explains the 'walking dog' motif in the risers of the steps, since this was a very common motif in that period. From the duchan, the kohanim, the descendants of Aaron, the high priest of the Temple, pronounce the old priestly blessing of the congregation every Shabbat and on every holiday, as can be seen in an engraving by Bernard Picart, dating from 1725 (fig. 144).

THE GILT LEATHER IN THE

HEICHAL AND ON THE WALLS Opening the heichal, one is immediately struck by the dazzling gilt leather that lines its interior. The building accounts for 1675 included a large item of 448 guilders for its purchase, together with a quantity of gilt leather to decorate the walls on special occasions.²⁸⁶ Curiously, all this gilt leather was purchased in Antwerp, not in Amsterdam, even though the city boasted four successful gilt leather factories at the time, offering a wide range of products.²⁸⁷ The explanation must probably lie in some personal or business relationship with the Antwerp supplier.288 The gilt leather panels purchased to upholster the wall panels are described as 1841/4 yards of 'Ako doro Pinsel' in green and gold. These gilt leather panels are visible in the inauguration etching and several other prints (fig. 130). They were applied along the east wall, on both sides of the heichal, and on the north and south sides on the wooden panelling above the wall seats. The pattern displayed on this gilt leather cannot be identified precisely, but it seems to be based on a large arabesque motif (fig. 148). These gilt leather hangings, which probably did service for some hundred years, were replaced by new hangings with a neoclassicist pattern at some unknown point in time.²⁸⁹ The latter gilt leather panels depicted a garden vase flanked by high vases of flowers rising from a scroll; the unpainted, gold-coloured ground is stamped with small hand stamps (fig. 147).290 During the Second World War, these wall hangings were hidden away in the safes of the 'Kas Associatie'. Sadly, the German occupying forces seized them there and took them away, after which they perished in a fire at the Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage ('Institute for Research on the Jewish Question') in Frankfurt on 22 March 1944.291

The use of gilt leather to decorate the interior was an old Sephardi tradition. Five large



145 The open heichal; behind the Torah scrolls, covered in their mantles, the gilt leather hangings with red flowers dating from 1675.

gilt leather panels from the old synagogue in Nice have survived.²⁹² In the sixteenth-century Spanish synagogue of Venice, Amsterdam's sister congregation, several fragments of gilt leather have been preserved.²⁹³ It is known that paintings, textiles and leather hangings had been used to decorate the walls in the earliest synagogues in Amsterdam.²⁹⁴

The gilt leather that was purchased in 1675 to upholster the interior of the heichal was of a more precious type than that purchased for the walls. It cost 27 stuyvers a yard, which was $4^{\rm T}/2$ stuyvers more expensive than that used for the walls. Much of it has withstood the ravages of time. Thanks to the stable indoor climate of the synagogue and the heichal, and since it is scarcely exposed



146 The gilt leather hangings from 1675 with the original border along the upper edge.

to daylight, it has been preserved in remarkably good condition. These gilt leather hangings are unique on several counts: quite aside from their superb condition, they are among the very few surviving seventeenth-century hangings in the Netherlands, and the only ones still hanging in their original



147 The oldest photograph of the interior of the Esnoga, taken at the 200th anniversary celebrations in 1875. Clearly visible are the late eighteenth-century gilt leather hangings along the walls and the congregation's coat of arms – the pelican with its three young – above the heichal. Photograph by C.L.C. Voskuil.

place, even with their accompanying borders.²⁹⁵ Both patterns are characteristic for their day: a motley mix of scattered flowers on the main sections and a continuous tendril with four flowers in the border. The execution was highly unusual because of the use of flat gilt leather, while most fashionable patterns at that time were made on 'raised' gilt leather: that is, the gilt leather with embossed patterns that brought so much fame to the makers of the Northern Netherlands. The application of 'flock' was also rare; the floral pattern, executed in red flock, stands out in stark contrast against the gold-coloured ground, which is decorated with small punches of different shapes. These punches reflect the light differently and therefore produce a different



148 Romeyn de Hooghe, Detail from his print 'Tempel der Joden in Amsterdam' (c. 1695) with the gilt leather wall hangings from 1675.

kind of gleam. A few changes were made to the interior of the heichal over the years, supplementing the seventeenth-century gilt leather in several places with re-used early eighteenth-century gilt leather panels, which were also used to line the two side cupboards.²⁹⁶

In the mid-eighteenth century it remained customary to line a heichal with gilt leather, as is clear from the heichal in the winter synagogue and two similar pieces of furniture. Moreover, this is confirmed by the large heichal of the Sephardi Bevis Marks synagogue in London, the interior of which is similarly lined with gilt leather dating from the mid-eighteenth century.²⁹⁷

THE TEBAH, LECTERN,

AND CHACHAM SEAT
Like the heichal, the tebah is a sanctified place, and is enclosed by a balustrade according to custom. For this reason, the tebah would generally be dismantled for reuse or burial when a synagogue was demolished. Thus, the tebah of the congregation Beth Jacob was repaired and shipped to the Jewish congregation of Tsur Israel in Brazil, together with the heichal of Neveh Shalom synagogue, when Amsterdam's three Sephardi congregations were amalgamated in 1630.²⁹⁸

The Esnoga's building accounts detail



expenses incurred for making and modifying the tebah.299 This suggests that the congregation's older tebah, which was used until 1675, was moved to the Esnoga and modified to suit its new location. It is certainly true that the complex composition of the tebah with the platform, the balustrade, and two flights of steps raises all kinds of questions that might be explained by the fact of its re-use. It is highly probable that the lectern – also denoted by the word tebah – was likewise re-used, which meant that the extremely precious tebah cloths in the congregation's possession could do service in the new Esnoga. A print of the interior of the former synagogue on Houtgracht gives a good picture of the re-used tebah (fig. 9), and we see that it had two internal flights of steps in the platform. It is a plausible

assumption that the tebah's current, external flights of steps were made around 1675. The handrail with its heavy swelling balusters differs from the original balustrade with its slim classical columns, and is characteristic for the period in which the Esnoga was built (fig. 149).

Like the heichal, the tebah and the platform on which it stands are covered with a Brazilian rosewood veneer. The lectern itself has an additional finish in ebony, another precious wood. In this respect the lectern is of an opulence unlike all the building's other furniture, a richness underscored by the columns with brass rings and Doric capitals on the four corners of both lectern and dais. The lectern is a closed, block-shaped piece with a slightly slanting top to make it easier to read the Torah scrolls. Its four sides have

149 The tebah.

padded panels, and the long sides have semicircular niches containing a shell motif in the middle. The lectern is covered with a loose tebah cloth, attached by four large brass knobs with twisted points at the corners. In front of it is another, smaller lectern at which the chacham gives his sermon. The platform is enclosed by a balustrade, with four large candlesticks at the corners and brass balls on either side of the two flights of steps emphasizing the tebah's importance. The chazzan leads the service from the tebah. The Torah scrolls are taken from the heichal to the tebah along the north aisle, and after the reading they are returned to the heichal along the south aisle. That is why the tebah has two flights of steps. On the tebah, the Torah's mantles are removed and draped over the large brass balls. The silver finials are placed on wooden rods that have been constructed on the balustrade for that purpose. The parchment Torah scroll is



150 Chacham Salomon Aaron Rodrigues Pereira in his official robes on the chacham bench in 1957.

then unrolled, according to a centuries-old custom, on the table that has been covered with one of the congregation's precious tebah cloths. Traditionally the tebah also has a public function: it is the place from which important decisions by the mahamad are announced to the congregation.³⁰⁰

The congregation's chief rabbi or chacham sits at a small bench, with a lectern and candlesticks, that is placed against the front of the tebah (fig. 150). The design and execution of this bench harmonize with the tebah, especially through the design of the corner columns. Behind the tebah stands the small bench for the *abelim*, the members of the congregation who are in mourning. It folds out at the front to create lower seats, so that those in mourning can sit closer to the ground, in accordance with Jewish tradition.

THE SEATS IN THE SYNAGOGUE The many dozens of benches that stand in the two longitudinal axes between heichal and tebah originally accommodated 1,200 men. Places were allocated according to a strict system that was enforced meticulously by the administrators, and fixed places are still the rule to this day. According to the Spanish Jew Abraham Idaña, also known as Gaspar Méndez del Arroyo, who had lived in Amsterdam since 1660 and described the Esnoga at length in a letter written in 1686, there were benches with backrests and drawers for married members of the congregation, and plain benches for unmarried young men.301

According to a decision announced by the parnassim in 1680, the prominent rows of benches between the large columns were strictly reserved for those aged over fifty, but from 1701 onwards, the congregation's officials were also permitted to sit here.³⁰² The rules were rigidly enforced during the service; for instance, the parnassim forbade members to remain standing when they were meant to be seated, on

151 The benches with the lockers or *gavetas* for storing personal property, to which each member of the congregation has a key.

penalty of a 6-guilder fine for each violation of this rule, which had been proclaimed from the tebah.303 As noted by Idaña, the benches were also used for storage: the lockers under the seats (gavetas) could be used to keep personal items such as the tallit, prayer book and tefillin (fig. 151). With their foot rails and their open armrests and backrests, these heavily constructed pieces of furniture nonetheless make an airy impression. This effect is reinforced by the visual play between the twisted balusters in the backrests and the heavy knobs on the upper rails. The primary structure of all these benches is identical, but they differ in details such as in length, execution, and wear. The longest ones are over ten metres long. Minor differences of execution can



be seen in the knobs on the backrests, the balusters, and armrests, as well as discrepancies in height, and the amount of wear on the foot rails differs enormously.³⁰⁴ The holes in the backrests are used both for removable circular brass flat candlesticks and for the insertion of bundles of palm branches (*lulabim*) at Sukkoth (see fig. 152).



152 During the Feast of Tabernacles, there is a procession with plant bundles, the *lulabim*. On this occasion, the holes for flat candlesticks are used (alternately) to insert the plant bundles.



153 The parnassim bench, designed by the architect Elias Bouman, accommodates the board of administrators of the congregation, the mahamad.

THE BENCHES FOR PARNASSIM AND REGENTS

The administrators of the congregation, the mahamad, have their own bench on the north side, as they did in the old synagogue. This parnassim bench is immediately in front of the north side entrance, which has never been used as such (fig. 153). This tall (over man-sized) piece of furniture, with its architectural design, is one of the most important seats in the Esnoga. The majestic parnassim bench structure stands in a location equivalent to that in the previous synagogue (fig. 9).

The cornice of the high back panel is supported by pilasters in the Ionic order that are extended visually into the projecting buttresses against the front panel of the benches. The bench's three-part division is accentuated by the rounded arch and the carvings in the spandrels of the back panel, while both sides end in inverted cornucopias with coins. The eight candlesticks on the

front panel emphasize the status of those who take their seats on these benches. This piece of furniture was once painted, but all the paint layers were removed and part of the interior section renewed in the major restoration of 1954-1959.

The member of the parnassim appointed by the mahamad as parnas of the service is responsible for organizing the service in the synagogue; for instance, he allocates the privileged tasks to be performed during the service. He is assisted by the samas — in earlier times two samasim — who occupy the benches placed against the parnassim bench.

Once a year during Sjaboengot (Shavuot, the Festival of Weeks and the Festival of the Giving of the Torah), a bench is placed directly opposite the grand benches for the mahamad in front of the south side entrance, for the regents of the seminary Ets Haim, to commemorate the day on which this school was founded, on 4 Sivan 5376 (20 May 1616). This bench, which now stands on the upper storey of the rear annex, still boasts all the old layers of paint.

The mahamad's bench is also used as a seat for visiting dignitaries such as burgomasters and ambassadors. In 1768 it was decorated in festive style as a seat for Prince Willem v of Orange Nassau and his wife, Princess Frederika Sophia Wilhelmina of Prussia, during their visit on 30 May 1768. Franco Mendes, who had first-hand experience of this occasion, refers to the adornment of this bench, which was furnished with purple velvet with gold fringes and decorated with an embroidered letter 'W' between two palm branches, surmounted by an embroidered royal crown and embellished with flowering branches made of ribbons and gold cords. After the service and the prayers for the government and the administrators, Franco Mendes relates that the parnassim invited the princely couple to go and inspect the heichal and the chatanim benches on the platform in front of the heichal.305



154 One of the two walnut chatanim sofas from 1741 with the signature of the tapestry merchant Dessarteaux of Aubusson in the upholstery of the backrest.

155 The second walnut chatanim sofa from 1741, executed in the characteristic mideighteenth-century rococo style.

THE CHATANIM SOFAS AND KALAH SEATS

These remarkable Aubusson sofas were donated on 30 September 1741, three days before the beginning of Simchat Torah, the holiday that celebrates the completion of the vear-long cycle in which the entire Torah is recited and marks the beginning of the new cycle (figs. 154-155).306 For this holiday, the heichal is filled with a minimum of thirteen Torah scrolls, each one festively draped in brocade mantles and embellished with silver and gilded crowns and finials. During the service, all five doors are opened, as can be seen in Bernard Picart's engraving, dating from 1725 (fig. 156). For this occasion, two members of the congregation are designated each year as 'Bridegrooms of the Law': the Chatan Torah (Bridegroom of the Torah), who recites the last portion of the old year's Torah cycle, and the Chatan Bereshit (Bridegroom of Bereshit/Genesis), who reads the first portion of the new Torah scroll. It is a very special honour to be chosen for one of these roles, and the positions are



generally assigned to men who have entered into matrimony earlier that year. The sofas were therefore intended for this special day: that is where the Bridegrooms sit, on the platform in front of the heichal, during Simchat Torah. For the wives of the Bridegrooms of the Law, the two magnificent early nineteenth-century Empire 'kalah

156 Bernard Picart, 'Simcha Tora ou loye pour la Loy': the Bridegrooms of the Law and a parnas in front of the open heichal with the Torah scrolls covered in their mantles.



157 Detail of the backrest of the sofa with the vista from which the cross on the church tower has been removed.



seats' (lit. 'bride's seats') are placed in the women's gallery.³⁰⁷ It was customary for Bridegrooms of the Law to make a donation to the synagogue upon their appointment in this function, either in money or in the form of an object, as is clear from many donations from the past.³⁰⁸ The anonymous donation of the Aubusson sofas by a mem-

ber of the congregation, three days before Simchat Torah, may well have originated from one or both of that year's chatanim, but we unfortunately do not know their names.³⁰⁹

The rococo style of the woodcarvings on these benches was the latest fashion in 1741; so much so that the sofas must have been made in France rather than the Netherlands.³¹⁰ Interestingly, these sofas were made from the outset in such a way that they could easily be disassembled. The donation included two special chests in which to keep these pieces of furniture in disassembled state. They were initially stored thus in the women's gallery and in later years sometimes at the side of the heichal. Since these sofas were stored away for much of the year, and in recent times have been protected by dust covers, their original upholstery has been preserved in remarkably good condition. This applies both to the silk fabrics on the outside and to the tapestry coverings of the seats. The signature 'DESARTAUX' is woven into the cloth of one of the two sofas,

in the base of a vase.311 This must refer to either Samuel or Mathieu Dessarteaux. father and son, tapestry merchants from Aubusson. To date, these sofas are the only known work originating from these important merchants, who had a shop in Paris and workshops in Aubusson and Paris.312 The woven patterns of the two sofas display vases, dishes, and baskets with realistic images of flowers and fruit, animals and whole villages. These patterns have nothing to do with the Jewish religious service. and must have been chosen for their beauty and sumptuousness. One minor modification was made to suit their use in a Jewish house of worship: the cross on the church tower depicted on the unsigned sofa was removed (fig. 157).313 Since Willem v's visit of 1790, both sofas have also been used as seats for royal visitors and heads of state. During the Second World War, the occupying German forces had the sofas transported to Germany. After being moved around several times, they were finally restored to their rightful place on 4 December 1946.314

LION MORPURGO'S CHUPPAH In earlier times, weddings took place not in the synagogue but in specially designated rooms, such as the former synagogue on Houtgracht. It was only after the Second World War that weddings started being held in the Esnoga. A chuppah made of tropical hardwood was donated for the purpose, which was ready for use in or around 1955. It was donated by the antiquarian Lion Morpurgo (1900-1957), curator of the Jewish Historical Museum (fig. 158). The congregation itself purchased four small chairs to go with it. For weddings, the chuppah is moved from the side of the Esnoga to the central aisle, in a prominent position in front of the heichal. Smaller wedding ceremonies take place in the winter synagogue, where a cloth canopy is hung up for the purpose.

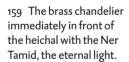


BRASS CHANDELIERS, SCONCES AND THE NER TAMID

The brass chandeliers were already attracting visitors' admiration in the seventeenth century. Thus, Idaña described the 'very large brass chandeliers ... that sparkle so much that they seem to be made of gold'.315 Even today, the light reflected by the chandeliers and the burning candles have an effect in the evening that is celebrated by visitors to the Esnoga, and indeed by those who use it. In the middle hang four enormous, three-tier chandeliers, each tier having ten branches with candle holders. In one of the lower branches of the large chandelier immediately in front of the heichal is the Ner Tamid, the Eternal Light (fig. 150). This refers to the eternal light burning in the Tabernacle as a symbol of God's eternal presence, and has been an essential element of every synagogue since the sixteenth cen-

158 The chuppah during the wedding of Anny Morpurgo, daughter of the donor Lion Morpurgo, and Henk Wafelman in 1957.





tury.³¹⁶ Since there are no specific written rules for the use or design of the lamp containing this eternally burning light, it occurs in a variety of forms.³¹⁷ Likewise, there is no prescribed location for it, but the Ner Tamid generally hangs close to the heichal, or sometimes by the entrance. These large chandeliers are flanked by a series of four two-tier chandeliers, with six branches on each tier. Together with the two rows of seven one-tier, six-branch chandeliers in the



160 Hans Rogiers (attributed), One of the smaller chandeliers, originating from one of the three older Sephardi synagogues. The branches against the wall probably date from around 1675.



161 Sandstone column with brass bracket candlesticks dating from around 1675 with points for attaching the wooden Omer and Rosh Chodesh signs.

two women's galleries, this makes an astonishing thirty chandeliers in total. The larger, two-tier and three-tier chandeliers are very similar to those made by the celebrated Amsterdam brass founders father and son Elias Eliasz. van Vliet (1607-1652 and 1634-1672), who generally signed their chandeliers.³¹⁸ In view of their close family relationship with Elias Bouman – they were the architect's uncle and cousin, respectively – and their great renown, all these brass items probably originated from their foundry, 'De Gecroonde Kerckkroon'.³¹⁹

Some of the smallest chandeliers, however, have different stems that must be dated on stylistic grounds to the first half of the seventeenth century.³²⁰ These are very similar to the chandeliers produced by the Amsterdam founder Hans Rogiers van Harelbeke (active from 1598-d.1638).321 Since Rogiers is known to have supplied chandeliers for the three older Sephardi synagogues,322 and some were taken to the new one, these can be attributed to Rogiers (fig. 160). The branches of these chandeliers were probably all renewed in or around 1676, since they are very different from those made by Rogiers but very similar to those of all the other chandeliers and to those of the eighteen separate bracket candlesticks on the columns and the east wall. The brass hooks beneath these bracket candlesticks on the columns and the nails above them are used to hang Rosh Chodesh signs to indicate the beginning of each new month and Omer signs to count the days between Pesach and the Festival of Weeks (fig. 161).

The annexes

SYNAGOGUE) AND THE

'PURIFICATION PLACES'
From the outset, when the initial plans for the building of the synagogue were presented, the building committee had suggested using the synagogue's annexes for certain functions. One proposal had been to provide residential accommodation for the chazzanim and schools within the complex. Abraham Idaña also mentioned creating schools in the annexes in his letter of 1686: 'There are six schools ... in that courtyard, where children are taught to read Hebrew from the age of four: five in ascending

grades and the sixth or 'Great School' in

which the by then learned men discuss

the mysteries of the law, supervised and

instructed by a great scholar of advanced

vears who leads the discussions.'323

THE SCHOOLS (WINTER

Here Idaña describes the schools of the seminary Ets Haim ('tree of life'), where the Sephardi boys received their education, the library of which is still located in the synagogue complex.³²⁴ When the schools were

established in the Esnoga, several classrooms were allocated to the lower classes or medrasim, and one to the top class, the 'Great Medras', which was consecrated shortly after the building of the Esnoga on the fourth Shabbat of 1676.325 The word medras comes from the Hebrew word midrash for 'interpretation'; a Beth Hamidrash is a house of learning. Teachers were appointed and each teacher received a reference library for his class. The fairly rare etching 'De scholen en de suvverplaatsen etc.' by Romeyn de Hooghe, which was published in or around 1695 by Pieter Persoy, depicts the crowded courtvard with the entrance to the schools (fig. 162).

The Great Medras was the area that is used today as the winter synagogue (fig. 163). Painted panels still hang on the walls with the names of those who made donations to Ets Haim from the time at which its precursor Talmud Torah was founded in 1616. The old oak benches are said to originate from the earlier synagogue on Houtgracht. They initially stood on the west side

162 Romeyn de Hooghe, 'De scholen en de suyverplaatsen etc.': students at this school emerging from classrooms, walking with books in their hands, or talking to teachers in the courtyard of the Esnoga.





163 The medras (the current winter synagogue) with the names of donors to Ets Haim on the wall (1910).

of the Esnoga, and were brought here when the Medras was converted into a (heated!) winter synagogue in 1955. Tradition has it that the Ner Tamid in the winter synagogue is a copy of the one in the branch of the foremost seventeenth-century chandelier in the Esnoga, made for the interior of the converted winter synagogue in 1955. The tebah was made with the same dimensions as the one used by the Portuguese Synagogue in The Hague, so that the consecrated cloths that had been brought over from the Hague congregation to the Portuguese Jewish congregation in Amsterdam could be used there.

The small heichal in the winter synagogue comes from the society Keriat Sefer Tora (Reading from the Torah), established in 1828, which met in a room of the residential home for elderly married members of the

Portuguese Jewish congregation (Gesticht voor Portugees-Israëlietisch Gehuwde Oude Lieden) on Muiderstraat.326 But as is clear from the piece of furniture itself and the inscription on top, the heichal is significantly older than this. In the Hebrew text of Exodus 20:1: 'And God spake all these words', accents have been placed on certain letters to denote the numerical value of the year 5504 (1744). This is undoubtedly the date of this piece of furniture, with its walnut veneer, that displays so many similarities to typical Dutch cabinets of the eighteenth century. Its proportions reveal that it is no ordinary cabinet, however: it is quite narrow, relative to its height. These proportions are not uncommon, and appear to be characteristic of Arks used in private homes and clubs or societies.327 The interior of the upper section is lined with precious pieces of gilt leather displaying a pattern that was fashionable at the time, with its characteristic colours.328 The same applies to two similar pieces of furniture that may be assumed to have originally been used as Arks, given their proportions, their gilt leather lining, and the absence of shelves in the upper sections, although they have not been used as such for years.329

THE WASHING PLACE, RITUAL BATHS, AND THE YADRICH (MOURNING ROOM)

Judaism has a variety of rules relating to ritual purity, such as ritual hand washing, the body's immersion in a ritual bath (mikvah) and washing the body of a deceased person (taharah). These washing actions are sacred in nature and serve to elevate the physical body above the earthly or impure.³³⁰ At the time when the etching was made, a basin with brass taps stood beneath the courtyard galleries for the washing of hands, as may be read in Caspar Commelin's description of Amsterdam, published in 1693-1694.³³¹ This basin is still there, on the north side beneath the gallery (fig. 45).

The ritual bath or mikvah is an essential part of Jewish life, and the Portuguese congregation will certainly have provided a mikvah for its members, as did the Ashkenazi congregation, which had one in the annex at the front of its synagogue nearby. However, it is not known where the Portuguese congregation's mikvah was, and whether it used to be inside the buildings or whether an outdoor facility had already been installed at that time. The only written source about this is – again – Idaña's letter from 1686: 'There are also purification baths for women following menstruation, after which they can join their men, and this takes place every month. These baths are supervised by salaried widows, with the regents' permission.'332 Unfortunately, Idaña does not mention the precise location of these baths, not even stating whether they were inside or outside the complex. In any case, no mikvah is included in the 1671 building decision; a floor plan dating from 1872 includes a sketch of the mikvah on the east side of the south wing (fig. 92), while the overall design of the current basins, in roughly the same place, dates from 1891.

In the foreground of Romevn de Hooghe's etching, we see two men carrying a bier into the courtvard. The ritual washing of the deceased, or taharah, took place in the annexes (possibly in their basements), where all kinds of items were kept for this purpose, such as buckets, sheets and mortalhas (shrouds). There was also a room for biers, the palls used to cover the coffin, and the clothing and hats of the bearers or cargadores.333 The taharah is carried out by men's and women's charitable organizations, according to strict regulations.334 In the 1950s the uadrich, a mourning and taharah room in the northern annexes. acquired a marble floor, a large marble block for the bier, pipes for the water supply and drainage, and the Ner Tamid, the eternal light, which must burn constantly by the deceased's remains, in accordance with tra-

164 Bernard Picart,
'Les ACAFOTH ou les
sept tours, autour du
CERCUEIL': members of
the Portuguese Jewish
Congregation carrying
out the rodeamentos, the
seven rounds of the bier
prior to the funeral, in the
cleansing house of Beth
Haim Cemetery (1723).



dition, until the funeral. Nowadays, the taharah takes place on the premises of the local Jewish Burial Association (Het Joodse Begrafeniswezen te Amsterdam), located on Ter Kleef, and only on highly exceptional occasions within the Esnoga complex.

According to a Portuguese inscription on the commemorative tablet bricked into the east wall of the later taharah room in the north annexes, the mahamad furnished a room for this fraternity shortly after the publication of the print (fig. 162), which was opened on Rosh Hashanah 1697.³³⁵ The deceased was then transported by tow barge down the Amstel River to Beth Haim Cemetery. In the House of the Rounds (Rodeamentos House; the current building dates from 1705), the ritual circuits of the bier (Portuguese rodeamentos) took place before the body was buried.³³⁶ The building thus derived its name from the custom of making

these rounds of the body (fig. 164). The rituals surrounding the death of a high official of the congregation are illustrated by the account that the congregation's historian, David Franco Mendes, wrote in his Memorias of the events surrounding the death and burial of chacham Salomon Aelyon on 7 April 1728.337 According to this account, the chacham's funeral took place the same day, after which the officials of Ets Haim took the body from his house to the Great Medras, where it was placed on the study table accompanied by the continuous recitation of prayers, followed by songs of lamentation. Then the large doors of the Esnoga were opened and the deceased was placed in front of his seat, with his feet towards the heichal.³³⁸ After prayers said by the chazzan S. Rodrigues Mendes, Rabbi Israel Athias, the rabbi of the second Medras, ascended the tebah, gave a funeral address, and made

a tear in his clothing as a sign of mourning (Kria). After that, the body was taken to the Amstel River and placed in a tow barge draped in black, in which it was transported to the cemetery in Ouderkerk. While all this took place, his pupils and the scholars of the congregation continued to sing songs of lamentation until the arrival at the cemetery. The barge was followed by another six boats and a procession of twenty-eight carriages. After a funeral oration by chacham Isaac Abendana de Britto and the Rodeamentos, the seven circuits of the bier, the chacham was buried, without a coffin, as he himself had decreed.³³⁹

THE MAHAMAD

In the southwest corner of the complex is the meeting room used by the mahamad, the board of the congregation (figs. 99, 113). The word mahamad is a Talmudic term used by Sephardi communities for the administrative body of a congregation, consisting of its most prominent members, the parnassim. They possessed great power, and in the past they frequently applied the cherem to force members of the congregation to comply with their decisions. The mahamad's powers and decisions bore on subjects ranging from religious worship to the negotiations with the city council on affairs relating to the Jewish community, individual members and their behaviour, and even to matters such as overly ostentatious clothing.340 The image of the Jewish community among the surrounding townspeople was a major factor in the mahamad's decisions.

The meeting room of the mahamad is in frequent use. It is the venue for the weekly Kiddush (gathering after services) on the morning of Shabbat, as well as for gatherings held to celebrate marriages, circumcisions and other events. The interior is the result of numerous renovations and redecorations (fig. 104). The floor is covered with a red carpet dating from 1975 with the congregation's coat of arms: the mythical phoenix

rising from its ashes.341 The relief above the mirror displays the congregation's other coat of arms: the pelican that pierces its breast to feed its three young. This is also the motif that surmounts the backrest of the eighteenth-century seat occupied by the chair of the board of parnassim. Both the phoenix rising from its ashes and the pelican piercing itself in its breast to feed its three young with its own blood have been used as emblems at different points in the history of the Portuguese Jewish community. Both are old Christian symbols without any Jewish connotations. This does not constitute the slightest impediment in the iconography of Amsterdam's Sephardi Jews, which is characterized by remarkably open attitude towards non-Jewish symbolism, even for objects used for ceremonial purposes.³⁴² The phoenix first occurs as an emblem in 1612 in the Spanish-language prayer book of the second Sephardi congregation, Neveh Shalom.343 The interpretation of this symbol as the Jewish community rising from the ashes (the fires to which the Inquisition consigned them) is very plausible. The phoenix may have remained in use as a symbol until 1743, the year in which Franco Mendes reported a change in the congregation's seal in his Memorias.344 The pelican with her three young is displayed, as an emblem of the congregation, on a ewer from 1780 and a number of nineteenth-century ceremonial objects. It was also used for the synagogue's anniversary celebrations in 1875 and 1925.345 However, in the years 1930/31, the Portuguese Jewish congregation issued a publication entitled De Phoenix, the cover of which bore an image of the Portuguese synagogue with the phoenix as its symbol, designed by Fré Cohen. Some saw it as a more suitable emblem, as stated by J.S. da Silva Rosa: 'The symbol of the phoenix for the Jewish community which, after its demise in Spain and Portugal rose from its ashes, as it were, in the blessed soil of Amsterdam, is a far clearer expression

than the Catholic symbol of the pelican.'346 A few years after the Second World War, the phoenix appeared to have conclusively returned as an emblem, symbolizing the community's rising from its ashes after the Holocaust.

THE COUTINHO HOUSE

The annexes included homes for the congregation's officials. Idaña's letter of 1686 refers to 'two dwellings where the cantors live' in the courtvard.347 He also mentions 'a Christian, a Dutchman, whose task it is to sweep the synagogue and to keep it clean, and to light and extinguish the candles on Shabbat and holidays, when Jews are not permitted to do so, and they call this man the Casero [superintendent].'348 There were originally two officials: the samas of the service, who assisted the attending parnas, and the samas of the temple, who supervised the buildings with the responsibilities of a verger. Nowadays there is only one samas, who is responsible both for putting out the consecrated objects and watching over the order of services.

FINAL REMARKS

Whereas the annexes have changed a great deal both in appearance and function over the centuries, the interior of the Esnoga has been preserved almost unchanged since the seventeenth century: it is unheated, and illuminated only by the light from many hundreds of candles in the brass chandeliers, candlesticks and sconces attached to the columns and walls.

The authenticity of this space is unique. This is a small miracle: in the late nineteenth

and early twentieth centuries, serious proposals were put forward to fit the chandeliers with gas or electric lighting, to install radiators to provide heating, and to replace all the seventeenth-century benches.³⁴⁹ J. de Casseres designed a pulpit for the Esnoga's 250th anniversary in 1925, but the design was rejected following a negative recommendation from the National Commission for the Conservation of Historic Buildings and Sites.³⁵⁰

Today, the Portuguese Synagogue contains the largest collection of seventeenthcentury furniture in the country. The preservation of these benches is thanks to certain experts and members of the congregation who managed to stop them being replaced at the last minute in 1913, even though the majority of the executive committee had voted in favour of replacing them. The decisive factor here was the opinion of experts called in at the request of several members of the congregation.351 Before then, on 1 August 1910, the then director of the Rijksmuseum, B.W.F. van Riemsdijk, had written a letter emphasizing the grandeur of the Esnoga's interior and the importance of its authentic benches. He had urgently requested that plans be scrapped to install new benches that in his view would 'never acquire that unmistakeable quality of antiquity, the glory of this Synagogue'.352 But the fact that this unique interior from the Golden Age still exists, and is still used as a synagogue to this day, is largely a tribute to the many generations of the Portuguese Jewish community who have cherished this building for centuries.

The ceremonial art treasures of the Esnoga

Mirjam Knotter³⁵³

We find allusions to beauty and splendour in relation to objects with a ritual function from the very earliest Jewish sources.³⁵⁴ The first ceremonial objects were produced for the service in the Tabernacle and later in the Temple, in which these objects were made in compliance with specific regulations and from high-quality materials. Ceremonial objects made in later periods, which fulfil a ritual function at home and in the synagogue in keeping the commandments, are subject to far fewer rules in relation to form and materials, thus creating an enormous variety in Jewish ceremonial art.

One of the first impressions one has when entering the treasure chambers of the Esnoga is the high quality of the ceremonial objects present there: the objects reflect the glory of this community's history, which flourished most remarkably in the Golden Age (fig. 128). The large collection, of some 800 objects, includes masterpieces in precious metalwork of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and brilliant fabrics. The whole testifies to the prosperity and numerous international contacts of this congregation in its heyday.

In spite of the immense material value that this collection represents, for the Portuguese Jewish congregation the greatest value of the objects lies in the fulfilment of the ceremonial function for which they were donated by members of the congregation over the centuries.³⁵⁵ The objects are still in active use in the synagogue today, with the exception of pieces that are too fragile.

The dates and occasions on which objects were to be used were determined and

recorded upon their donation by the parnassim who took receipt of them. Thus, upon the donation of a silver Chanukah lamp (fig. 165), the parnassim noted in 1877: 'An antique silver Chanukah lamp from the ladies H.S. and R. Lopes-Salzedo, to fulfil the wishes of their aunt, the late Miss H.I. Lopes-Salzedo, which donation was accepted with the stipulation that this lamp be used on the first four days of the Feast of Chanukah'. 356 This led to a large and complex system, in which specific objects had to be used throughout the Jewish year. In earlier times, the cantor (chazzan) bore responsibility for such matters, and for the objects' care.357 Later on the verger (samas) took over this role. All the prayers and customs of the Portuguese congregation have been laid down in diverse manuals for cantors and vergers (chazzanim and samasim) over the centuries, including guidelines on the ceremonial objects to be used, and great importance has always been attached to their proper observance. The 'seder chazzanut' (order of prayers) laid down by the chazzan Isaac Oëb Brandon is still in force today, albeit adapted to suit current conditions.358 Brandon also compiled a separate illustrated manual for the use of coverings for the tebah, for most of which we still know their original uses and/or donors' names.359 The great complexity of this system is clear from the guidelines for the Torah cloth that was included as an illustration in Brandon's manual and that had to be used on the Shabbat of the New Moon festival, unless there was a Bar Mitzvah, for which a different cloth had to be used (fig. 166).360



165 Isaac van Wijk, Silver Chanukah lamp with scene of a man lighting a menorah (Amsterdam 1770).

HIDDUR MITZVAH: 'BEAUTIFICATION OF THE COMMANDMENT'

In admiring the ceremonial treasures of the Esnoga, it is essential to be aware of their function. Their beauty is placed in the service of their function: the object is an instrument enabling the ritual actions to be performed as beautifully as possible. This concept is called 'Hiddur Mitzvah' ('Beautification of the Commandment) and is described in the Talmud.³⁶¹ Rabbi Ishmael, one of the greatest scholars of the second century, posed the question of how a

human being should perform the mitzvah in Exodus 15:2 ('He is my God and I will praise Him'), and suggested that the most beautiful objects should be used in carrying out the commandments. The embellishment and protection of the Torah itself, by covering and decorating the scrolls with the most magnificent silver objects and fabrics, is likewise in pursuance of this commandment.

The ritual function of the objects lends them – like the heichal and the tebah in the synagogue – a sanctified status: they are holy objects, and therefore may not have any secular application once they have been used in a religious ritual.³⁶² The converse does not apply, however: a secular object can always be adopted for ceremonial use. This was the case with one of the oldest



166 Illustration of a Torah cloth, donated by A. Teixeira in 1870 from chazzan Brandon's manual.



objects in the collection: the basin that Sara Cohen de Herrera donated to the former Sephardi congregation Neveh Shalom after the death of her husband Abraham and partly in his name, between 1635 and 1640 (fig. 167).³⁶³ The gilded basin with hunting scenes was produced in Portugal around the mid-sixteenth century and the Cohen de Herreras probably brought it with them when they came to Amsterdam. Like Abraham Cohen de Herrera himself, who reverted to the religion of his Jewish

ancestors upon settling in Amsterdam, the basin became Jewish in Amsterdam. Abraham's descent from the kohanim of the times of the Temple is emphasized in the engraved motif in the form of two hands making the priestly blessing with spread fingers. Upon the donation, this image was engraved on a small plate in the middle of the basin and furnished with an inscription that can be rendered as 'Holy [gift from] Abraham and Sara Cohen de Herrera'.

THE TORAH AND ITS TEXTILE COVERINGS: SANDAL, FAIXA AND CAPA

The Esnoga possesses an impressive 68
Torah scrolls. Most date from the seventeenth or eighteenth century and are
Sephardi. The main exception is the mediaeval Torah scroll left behind by the first
(Ashkenazi) rabbi of the Portuguese congregation, Uri Halevie, when he returned to his native region of East Friesland (fig. 5).³⁶⁴ Torah scrolls are written in accordance with strict rules by a specialist Torah scribe (*sofer*), as described in the Talmud: 'in good ink, with good pens, by competent Torah

168 Torah binder or faixa made from a re-used dress in fashionable silk (English or Dutch, 1719-1723).





169 Faixa, Indian embroidery on velvet (South India, c. 1625, 384 x 17 cm).

scribes, and covered with fine silks.'365 The text of the Torah is never decorated or furnished with punctuation, and has been copied in exactly the same form for centuries. For the purposes of protection and embellishment, Torah scrolls are covered with costly pieces of fabric and furnished with ornaments.

The ornaments used to decorate Torah scrolls, as these are known today, appear to have been developed in the late Middle Ages; no earlier examples are known or have been preserved. The form and materials of Jewish ceremonial objects are largely determined by the culture within which these objects were produced, and in the Netherlands the independent development of Jewish ceremonial art began when the first Jewish communities settled in this country in the sixteenth century.366 There are two distinct traditions, Ashkenazi and Sephardi, which display similarities as well as several clear differences. The ceremonial objects in the Esnoga can be classified as Dutch Sephardi, identifiable as such by a combination of form and the materials used, as well as the representation of the donors on the object.

Most of the collection consists of fabrics used to cover the Torah scrolls. In the Portuguese Congregation it is the custom to wrap the Torah scroll in a fine piece of silk (sandal) measuring several metres in length so that the parchment is completely protected, since one is not allowed to touch the parchment with one's fingers. The two scrolls are then bound together using a long, narrow Torah binder (faixa). Sephardi binders are made from a variety of materials, including precious ones made of gold and silver brocade which were kept in a separate box in the heichal in the days of chazzan Brandon (served from 1861 to 1902).367 Opulent fabrics were used: besides the extremely precious brocade, many pieces of silk dress material were made, some of which show distinct signs of re-use: one Torah binder from the early eighteenth century was made



170 Sephardi silk (sandal) and Torah binders (faixas) in the textiles depository, with in the foreground the Ashkenazi Torah binder or faixa (linen, cotton and silk, Amsterdam (?) 1606, 244 x 14.5 cm).

out of an astonishing 37 pieces of silk (fig. 168).³⁶⁸ The re-use of a dress or even a men's coat for this purpose was quite common, and was indeed sometimes considered an honour, so numerous objects show traces of previous use as items of clothing. Here too, the rule is that a secular object can be converted into a ceremonial one, but not vice versa; however, the proceeds from the sale of a surplus ceremonial object could be used to help towards the building of a synagogue, for instance. Other examples, such as seventeenth-century binders with Indian embroidery, reflect the community's international ties (fig. 169).369 The only Ashkenazi binder in the collection is made of unbleached linen and furnished with multicoloured embroidery with ornamented letters, animals, and floral motifs. Its date of 1606 makes it likely that the binder was linked to the congregation's first spiritual leader, the Ashkenazi Rabbi Uri Halevie (fig. 170).³⁷⁰ The bound scroll is then wrapped in a Sephardi Torah mantle or capa, clearly identifiable from the flared



171 Monogram on a Sephardi Torah mantle.



172 Sephardi Torah mantles with their ornaments, including the gold crowns made in 1775 by Wilhelmus Angenendt and Wijnand Warnecke. In the foreground, the ewer and basin for the hand-washing of the kohanim.

shape, composed of wide panels of brocade or silk, often alternating with three bands of velvet with embroidered patterns in relief including monograms and Jewish symbols such as pomegranates (fertility) and pillars (the Temple pillars of Jachin and Boaz) (fig. 172). Whereas Ashkenazi Torah mantles feature prominent Hebrew texts with the donors' names and the occasion on which they were donated, Sephardi mantles display family coats of arms and monograms (fig. 171). There is a slit at the front enabling the mantle to be placed over the handles of the Torah scroll, for which holes have been made at the top.

SILVER TORAH ORNAMENTS: RIMONIM, CROWNS AND THE TIRADO SILVER SHIELD

Silver finials known as rimonim (pomegranates) are placed on the staves of the Atzei Chaim of the Torah scrolls, which project through holes made in the top of the Torah mantles. The pomegranate is an ancient Jewish symbol representing fertility, and in Biblical times it was used as a motif in the Temple and on the high priest's robe, for instance.371 From the sixteenth century onwards. Torah finials were often made in architectural, tower-like structures with bells. Some had designs based on specific towers, such as the tower of the Westerkerk, a few of which were also in possession of the Portuguese congregation.³⁷² In this context it is worth noting that until the law of 1796 giving all inhabitants of the Netherlands full civil rights, Jews could not work as silversmiths in this country, and Jewish ceremonial silver was made primarily by non-Jewish silversmiths. Some of these smiths appear to have specialized in Jewish silver; Pieter Jansz van Hoven (active 1682-1735), who is virtually unknown in relation to ecclesiastical silver, appears to have worked mainly for Jewish clients.³⁷³ The custom of depicting monograms and family coats of arms is also seen on Sephardi finials, such as in a couple



donated by the Teixeira de Mattos family around 1770 (fig. 173).³⁷⁴ A smaller type of finial, known as a *tilrimonim*, is found only in Portuguese synagogues. These small finials with bells replace the large finials when displaying the Torah before reading from it during the service (fig. frontispiece).

Another type of Torah ornament is the *keter Torah*, a silver or gold crown that is placed over the staves of the Torah scroll.

The Esnoga possesses several examples that are used on special holidays.³⁷⁵ The two 'gold crowns' have the shape of a priest's crown and a king's crown, and were ordered

173 The custom of depicting monograms and family coats of arms also recur on Sephardi finials, such as a pair of finials donated by the Teixeira de Mattos family in or around 1770.



174 Silver Torah shield donated by Jacob and Rachel Tirado (Amsterdam 1606).

in 1775 to replace older ones that had been stolen (see fig. 7).³⁷⁶

Unlike Ashkenazi synagogues, in which a silver shield on a chain is among the standard decorations of the Torah scroll, Sephardi synagogues in the Netherlands use this item only to mark the scroll that is read from on Rosh Chodesh (the first day after the new moon). This is also the function of the only Torah shield in the collection, which was ordered in 1606 by Jacob and Rachel Tirado from the silversmith Leendert Claesz (c. 1581-after 1612) of Emden. The fact that the first rabbi of the congregation, Uri Halevie, himself came from Emden, most probably played a role here (fig. 174).³⁷⁷

THE TEBAH CLOTH, TORAH

CLOTH, AND PONTEIRO (YAD)
The reading of the Torah takes place on the tebah, which is covered with precious cloths. The congregation possesses a number of antique rugs for the tebah, such as an important Persian silk rug, possibly made in the Shah Abbas workshops in Kashan (Central Persia) in the latter half of the sixteenth century,³⁷⁸ and the 'inauguration cloth', a Mogul rug that is said to have graced the tebah dur-

ing the inauguration (fig. 175).³⁷⁹ Other examples are made of silk or velvet; in this respect too, there are no rules governing form or fabric, and the material reflects the tastes of the day. The cloths are attached at the corners with brass knobs, which are replaced in the evening by candlesticks and on holidays by silver knobs or the candlesticks that Nathan Dias Brandon donated when taking his leave as parnas in 1870.³⁸⁰

It is an honour to perform the solemn opening of the heichal during the service. and members of the congregation are designated for this privileged task. The same applies to taking the Torah scrolls out and returning them to their place, accompanying them to the tebah, removing the silver finials and textile mantles from the Torah scrolls for use during services and replacing them afterwards, and showing the Torah to the congregation. These honorary functions or mitzvot are determined in advance by the parnas of the services and indicated with Portuguese titles; the Torah finials are generally removed and replaced by boys under thirteen years of age. The Torah is read with the aid of a yad or ponteiro, a pointer with a tiny hand at the end, so that there is no need to touch the text of the Torah. A magnificent, diamond-studded 'gold ponteiro' is used on High Holidays and on every bar mitzvah (fig. 176).381 When the text is not being read, it is covered by a small Torah cloth. There are numerous superb Torah cloths in the collection, many of them made to match a specific tebah cloth. One remarkable example, dating from 1909, actually depicts an open Torah scroll with passages from the Book of Genesis (fig. 177).382

CEREMONIAL OBJECTS FOR HOLIDAYS AND DAYS OF FASTING IN THE ESNOGA

The synagogue's collection contains ritual objects for all holidays. This includes Kiddush cups for the wine used to inaugurate Shabbat and holidays, candlesticks, and a



hexagonal box for the fragrant spices used to conclude Shabbat. In 1711/1712 Elias Gabay Henriques donated this extremely rare silver receptacle, with images representing the five senses and their Portuguese names, linked to Jewish scenes and rituals (fig. 178).³⁸³

Before the priestly blessing on Shabbat, the hands of the kohanim are washed by the Levites, the descendants of the Temple servants (fig. 144). Silver and gilded basins and ewers are used for this ritual: on the holidays Rosh Hashanah (New Year), Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement), Pesach, Sjaboengot (Shavuot, the Festival of Weeks), Sukkoth (Feast of Tabernacles) and the anniversary of the Esnoga (Shabbat Nachamu), the superb Augsburg showpieces were used, such as the silver-gilt basin with a scene in high relief depicting the Queen of Sheba's visit to King Solomon (fig. 179).³⁸⁴ The

accompanying ewer was ordered in 1780 to replace the one stolen a few years earlier and was made by Hendrik Nieuwenhuys (active 1763-1803) (fig. 128).³⁸⁵

A second seventeenth-century set consists of a basin with the mythological scene of the Judgment of Paris and the accompanying ewer in the shape of a Nereid carrying a shell, both bearing witness to the community's tolerant attitude in relation to non-Jewish scenes on their ceremonial objects (fig. 171).³⁸⁶ Nowadays, these basins and ewers are displayed as showpieces in front of the heichal on holidays; the basin is displayed in an upright position, the handwashing ritual taking place above a more modern one.

Special cloths are used to cover the tebah on all holidays. These include the yellow silk ones for Pesach and the Feast of Tabernacles, with matching Torah cloths.³⁸⁷ For the

175 The inauguration cloth, as displayed at the opening of the synagogue's treasure chambers on 21 December 2011.

Feast of Tabernacles, the collection contains a number of receptacles for the etrog, a fragrant lemon, including a magnificent little silver filigree box (fig. 180).³⁸⁸ The etrog together with a bundle of plants symbolize the different elements. For the plant bundle or lulab (lulav), the congregation possesses a silver holder that fits into the chacham bench and into which the plant bundle can be inserted.³⁸⁹

Two special Chanukah lamps are used for lighting the candles during Chanukah (reinauguration of the Second Temple) during the eight days of this festival. The older of the two is brass and was donated in 1629 by Abraham Pharar, a member of the congregation. It is furnished with a donor's inscription in Portuguese as well as the Hebrew text from the Book of Proverbs referring to the light of the commandments, which is often found on such lamps.³⁹⁰ This one is used during the second half of Chanukah, while the silver one presented by Lopes Salzedo is used for the first half (fig. 165).

For the exuberant Purim festival, celebrating the deliverance of the Jewish people from the wicked plans of Haman the Evil at the time of the Persian Empire, in which the

Book of Esther is read out, the congregation uses a special tebah cloth that is known internally as the 'harlequin's cloth' because of its colourful tassles (fig. 181).³⁹¹ For the collection taken up on the Fast of Esther before Purim, four silver tazzas were donated by Jacob Abenijacar Pimentel in 1684. These dishes, which had been produced in different years by silversmiths in Amsterdam, Haarlem and Schoonhoven, were made neither as a set nor for this purpose. They were eventually used for collections taken on days of fasting and at weddings.³⁹²

At two points in the Jewish year, specific colours are used. The first is the ninth day in the month of Ab (Av) or Tishnga Beab (Tisha B'Av), the day of fasting and of mourning over the loss of the Temple and the exile of the Jewish people. In the Esnoga, which (in contrast to Ashkenazi synagogues) normally has no curtain or parokhet hanging in front of the heichal, this is the only day on which a — black — cloth is hung in front of it (fig. 183). For the heichal, the large brass candlesticks are covered with veils. The Torah scrolls are covered with black silk (sandal), binders, mantles, and finials, and the tebah is covered

176 Unknown silversmith (AW), The 'gold ponteiro', donated by the Portuguese synagogue's sister congregation in London to mark the Esnoga's 200th anniversary in 1875 (silvergilt and diamond, London 1875).





177 Torah cloth with the texts (in Dutch): 'The precepts of the Lord are right, / giving joy to the heart.' (Psalm 19:8) 'the year of honour of the Torah 5669' (1909) and 'The commandment of God is pure, light for the eyes' (Psalm 19:9) (silk, velvet and wire, 68 x 61 cm, the Netherlands 1909).



VISTA POLICY OF THE POLICY OF

178 Unknown silversmith, Box for the fragrant spices used to conclude Shabbat, with scenes representing the five senses (silver, Amsterdam, before 1712).

179 Johann Beckert III, Kohanim basin with the Queen of Sheba visiting King Solomon, donated by Imanuel Levy Mendez and his wife Constancia Levy Duarte in 1694 (silver-gilt, 91 x 107 cm, Augsburg 1694).

180 Unknown silversmith, Small filigree box for the etrog (the Netherlands, 18th century?).





181 The 'harlequin's cloth' with the four tazzas during an exhibition in the Jewish Historical Museum in 2011.

with a black cloth. The brass tebah knobs and candlesticks are replaced by black knobs. In addition, a black ponteiro is used for the Torah reading.

White is the colour of the High Holidays, the period that starts with the Jewish New Year, Rosh Hashanah, which ushers in a period of ten days of repentance ending in reconciliation with God on Yom Kippur; then follows the final 'sealing of judgment' before God on Hoshangana Raba (Hoshana Raba), the final day of the Feast of Tabernacles. In this entire period, the synagogues are draped in white. On the two days of Rosh Hashanah, an expert blows the shofar (ram's horn), which is also done at the conclusion of Yom Kippur and Hoshangana Raba (fig. 100). The tebah and lectern are all draped in white cloth, as are the Torah scrolls and its mantles. In the Esnoga, the preference is for filigree finials, because this technique tends to whiten the colour of the silver. In the past, an extremely rare ivory ponteiro from the collection was used during the High Holidays, but it has now become too fragile (fig. 182),393

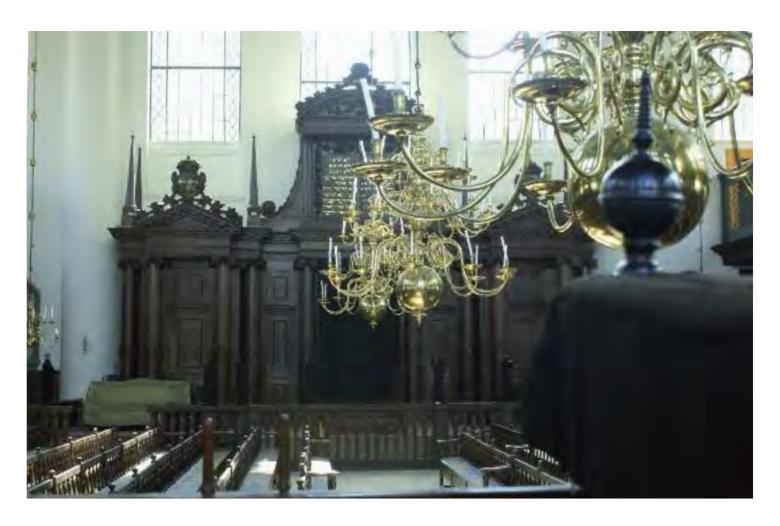
The colour orange is not linked to any religious holiday, but it has been used in the Esnoga since the visit of King Willem III on 3I March 1883. The set of cloths that was

produced for this occasion is made of orange silk and covered with antique lace, and according to Brandon it was used ever since on Shabbat Shemini to commemorate that royal visit.³⁹⁴ Nowadays the tebah cloth and Torah cloth are used on the Shabbat that is closest to the Queen's Official Birthday (30 April) and on the occasion of royal visits to the Esnoga, such as the visit of Her Majesty Queen Beatrix on 21 December 2011, on which date the new treasure chambers were first put into use.

These and many other objects from the Esnoga have been used for ritual purposes for centuries. Now, with the opening of the synagogue's collections, the public can become acquainted with this heritage, which has hitherto been largely concealed from view. In addition, the Jewish Historical Museum has undertaken to join forces with the Portuguese Synagogue to fulfil the difficult but important task of protecting this heritage, while at the same time facilitating its use as much as possible. This practical function is indeed visible in the treasure chambers, where, throughout the Jewish year, the objects that were – and are – in use on specific days according to the traditions of the Esnoga are laid out ready for use.



182 Ivory ponteiro, formerly in use during the High Holy Days.



183 On the 9th day of the Jewish month of Ab (Av), the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem is commemorated with a day of fasting. The Esnoga is draped in black: the brass candlesticks in front of the heichal are covered with black veils, and black drapes are hung in front of the heichal itself.





◀ 184 The interior of the Esnoga, view towards the east with the characteristic sand on the floor to absorb the dirt from the visitors' shoes (1936).

185 This photograph, dating from the 1950s, was taken during a service held to rehearse the Bar Mitzvah of Jaap Wegloop (Allegro). He is reading the haftarah, a section from the Prophets, after the reading from the Torah. We cannot see the Bar Mitzvah boy himself, but we do see his teacher, Mr Jacques Pais, the first religious knowledge teacher – and the first secretary – of the Portuguese Congregation after the Second World War. The two boys are the padrinhos or younger friends of the Bar Mitzvah boy, who accompany him on this joyful day: on the left Max Nebig and in the middle David Cohen Paraira, one of the authors of the first chapter. Photograph by Frits Lemaire.



 $186 \quad Simon \ van \ David \ Duque \ (1897-1945), the \ cantor \ or \ chazzan \ appointed \ in \ 1923 \ with \ his \ tall it \ (prayer \ shawl) \ and \ tricorn, the \ hat \ worn \ by \ the \ officials \ at \ the \ services \ held \ in \ the \ Portuguese \ Synagogue.$

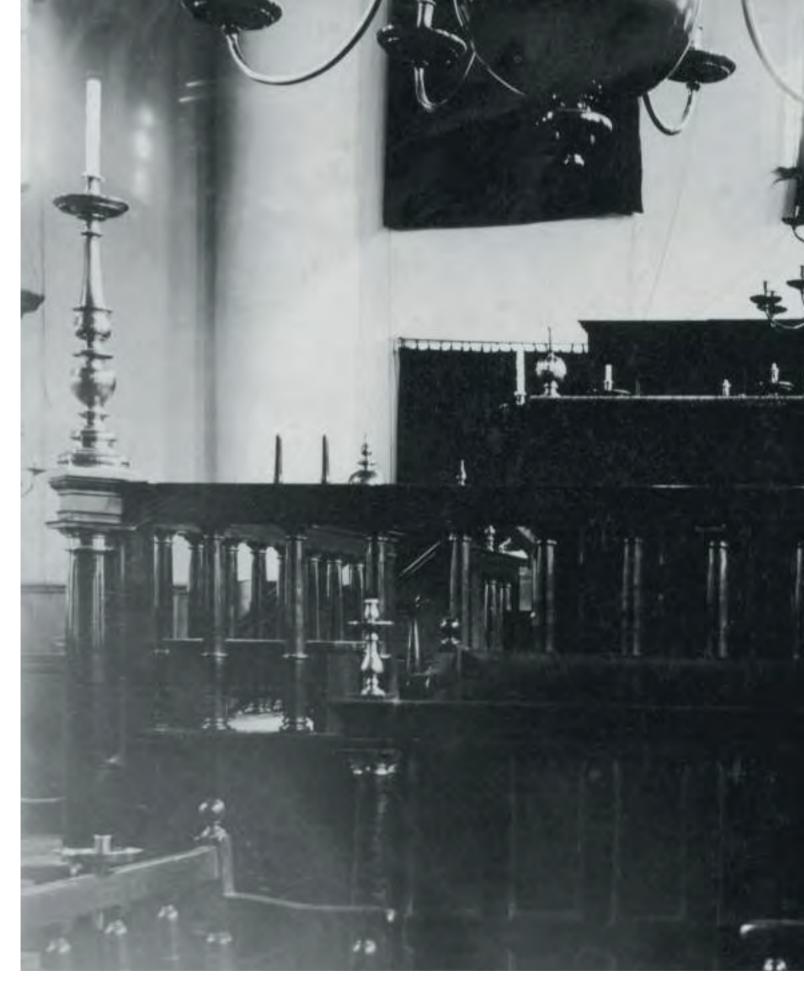


187 The Feast of the Tabernacles; the snogeiros are making a processional round with their lulab (bundle of twigs including a palm branch and an etrog). Photograph by Albertine Ooiman.

188 Rabbi Barend Drukarch (1917-1998) on his appointment as rabbi of the Portuguese Jewish Congregation in 1968. He was the second Ashkenazi rabbi, the first being Uri Halevie, the first rabbi of the Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam. At the end of his career, Rabbi Drukarch was appointed chief rabbi or *chacham*. In the chacham bench sits Rabbi Aron Schuster (1907-1994), who was then chief rabbi of the Ashkenazi Congregation of Amsterdam.







189 Tokea Levie (Louis) a'Cathan blowing the shofar (ram's horn), standing on the tebah in the Esnoga (c. 1930). Tokea is the term for the member of the congregation who is designated to blow the shofar.



190 The open heichal with the many Torah scrolls. Standing in front of the heichal is chazzan Jacob van David Blanes (1877-1943), who was appointed chazzan in 1902 and who was also active for the Jewish community in many other capacities, as religious knowledge instructor, mohel (circumcision practitioner), Torah scribe, and as a board member of various societies. In 1927 and 1942 Blanes celebrated his 5th and 40th anniversaries, respectively, as chazzan. Photograph levs 6.1 Montarion.







191 Funeral procession of an unknown person through the gates of the Esnoga, probably in the first quarter of the 20th century.

▶ 192 View of the interior of the Snoge, facing west (1936).



Appendices

Pieter Vlaardingerbroek

APPENDIX I: BUILDING ACCOUNTS SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 174, item nos. 321/320, pp. 1148-1149.

Laus Deo Amsterdam a 7 De Nisan 5436 Anos		
Fabrica da esnoga nova deve por Ysha de Pinto f 163.512-7-: ¡	oor loz Gattos siguentez que fezendha	
fabrica como Pareze de dha Conta a senhores		
Por estacaz para los fondamentos da esnoga	Piles	f 4044-16
Por tabuaz	Boards	f 2751-10
Por Kal	Lime	f 7832-10-8
Por Bussar y Busio de meter las estacaz	For driving the piles into the ground and pile-driving	3 , 3
,	overseer for the placing of the foundation piles	f 1956-16
Por area	Soil/sand	f 441-1
Pago a el mestre Harman Busenshut Carpintero	Carpenter Harman Bussenschut ³⁹⁵	f 285-12
De cavar os fundamentos	Digging out the foundations	f 655-17
De tellaz vidradaz	Glazed roof tiles	f 1459-9
Pago a Harque Tol guardian	Hark Tol, watchman	f 1036-9
Pago pregos y otraz ferramentaz y fechaduraz	Nails and other ironwork and locks	f 1969-13
Pago de simente	Cement/trass	f 894-12
Pago Pregos de Pao	Wooden nails	f 126-11
Pago a Xilez van de Ven, mestre carpintero	Master carpenter Gillis van der Veen ³⁹⁶	f 5263-15-8
Pago engoniez de bronse para las Puertaz	Bronze hinges for the doors	f 180-2
Pago piedra blanca y feitios de o mestre van Koyk	White stone and stonemason's wages for Pieter Pietersz van Kuijck ³⁹⁷	f21447-9-8
Pagos de bidrazaz y bidrios	Windows and glass panes	f 1799-11
Pago de beberetez a los ofisialez y mosos	Drinking money for labourers and boys	f 129-3
Pago de cunbos y chunberos	Lead and plumbing	f 6003-17
Pago de cobre enlaminas para les Resaz	Brass plates for the Resaz	f 876-4
Pago de maderaz de Diversos	Various kinds of timber	f 17474-9-8
Pago de mopaz y tifolo	Moppen and other bricks	f 16248-18
Pago de pintar	Painting	f 586-10
Pago de acaretar terra	For carting away the soil	f 36-6
Pago de cavar os fundamentos da obra nova	Digging work for creating foundations for the new structure	f 608-9
Pago Abram Ger salarios	Salary of Abraham Ger [bookkeeper for the construction work?]	f 108-13
Pago a mester Barent escultor	Sculptor, Master Barent ³⁹⁸	f 71-12
Pago a mester Jaen y confraters carpinteros	Master carpenters Jan & co. ³⁹⁹	f 14533
Pago de cobrez y lanpadarios	Brass and chandeliers	f 3275
Pago por el nuevo ehal	For the new heichal	f 3201-10
Pago sisternas fuera del acuerdo	Cistern/rain troughs outside the contract (additional work)	f 213-7
Pago de bidrios de la obra de a fuera	For the glass for the outside work (annexes?)	f 93-6-8
Pago de dorar las rosas y bolaz de los alanpadaries	Gilded roses and balls for the chandeliers	f 222-5
Pago no feitio y conserto de la tebat	For the making of and repairs to the tebah	f 454-14
Pago materiaiz na obra de fuera	Materials for outside work (annexes?)400	f 13945-8
Pago a mestre Antonio carpintero	Master carpenter Antonio	f 832-13
Pago a el torneyro	Turner	f 32
Pago de de cortinaz en la esnoga	Ten curtains for the Esnoga ⁴⁰¹	f 201-19
Pago defusos para enderesar as sanelaz	Screws for the windows	f 55
Pago a mestre pedreros Elias Bouman	Master mason Elias Bouman ⁴⁰²	f 14581-10
Pago a royemistrez	Clerks of the works	f00020
Pago de ferro y fereiros	Iron and smith's wages ⁴⁰³	f 15262-2
Pago watersten y blausten ower	Guttering and bluestone work	f 064-10-8

Pago a David Gomez	David Gomez	f	212-19
Pago de gastos por menudo	Miscellaneous expenses	f	2021-7
		fi	63512-7
Ishak de Pinto deve por la fabrica f 1043-17	que cobro como Pareze de sua conta a saver		
Por kal vendida a el burgamestre Hude	Received for limestone sold to burgomaster		
	Hudde	f	83-7
Por lo que monta la casa de les port se vendio		f	48
Por materiaoz vendidos a mester Harman	Received for materials sold to Master Harmen		
	(Bussenschut?)	f	28-11
Por diversos materiays vendidos	Received for the sale of miscellaneous materials	f	176-7-8
Por kal vendida a Adrian de Jonge	Received for lime sold to Adriaen de Jonge	f	15-13-8
Por mopen a el mestre Bouman	Received for moulded bricks sold to Master Bouman	f	31-10
Por lo vendido ao mestre Baren carrero y aluger del per loos	Received for [items] sold to Master Barent, stonemason	f	257-16
Por materiaoz a mester Jaen Karpintero	Received for materials sold to Master Jan, carpenter	f	402-12
		f	1043-17

APPENDIX 2: CONTRACTUAL CARPENTERS' SPECIFICATIONS FOR THE SNOGE (1671) SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 330

Besteck ende conditien waernae de Regenten van de Portugeesche Joodsche natien willen besteden het timmerwerck van haer Nieuwe Kerck

Voor eerst soo sal den aenneemer gehouden zijn het fondament te schoeijen daer 't noodigh is en vorders de masten te kruijnen en op het haijen te passen off die behoorlijck stuijten, wijders soo moet de aenneemer alle de masten in 't fondament affcruijnen tot genoege van de besteeders van de diepte die sij nodich acten, ende die te diep geslagen zijn stucken daer op te setten met een houte nagel daerdoor in de mast om dieselfde te connen dienen en dan voort te kespen daerop geleijt en over alle de masten te keepen ende genaegelt met een houte nagel en die met een duijm avegaer te booren op ijder mast een, en dan lange doorgaende keepen en hoeckkespen over de andere keepen en genaegelt in manieren als boven. Voorts soo moet de aennemer het hele fondament beplancken 3¹/₂ duijm dick int verbant en wel dicht op de kespe gespijckert, en dat op het spoedichste om het fondament niet langh droogh te houden.

Item den aennemer zal gehouden zijn te maken alle de vermelen en te stellen daer nodigh over de heele gront van de kerck en op deselve sullen ribben geleijt werden en op deselve een doorgaende solder over de hele gront van de kerck geleijt van twee duijms balckendelen aen d'eene zijde geschaeft en dicht gestreecken en geploecht en geveert en wel vast gespijckert nae behoren. Item den aennemer sal gehouden zijn te maeken twe galderijen soolangh de hele kerck is, en onderslag te leggen aen wederzijde op de colomme van de galderijen en het selfde in malcanderen te lassen met een haecklass en dat van drij stucken in de langte en in dese selfde onderslagen te wercken in ijder 40 balcken en sooveel troveelhouten als daer lichte sijn en dese balcken en troveelhouten gewerckt met pennen en gaten en tanden gesloten met twe houte nagels en op dese balcke te leggen een doorgaende solder van twee duijms balckdelen aen d'eene zijde geschaeft en geploecht en geveert en wel vast gespijckert, twee groote bordestrappen te maeken om nae dese bovengenoemde galderijen te gaen. Dese galderijen moeten van ondere beschot worden met parcken, waervan op ijder colom een balck moet deurhangen met het onderslagh gelijck, te weten vier duijm en hetselve rontom te beleggen met arcketraefflijste en het schot dicht gestreecken en in malckandere

geploecht en glat geschaeft en sindelijck gespijckert nae behoren ende voorts tegens de onderslagen te maken cirelijke doorgaende lijsten en boven desen lijsten leuninge met peterstaels *ende* peneelwerk gelijck in de Hoogeduijtsche Joodsche Kerck en boven desen te stellen noch tralijwerk soodanigh als de besteders goetduncken.

Item den aenneemer zal gehouden zijn te maeken vier doorgaende wurmpte soolangh als de heele kerck is, op de capitele van de groote colomme op ider twee met het naeckt gelijck van twe stucken in de langte gelast met haecklassen over malcander in 't verbant, dan op d'eene colom, dan op de andere aen wederzijdts op de muer aen de zijde een doorgaende wurmpte ofte muerplaet van drij in de langte gelast als voren gelijck als in de teekeningh vertoont.

Item d'aennemer sal gehouden sijn te maken op dese wurmpte ofte muerplaet elff hooftbinte en die te stellen volgens de teekeningh daervan sijnde ende te werken met stijlen en kerbiels gelijck in 't proviel is aengewesen.

Item den aennemer sal gehouden zijn te maeken twee binten uittersij op de colomme soolang als de hele kerck is en dieselfde te wercken met stijle en kerbiels gelijck de teekeningh uijtterzij daervan aenwijst.

Item den aennemer sal gehouden sijn te maken op dese uijttersijbinten, sooveel losse balcken tusschen de hooftbinten en in de hoeken sooveel terveelhouten en hoekbalken als in de gronttekeningh is aengewesen en op dese balcken te leggen en in te kepen vier roosterhouten en gesloten met bouten op ider hooftbinten en op dese balck de gootplanck te maken en te leggen gelijck als in de teekeningh aengewesen is <code>ende</code> op dese balcken aen wederzijde te maken een doorgaende solderingh van $1^{1}/2$ duijms balckdelen geploeght en geveert en wel vast gespijckert.

Item den aenneemer zal gehouden zijn op de balcken te maeken sooveel heele spanten *ende* halve spanten en kreupelle spanten als in de voorn*oemde* gronttekeningh is aengewesen en dese voors*creven* spanten te maeken met hanebalcken en kerbiels gelijck in 't proviel vertoont.

Item den aennemer sal gehouden sijn te maken in de balcken boven het groote wulft ofte bovenste balck van de hooftbinten tusschen ider een troveelhout met pennen en gaten en tanden gelijck met de bovenkant van de binten en in deselve troveelhouten de losse balcken van de kreupelspanten in te werken met pennen en gaten gelijk de grontteijckeningh

uijtwijst en op dese balcken van de hooftbinten te maeken twee kleijne kappen gelijck in 't proviel is aengewesen en gekielt gelijck in de gronttekeningh vertoont, de richels en gordinge en nocke en binnenrichels om de kapribben op vast te maeken sooveel en soodanigh als in 't proviel en uijtte zijteekeninge wert aengewesen.

Item zal den aennemer gehouden sijn dese voornoemde kap aff te spannen met kapribben een voet van malcanderen en deselve gekielt en gespijckert op alle de nocken en gordings nae behooren, en voor alle de kappen aff te laten en te spijckeren nae behooren, en sooveel dackcosijns met de vensters daerin de binnekappen te stellen als de besteders goetvinden ende noodigh achten.

Item den aennemer sal gehouden sijn te maken een lijst buijten rontom de heele kerck en deselve te cornissen op hare hoecken en pilasters en deselve aen de balcken vast de maken de cronementen met pennen en gaten ende de neusen in 't verbant daerop gespijckert.

Item den aennemer zal gehouden sijn te maken van binnen in de kerck op de hoogte van de grote capitelen ses doorgaende lijsten uijtwijsende de ordre van de colommen ende boven deselve lijste de wulften aff te richelen halfront ende richels een voet van malcandre en deselve tegens de richels die van het een hooftbint in 't ander gewerckt sijn, wel vast te maeken in 't verbant en dese drij doorgaende wulften te beschieten met ½ duijms blijvende wagenschot en hetselve drijkant over malcanderen gestreeken geheel dicht en wel te spijckeren, drij kerckdeuren te maeken soo groot ende moij als de besteeders believen sal.

Item den aennemer sal moeten maeken een starcke steijgeringh over de heele kerck om sijn kapwerck en onderslagen te connen opwercken ende deselve steijgeringh weder aff te nemen en moet oock hebben tot zijne last alle het arbeijtsloon van de timmerluijden ende oock haer bier en brandewijn en alle het gesaeght hout op de wal te wercken en sijn touwen en blocken en dommecrachten en alle sijn gereetschappen niet uijtgesondert.

Item den aennemer sal met sijn volck niet op saturdagen ofte andere heijlige dagen mogen wercken en sal op vrijdaghs ofte die dagen voor de heijlige dagen moeten uijtscheijden op het aenseggen van de besteeders. De meester sal gehouden sijn dagelijcx bij het werck te zijn en als het van nooden is om materialen ofte iets anders tot voordeel van het werck gehouden zijn met de besteeders te gaan als het hem aengeseijt wert ende daervoor niet te reekenen als zijn bedongen loon.

Item soo de besteeders aen dit werck tot haer genoegen ijets quamen te veranderen ofte in 't opbouwen iets nodigh was te verbeteren soo sal den aennemer dat aen de besteeders bekent maeken en voor deselve veranderinge meerder maekende meerder betalen ende minder maekende minder betalen. En soo daer different is en in 't werck niet connende acordeeren soo sullen haer wedersijts verblijven aen twee neutrale meesters, dit alles sonder arch off list etc.

Item den aennemer sal gehouden sijn gereet te wesen met de kap te pannen op maij 1672.

APPENDIX 3: CONTRACTUAL SPECIFICATIONS FOR RESIDENCES, COLONNADES, AND SCHOOLS (1674) SAA, 5075 (notary Pieter Padthuijsen), inv. no. 2908A, pp. 882-883, 878, 880 (carpenters' specifications)

Op huijden den 24^{en} Julij anno 1674 compareerden voor mij Pieter Padthuijsen openbaar notaris etætera present de naergenoemde getuigen, de heer Isacq de Pinto als geautoriseert van de Portugesche Joodsche natie binnen dese stadt, ter eenre, ende d'eersamen Jan de Jonge, Adriaen de Jonge ende Jan Uijlenborgh mr. timmerluijden binnen dese voorseijde stadt ter andere zijde. Ende verclaerden met malcanderen over het timmerwerck van de huijsen, schoolen ende galderijen aen ende bij de nieuwe Portugesche Joodsche kerck alhier te maken, geaccordeert ende verdragen te sijn opt besteck ende de conditien hiernaer volgende, te weten:

Eerstelijck sullen de tweede comparanten gehouden sijn te schoeijen daer het van noden is, alle de masten aff te steecken als op de grontteeckeningh vertoont wert, vier voeten van malcanderen, een dubbelt ende een enkelt, alsmede op het heijen te passen dat de masten bequaem stuijten ende dan de selve masten gelijck aff te kappen, ende met drij duijms plancken, daerop wel vast gemaeckt, de fondamenten te leggen, alles soowel aen het werck van de huijsen ende scholen aen de galderijen.

Item dat de tweede comparanten mede gehouden sullen sijn, d'eerste balcken inde huijsen ende in de scholen, t' geheele werck over te leggen op de hooghte die den eersten comparant ofte sijn plaets bekledende verstaen sal, met weijnich spint, en te wercken met soo veel schoorsteengaeten ende trapgaeten als in de balckgront aengetekent wert. De balcken moeten sijn van zeven en thien duijm ende de deelen daerop van greijnenhout van een en een halff duijm, de eene zijde sonder spint, wel geschaeft, gestreecken, geploecht ende geveert, ende wel recht op de balcken vastgemaeckt. De balcken ende deelen goet ende viercant sonder wan ofte eenigh letsel dat de balcken hinderlijck sij, als mede de deelen op wervels te setten.

Item dat de tweede comparanten insgelijcx gehouden sullen sijn alle de cosijns van binnen ende van buijten te maken soodanigh als op de teeckeningh daer van gemaeckt, vertoont wort, wel en glat met belioenen ende spondingen, ende daer aen te maecken de deuren, vensters en raemen van duijm eijckenhout met behoorlijcke clampen, de cosijns van seven en vijff duijm, de schoorsteenmantels sullen van greijnenhout moeten sijn, ende bekleet van eijckenhout met arcketraeff, fries ende lijst en soo veel trappen te maecken als op de grontteeckeningh vertoont wort. De traptreden sullen moeten twee ende halff duijm dick sijn, ende de spil vijff duijm int viercant alles van goet greijnenhout.

[883] Item de tweede comparanten sullen mede gehouden sijn, de tweede laegh balcken wel te schaven ende te wercken met soo veel schoorsteen en trapgaeten als in de balckgront aengetekent is, ende die wel te deegh op de muijr te leggen. De balcken sullen van ses en thien duijm moeten sijn, ende daer greijnen deelen opgeleght worden van een en een halff duijm, geschaeft, gestreecken en geveert, ende aen de eene zijde sonder spint ende die wel recht op de balcken vast te maecken. De voorpoort te maecken van drij duijm eijckenhout nae des eerste comparants, ofte diegene die sijn plaets bekleden sal, believen. De balcken die moeten drij voet van malcander sijn, ende om de tweede balck een ancker off een houvast, de anckers van vier a vijff pont, ende de houvasten van een a een en een halff pont, alles van goet nieuw ijser.

Item dat de tweede comparanten insgelijcx gehouden sullen wesen op de tweede balcken te leggen wurmte van vier en ses duijm ende daer spanten op, ses voet van malcander als in het porfiel van de galerije vertoont wort, de wurmte ende nock daerin van vier en vijff duijm, de kapribben van drie en twee en een halff duijm, een voet van malcander, de latten van een ende een en een halff duijm daerop, wel op sijn maet gespijckert. De hoeckkepers en kielkepers naer het model dat daer van gemaeckt is, ende de middelkap soo hoogh als den eersten comparant, ofte

diegene die sijn plaets bekleden sal, sal believen. Een deurgangh nae de middelkap te maecken, aen weerzijde met een venster om in de gooten te gaen.

Item sullen de tweede comparanten mede gehouden sijn, buijten om het werck te maecken een Toscaense sijmasijlijst, behalve boven de poort, daer op de teeckeningh een ander lijst vertoont wort, ende de binnenlijst te maecken sodanigh als uit profil van de galderije wort aengewesen, de gooten te maken met haer behoorlijcke schut van een voet breet in de boomen, ende de boeijborden soodanigh als dat behoort, de buijtegooten breet seven duijm in de boom.

Item dat de tweede comparanten insgelijcx gehouden sullen sijn te maecken de boomen onder een regenback ende onder twee secreten, en de de formeels die daertoe moeten sijn. Item de kalck ende santhocken te maecken die de metselaer [878] van noden sal hebben, alsmede de loots van achter die met pannen bedekt is aff te breecken, ende de masten ende andere hout op het werck te brengen, daer het den eersten comparant ofte diegene die sijn plaets bekleet, sal ordonneren.

Item de tweede comparanten sullen mede gehouden wesen onder twee galderijen te weten aen ijder zijde van de kerck een, de welcke ijder hondert en vijftigh voeten langh moeten sijn, colommen te setten van ipenhout, ende die te stellen twaelff a dartien voeten van malcanderen, de dickte naer advenant van de hooghte, sodanigh als d'ordre medebrenght, alsmede in ijder galderije een deur van twee duijm eijckenhout te maken, ende op de colommen te leggen een onderslagh, van seven en tien duijm daer de balcken op leggen.

Item sullen sij tweede comparanten insgelijcx gehouden sijn, de balcken van de galderijen van ses en negen duijm met weijnich spint van goet greijnenhout, goet ende viercant sonder wan ofte eenigh letsel dat de balcken hinderlijck sij, wel te schaven ende die te leggen drij voet van malkander, het eene ent op de muijr ende het ander ent op de onderslach, ende op ijder colom een houvast ende aen het ander ent een ancker. Op dese balcken te leggen greijne deelen van een ende een quart duijm, de eene zijde sonder spint geschaeft, gestreecken, geploecht en geveert, ende die wel recht op de balcken met wervels te spijckeren, alsmede opt weer ent van de balcken een wurmt van vier en ses duijm te stellen, ende die op de balcken wel vast ende de spanten daerop gemaeckt volgens als int profil vertoont wort, de spanten ses voet van malkanderen ende van vijff en ses duijm, de wurmte daer in van vier en vijff duijm, de nock vier en vijff duijm, de ribbe van 3 en 2¹/² duijm ende een voet van malckanderen ende de latten een en 1¹/² duijm, ende die wel op sijn maet te spijckeren.

Item dat de tweede comparanten mede gehouden sullen wesen de lijsten te maecken van binnen ende buijten volgens het voorwerck van de woonhuijsen ende scholen, ende van eene groote gelijck de gooten van het selve, ende moeten egael rontom loopen, alsmede te maecken drij dackvensters in ijder galderije.

[879] Item sullen sij tweede comparanten oock gehouden wesen ende nemen tot hunnen laste alle het arbeijtsloon van de timmerluijden te betalen, alsmede haer van bier ende brandewijn ende alle de gereetschappen die aent werck dependeren niets uijtgesondert, te versorgen, ende oock het gesaeght hout op de wal te doen wercken.

Item sullen sij tweede comparanten noch te hun volck op saturdagh ofte andere Joodsche heijlige dagen niet vermogen te wercken, ende sullen op vrijdagh ofte die dagen voor de heijlige dagen moeten uijtscheijden op het aenseggen van den eersten comparant ofte diegene die sijn plaets bekleden sal. Ende sal ten minste eene van de tweede comparanten gehouden sijn dagelijcks bij het werck te sijn, alsmede met den eersten comparant te gaen om de materialen te gaen copen.

Ende eijntelijck sullen de tweede comparanten gehouden wesen hun

werck gereet te leveren soodanich dat de pannen daerop cunnen comen een maent naerdat de muijren op sijn hooghste sijn.

Ende off t'zaecke ware dat ijets in de teeckeningh was aengewesen ende dat het in dit besteck niet en stont, off oock dat ijets int besteck was geschreven t'welck niet in de teeckeningh was aengewesen, soo sullen sij tweede comparanten evenwel verobligeert blijven het allebeijde te voldoen, ende soo de tweede comparanten ijets quamen te maecken off te leveren t'welck niet conform t'besteck off aentekeningh was, soo salt den eersten comparant vrijstaen het selve vant werck aff te keuren, jae al waert schoon dat het selve al tenemael gemaeckt was, t'welck sij tweede comparanten alles sonder tegenspreecken tot hunnen coste sullen moeten remedieren ende vermaecken sonder eenige rechtsvorderinge tot contentement van den eersten comparant. Ende indien het quame te gebeuren datter ijets meer ofte minder gemaeckt wort als volgens t'besteck ende aentekeningh vereijscht wort, soo sal het selve aen de tweede comparanten worden vergoet ofte gecort soo als twee eerluijde luijden hun dies verstaende sullen comen te oordelen.

Verclarende sij tweede comparanten het leveren van alle de materialen in desen vermelt aengenomen te hebben, ende dat alles van soodanigh een qualiteijt als in desen verhaelt is, geene uijtgesondert, alsmede het arbeijtsloon van alle het werck, het haijen van alle de masten daerinne begrepen, te weten alles voor de somme van achtduijsent ende vijffhondert guldens, de welcke door den eersten comparant sullen moeten worden betaelt, gelijck hij bij deesen belooft, namentlijck eendarde part soo haest als het fondement ende d'eerste laegh balcken sal wesen geleijt. Item een gelijck darde part soo wanneer het werck ondert dack sal sijn, ende het laeste darde part soo wanneer het werck sal wesen opgenomen. Sijnde eijntelijck noch geaccordeert ende bij den eersten comparant bedongen dat de tweede comparanten gehouden sullen sijn alle het hout dat den eersten comparant bij ende omtrent het werck is hebbende ende hij moeste oordelen goet genoegh te sijn om tot het voorseijde werck te gebruijcken, aen te nemen tot soodanigen prijs als men t'selve nieuw sijnde, soude moeten incopen. Ende aldus verclaerden de voornoemde partijen te wesen geaccordeert, verbindende tot naercoming ende voldoening van dien, namentlijck den eersten comparant alle de goederen ende offerten van de Portugees Joodsche gemeente, ende sij tweeden comparanten hunne resp. prive persoonen de goederen hebbende ende vercrijgende deselve stellende ten bedwangh van alle rechteren ende gerechten. Ter goeden trouw en aldus gedaen binnen Amsterdam, present Jacobus de Moll ende Raijmundus Buijck als getuigen

Ishack de Pinto

Adrijaen de Jonge mr. timmerman Jan de Jonghe mr. timmerman Jan Uijlenburgh mr. timmerman

Jacobus de Moll Raymundus Buijcke

SAA, 5075 (notary Pieter Padthuijsen), inv. no. 2908B, pp. 1018-1019, 1014-1017, 1012 (masons' specifications)

[1018] Op huijden den 20 augustij anno 1674 compareerden voor mij Pieter Padthuijsen openbaer notaris etætera present de naergenoemde getuijgen, de heer Isaeq de Pinto als geautoriseert van de Portugesche Joodsche natie binnen dese stadt, ter eenre, ende d'eersame Elias Bouman mr. metselaer binnen dese stadt, ter andere zijde. Ende verclaerden met malcanderen over het metselwerck van de woonhuijsen, schoolen

ende galderijen aen ende bij de nieuwe Portugesche Joodsche kerck alhier te maken, geaccordeert ende verdragen te sijn opt besteck ende de conditien hiernaer volgende, te weten:

Eerstelijck staet den tweede comparant daer voor in ende verbindt sich mits desen, dat alle de materialen tot dit werck behoorende ende in dit besteck begrepen, te weten, roode ende grauwe moppen, Goutse steen, kalck ende sant, sement, pannen ende vorsten van Hasselt, materialen tot een regenback houdende hondert tonnen, vloeren tot twee voorhuijsen ende drij keuckens, hartsteenen neuten, hartsteenen basementen onder de pilaren van de galderijen, steentjes onder de muijren van de woonhuijsen ende in de schoorsteenen, loode gooten ende buijsen, twee lode pompen, backen met copere cranen ende twee watersteenen, klinckert ende sant om t'pleijn voor de kerck, de galderijen aen de zijde tusschen de kerck ende de galderijen achter de kerck gelijck met den galderijen te vloeren, een blaeuwe drumpel voor ijder deur van de woonhuijsen en schoolen, vier ijsere plaeten van 31/2 voet langh ende vier gemeene haertijsers, ende de steenkalck ende sant tot twee secreten, alles door den eersten comparant offte diegene die sijn plaets bekleden sal, met kennisse van den tweeden comparant te copen, niet meer int geheel sullen comen te costen als de somma van dartien duijsent ende een hondert guldens, ende alle t'gene deselve materialen meerder mochte comen te costen, sal den tweeden comparant gehouden sijn te suppleren ende voldoen, ende t'gene de selve minder mochte comen te costen t'selve sal comen tot proffijt van den eersten comparant, voor welcke verbintenisse den tweeden comparant sal genieten eene premie van tweehondert guldens.

Item den tweeden comparant sal de fondementen moeten aenleggen ende verdelen op de pijl van de roijmeesters die de diepte daer affgeven dewelcke is 10 voeten ende een halff offte meer volgens de grontteeckeningh die daer van gemaeckt is.

[1019] De fondementen van de scholen ende woonhuijsen sullen van een ende een halff mop dick sijn tot onder de balcken van de vloer die acht duijm boven t'pleijn off de plaets van de kerck is, ende dit van goede roode moppen ende wel in kalck gewerckt alsmede de muijren recht ende wel te metselen.

Item dat den opstal van de schoolen ende woonhuijsen sal wesen de buijtenmuijren ende de muijren van het pleijn van een grauwe mop, beginnende van de hooghte van de straet dat men geen rode moppen can sien, ende de binnen scheijmuijren van een roode mop dick, ende de binnen lose muijren van een halff goutse steen, de deuren ende cosijns sullen geset worden soodanigh als in de teeckeningh staet off aengewesen sal worden, ende sal dit werck van buijten rontom wel schoon gewrocht moeten worden, ende welgestootvoeght ende affgereet, ende dese verdieping sal 12 voeten vant pleijn hoogh sijn, ende van onder soo veel tochtgaten als er van noden sijn sullen, alsmede voor ijder deur van de schoolen en woonhuijsen een blaeuwe steene drempel te leggen, ende de kosijnen ende deuren op de zijde van de gracht ende opt pleijn te bedecken van boven met orgelloot 10 duijm breet.

Item sal den tweeden comparant insgelijcx gehouden wesen aen dit werck, soo als de houte kapjes daer op verdeelt sijn, met Hasseltse pannen ende vorsten te bedecken, ende wel dicht ende recht van binnen te strijcken.

Item sal hij tweeden comparant mede gehouden sijn vijff schoorstenen in de woonhuijsen te maken, ende die met Goutse steen tot aen het dack ende dan buijten het dack op te haelen met graeuwe mop, alles schoon gewerckt.

Item sal den tweeden comparant oock gehouden wesen in de voorhuijsen van de woonhuijsen gesleepe sweetse vloeren sonder pitten in schulp en sement te leggen, ende in de keuckens vloeren van de beste gladde roode backen in kalck geleijt, alsmede een keldertje te maken

onder een van de betsteden van ijder huijs ende met een vloer van backen beleijt worden, ende oock een blaeuwe watersteen in ijder keucken te setten te weten op die plaets daer het [1014] den eersten comparant ordonneren sal, gelijck mede in de keuckens, camers en de voorhuijsen een steentje rontom te setten, ende in de schoorsteenen van drij guldens. Sullen mede in de keuckens geset worden vier ijsere plaeten van drij ende een halff voet ende vier gemene haertijsers. Dese camers keuckens ende voorhuijsen wel te raepen ende dan te plijsteren, alsmede twee lode pompen met copere cranen te stellen om uijt de regenback water te crijgen.

Item dat den tweeden comparant mede gehouden sal wesen in alle de schoolen een schoorsteentje te maken omdat men daer een kachel in can stoocken die den tweden comparant oock sal hebben te setten, doch in de kerckmeesters cantoor een schoorsteen daer men in can vuijren. Dese schoolen en de cantoor wel aff te raepen ende te pleijsteren soo als den eersten comparant, ofte diegene die sijn plaets bekleet, sal ordonneren. Gelijck mede in de schoorsteen van de kerckmeesters cantoor steentjes te setten ende voor de posten een ander regel van steentjes.

Item sal den tweede comparant insgelijcx gehouden sijn een regenback in de poort te maecken van hondert tonnen groot van goede moppenclinckert, ofte Leijtse klinckert, ende een secreet te maecken gewulff ende soo diep als t'wesen ca.. (weggevallen: can) ende daer op vier sitplaetsen te maecken, alsmede de loode pompenbacken en watersteen die in de oude kerck sijn uijt te nemen ende die te brengen ende setten daer het den eersten comparant ofte diegene die sijn plaets bekleet, sal ordonneren.

Item den tweede comparant sal gehouden wesen dit werck met goede loode gooten te beleggen van goet gootloot van een voet breet in de boomen, ende de buijten gooten van seven duijm mede inde boomen ende een halff voet op de buije, ende voor tot op de neus van de lijst ende de kielen van goet goot loot, ende de loode buijssen van twee en een halff duijm overt cruij.. (weggevallen: cruijs).

Item dat den tweeden comparant mede verobligeert sal sijn het pleijn voor de kerck en tusschen de schoolen te vloeren met goede middelslagh van Leijtse ende Vriesse klinckert die niet crom en sijn, soodanigh als die in parcken verdeelt sullen [1015] worden naer believen van den eersten comparant, ende int zant gevloert werden, te weten een halff voet sant hoogh om te vloeren.

Item sal den tweeden comparant gehouden sijn drijhondert voeten galderijen te maecken, als namentlijck hondert en vijftigh voeten nae de Muijergracht ende hondert en vijftigh voeten nae de Breestraet, de fondamenten van de galderijen sullen soo diep sijn als dat van de scholen, ende sal het fondament twee rode mop dick sijn, ende al t'gene dat boven de straet comt van een en een halff graeuwe mop soowel van binnen als van buijten, ende van binnen ende buijten schoon gewrocht tot die hooghte als de muijr van de schoolen is, ende sal mede aen dese muijr om de twaelff off dartien voet een steene pendant aengewerckt worden, soo wel van binnen als van buijten, maer die van binnen sal onder de vloer blijven, ende die van buijten opgaende tot aen de lijst op de verdeelinge van de colommen soo als den eersten comparant hem sal aenwijsen, ende de teeckeningh daer van gemaeckt is medebrengende, gelijck hij mede onder ijder colom een steene pendant sal ophaelen van roode moppen, ende een hartsteen basement onder ijder colom te maken volgens de teeckeningh daer van gemaeckt, het harsteen basement van een vloet hoogh, ende de houte colommen daer wel met een ijser doock met loot ingegoten.

Item sal den tweeden comparant oock gehouden wesen dese galderije te decken met Hasseltse pannen ende vorsten, ende die wel dicht ende recht van binnen te strijcken.

Item sal den voornoemde tweeden comparant mede gehouden wesen onder een van de trappen achter de kerck een secreet te maken ende te verwulven soo diep als t'can wesen met twee sitplaetsen.

Item dat den tweeden comparant insgelijcx gehouden sal sijn tusschen de galderije ende de kerck alsmede onder de galderije ende achter de kerck, gelijck met de galderije, met goede Leijtse ende Vriesse klinckert van de middelste slagh die niet crom en sijn op sijn kant te vloeren, met parcken soodanigh als die verdeelt sal worden naer believen van den eersten comparant, ende mede een halff voet int sant.

Item dat hij tweede comparant gehouden sal wesen aen [1016] wederzijde van dese galderijen soo binnen als buijten met goet gootloot, gooten geset worden van een voet breet in de boom, ende de buijten gooten van seven duijm in de boom ende een healff voet op de buije ende voor tot op de neus van de lijst, alsmede loode buijssen van twee ende halff duijm overt cruijs om aff te wateren, soo als den eersten comparant hem ordonneren sal, ende alle het loot aent geheele werck sal moeten een voet viercant plat loot sijn ende wegen vijff ende een quart ponden.

Item dat hij tweede comparant insgelijcx gehouden sal wesen de kalck ende sement te laten bereijden in voegen als volght te weten, hij sal twaelff wagens kalck nemen daer onder seven wagens sant alle even vol ende die wel gemenght, gewatert ende gebout, ende sal alle de kalck die gebout is ses dagen leggen, ende dan weder wel doorgeslagen, eer dat hij verwerckt sal worden. De sement sal werden toebereijt als volght te weten, ses wagens steenkalck ende ses wagens schulpkalck daeronder drij wagens sement als mede drij wagens sant t'selve alles wel onder een gemenght ende wel gebout ende dan twee dagen laten leggen ende daernaer wederom wel doorgeslagen, alsmede daer opgepast op dat het niet en bederft, gelijck oock alle de steen naer behooren te gieten alles tot contentement van den eersten comparant.

Item den tweeden comparant sal op het aenseggen van den eersten comparant int werck moeten gaen alle met goede metselaers, ende soo daer knechts mochten sijn die de eerste comparant niet aenstaen soo sullen die op het aenseggen van den eersten comparant van het werck moeten gaen, ende hij tweede comparant gehouden sijn andere goede knechts in de plaets te laten comen.

Item den tweeden comparant en sal met sijn volck op saturdagh ofte andere Joodsche heijlige dagen niet vermogen te wercken ende sullen op vrijdaghe ofte die dagen voor de heijlige dagen moeten uijtscheijden op het aenseggen van den eersten comparant, gelijck oock den tweeden comparant gehouden sal wesen dagelijcx bij het werck te sijn, ende sal moeten de muijren van de huijsen ende scholen op sijn hooghte gebracht hebben tegens halff october, ende die van de [1017] galderijen tegens den laesten october op pene dat hij voor ijder dagh naer die tijt sal verbeuren de somme van tien guldens.

Item den tweeden comparant sal insgelijex gehouden wesen aen ijder

zijde van de galderijen drij gaeten te metselen ende met hartsteen te decken, alsmede ijsere roosters daer in te maecken om dat t'water int fondament door de muijr van de kerck sal connen lopen.

Item den tweden comparant sal gehouden wesen dit bovenstaende werck te maecken tot sijnen coste te weten van arbeijtsloon, bier, brandewijn, kruijwagens, manden, tobbens, metseldraet, steijgerhout, ende alle andere gereetschappen die aen sijn werck dependeren niets uijtgesondert

Ende off t'zaecke ware dat ijets in de teeckeningh was aengewesen, ende dat het in dit besteck niet en stont, off oock dat ijets int besteck was geschreven t'welck niet in de teeckeningh was aengewesen, soo sal hij twede comparant evenwel verobligeert blijven het alle beijde te voldoen, ende soo den tweeden comparant ijets quam te maken t'welck niet conform t'besteck off aentekeningh was, soo salt den eersten comparant vrijstaen het selve vant werck aff te keuren, jae al waert schoon dat het selve al tenemael gemaeckt was, t'welck hij tweede comparant alls sonder tegenspreecken tot sijnen coste sal moeten remedieren ende vermaecken sonder eenige rechtsvorderinge tot contentement vanden eersten comparant, ende indien het quame te gebeuren datter ijets meer ofte minder gemaeckt wort als volgens t'besteck ende aentekeningh vereijscht wort, soo sal het selve aen de tweede comparant worden vergoet ofte gecort soo als twee eerlijcke luijden hun dies verstaende sullen comente oordelen.

Verclarende hij tweede comparant het arbeijtsloon vande bovenstaende wercken ende de conditien hier boven verhaelt niets uijtgesondert aengenomen te hebben, voor de somme van vijftienhondert guldens ende daerenboven noch de somme van een hondert guldens tot een vereeringh dewelcke door den eersten comparant sullen moeten werden [1012] betaelt, gelijck hij bij desen belooft, soo wanneer het werck tot contentement van den eersten comparant, ofte diegene die sijn plaets sal bekleden, sal wesen opgenomen.

Ende aldus verclaerende voornoemde partijen te wesen geaccordeert, verbindende tot naercoming ende voldoeninge vandien, hunne respective privé persoonen ende goederen hebbende ende vercrijgende de selve stellende ten bedwangh van alle rechteren ende gerechten. Ter goeder trouwen aldus gedaen binnen Amsterdam present Jacobus de Moll ende Johannes van Oijt als getuijgen

Ishack de Pinto Elias Bouman

Jacobus de Moll Joannes van Oijt

Archives and abbreviations

Notes

Ets Haim: Ets Haim Library – Livraria Montezinos

JHM: Jewish Historical Museum

PIG: Portuguese Jewish Congregation

RDMZ: National Department for the Conservation of Historic Buildings and Sites

SAA: Amsterdam City Archives:

334: Archives of the Portuguese Jewish Congregation, Amsterdam

 ${\tt 334A:} Archives of the Portuguese Jewish Congregation: supplement$

366: Archives of the Guilds and the Brewers' Association

378: Archives of the Oosterkerk (OOK)

5004: Archives of the Orphans Chamber: register of funerals

5028: Burgomasters' Archives: miscellaneous documents ('stukken betreffende verscheidene onderwerpen')

5039: Archives of the Treasurers (Thesaurieren Ordinaris)

5062: Archives of the Aldermen: debt cancellation registers (kwijtscheldingsregisters)

5063 Archives of the Aldermen: register of mortgage bonds (schepenkennissen)

5075: Archives of Notaries established in Amsterdam

10056: Collection of architectural drawings

DTB: Registers of Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths

RCE: Cultural Heritage Agency

Tresoar: Centre for Frisian History and Literature, Leeuwarden

- I This general account is based primarily on Baruch, Jessurun Cardozo and Sondervan 1993, Belinfante 1991, Blom, Fuks-Mansfeld and Schöffer 2004, De Castro and Meijer 1950, Fuks-Mansfeld 1989, Kistemaker and Levie 1987, Michman, Beem and Michman 1999, Da Silva Rosa 1925, and Stoutenbeek and Vigeveno 1997. References to the most important supplementary literature are given in the sections dealing with the relevant subject matter.
- 2 On Amsterdam's synagogues, see Van Agt 1974. On the Portuguese Jewish community in 17th-century Amsterdam and the archaeological research conducted on Vlooienburg in 1981-82, see Kistemaker and Levie 1987. On the model of the Temple that was exhibited in the house on Korte Houtstraat, see Offenberg 2004, pp. 401-405. On the meat market, see Koen, 'Vleesvoorziening', 1970.
 - 3 Van Agt 1974, pp. 9-12.
- 4 Zantkuijl 1970 and Koen, 'Waar', 1970. Zantkuijl's article contains translated summaries of the contract dated 31 January 1612 (drawn up in Portuguese), pp. 200-201, and the subsequent written agreements concerning problems that arose in connection with the building, pp. 205-207. The unabridged texts were published in Koen, 'Notarial records', 1971 and 1972. In response to protests from the Calvinist church council, the city council decided to ban religious and other gatherings, on penalty of having the building demolished. The construction work was completed, after which the house was purchased by the city councillor Nicolaes van Campen, who rented it to Neveh Shalom; Koen, 'Nicolaes van Campen', 1971, p. 117.
 - **5** For Isaac de Pinto, see Salomon 1975 and Bodian 1997, pp. 96-97, 166.
- 6 Abrahamse 2010, pp. 199-200. With thanks to Jaap Evert Abrahamse for the texts of the relevant resolutions. It should be added that Daniel Stalpaert had already produced a design for the planned square; see Vlaardingerbroek 2010, p. 56, table 1. The city's proposal was made with a view to spending less money on building the canal with accompanying quaysides and bridges, and to avoid having to pay compensation to the regents of the Leprozenhuis.
- 7 Van Agt 1976, Visschedijk 2010.
- 8 Bloemgarten and Van Velzen 1997, Hendriks and Van Velzen 2004, and Reijnders 1981.
 - 9 See the illustration in Belinfante 1991, pp. 86-87.
- 10 Citroen 2010. Mendes Coutinho was arrested in the raid in May 1943 and transported to Westerbork, but was able to return to Amsterdam.
 - 11 Hagoort 2005 and Alvares Vega 1975.
- 12 The correspondence regarding the preservation of the synagogue derives from Vaz Dias 1995, pp. 49-51. With thanks to Veerle Simons for providing information and reference. Thanks also to Peter Tammes.
- 13 With thanks to Odette Vlessing, Harmen Snel, Guido Steenmeijer, Gabri van Tussenbroek and J. Vlaardingerbroek for their suggestions and their critical readings of the text. We are also very grateful to Ruud Koopman for the numerous references to notarial deeds relating to the Bouman family.
- **14** Vermeulen 1928-1941, vol. 3, pp. 387-389 up to and including Snaet 2007, p. 278.
 - 15 Vaz Dias 1934, p. 89.

- 16 De Castro 1875, p. 4.
- 17 Seeligmann 1920.
- 18 Ozinga 1929, p. 160.
- 19 On the meaning of the word 'architect' in the seventeenth century, see Vlaardingerbroek 2010.
 - 20 Meischke 1995, p. 71.
- 21 The date of birth derives from SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 3107 (notary Hendrick Rosa), p. 364 (1 December 1670) and inv. no. 2903 (notary Pieter Padthuijzen), 29 April 1671; the date of death derives from SAA, DTB, inv. no. 1047, pp. 264-265; see also Vaz Dias 1934, p. 90 and Dudok van Heel 1975.
 - 22 Tresoar Leeuwarden, DTB 899, 8 February 1634.
- 23 The children's names Willem [Wijlem] and Crelis, mentioned by Vaz Dias (1934, p. 90), do not occur in the will of 19 February 1677 drawn up by Claes Bouman and Trijntje Fredricx (SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 3129B (notary Hendrick Rosa), fol. 792-798). In fact Crelis was not a child of Claes's at all and Willem was already deceased.
- 24 SAA, DTB, inv. no. 42 (Nieuwe Kerk), p. 67; SAA, DTB, inv. no. 93 (Zuiderkerk), p. 3; SAA, DTB, inv. no. 93 (Zuiderkerk), p. 57; SAA, DTB, inv. no. 43 (Nieuwe Kerk), p. 21.
 - 25 SAA, DTB, inv. no. 474, p. 453.
- **26** SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 1114 (notary Justus van de Ven), deed 1 (1 July 1655).
 - 27 SAA, archive 5004, inv. no. 6.
- **28** SAA, 5062, inv. no. 47, fol. 103v. Plot 38 park C for 4,500 guilders, 10 December 1655: Willem Muijlman to Claes Barentsz Bouman, master mason. The former burgomaster Nicolaas Tulp and Zacharias Rode (commissioner of maritime affairs) stood surety for the transaction. This house, with its own walls and gutter, was sold by their heirs of Claes Barentsz Bouman in 1726 and 1727: \(^1/4\) was sold for 4,000 guilders (on 5 March 1726) to Jan Agges Scholten and Borchardus Scholten, and \(^3/4\) for 12,000 guilders (on 10 October 1727).
 - 29 SAA, DTB, inv. no. 9, p. 148 (Oude Kerk).
 - 30 Registration on 6 February 1640; SAA, poorterboek E, p. 116.
- 31 SAA, archive 366, inv. no. 1346: he is described here as 'Claes Barendtsz van [=of] Leuwarden'.
- 32 SAA, archive 366, inv. no. 1349: 'Claes Barendts sijn twee zoonen als Elias Claesz ende Wijlem Claesz voor twee jaeren.'
- 33 SAA, archive 366, inv. no. 1349, fol. 34v (Pieter Jansen of Flensburg), fol. 41v (Rijecwert Pietersz of Friesland), fol. 54 (Jan Berensz Hooghewegh of Amsterdam), fol. 58v (Thomas Thomasz Smit of Amsterdam), fol. 62v (Jan Anthonijsz of Amsterdam), fol. 65 (Abram Geijsbersen Wou of Amsterdam), fol. 69v (Gerrit Jacobsen of Amsterdam), fol. 70v (Coenraet Pietersz of Amsterdam and Jan Jansz Pingeman).
- **34** Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. s A 40261; see also Middelkoop, Reichwein and Van Gent 2008, p. 212.
- 35 SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 3930 (notary Nicolaes Brouwer), fol. 344, 391-392v (20 September 1672). The city appears to have been a party to these arbitration proceedings: the treasurers designated Douwe Claesz and Jasper Aerjaensen as arbitrators, the others being Claes Barentsz Bouman, Willem Brederode, and the lawyer Nicolaes Listingh.
- **36** SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 3177B (notary Arnout van Zurck), p. 829 (9 January 1666).
- **37** SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 3093 (notary Jan Cramer), fol. 164 (1 September 1659), 165 (6 September 1659), 209 (6 October 1659); with thanks to Ruud Koopman. Claes Barents Bouman had purchased 30,000 grey bricks (*grijze stenen*) and 28,000 clinkers (*harde stenen*) from Albert van Wieringen, all originating from the area surrounding Woerden. Bouman initially declined to accept them; Van Wieringen then refused to load the bricks onto Bouman's ship, and the case subsequently came before the courts.
- **38** SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 2903 (notary Pieter Padthuijzen), 29 April 1671. See also Vaz Dias 1934, p. 90.

- 39 SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 3107 (notary Hendrick Rosa), fol. 364 (1 December 1670). In this deed, Claes declared that the bricks had not only been supplied by Dirck van Steenoven but moreover that they came from Hendrick Woutersz's brickworks, near Jutphaas.
- **40** SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 3102-2 (notary Hendrick Rosa), p. 48 (27 September 1667). It related to Nicolaes Backer's house at Stillesteeg. Bouman declared that he had used lime and bricks from the brick merchant Carel de Later.
- **41** SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 3104 (notary Hendrick Rosa), p. 885 (27 September 1667). Jacob Jansz Disseldorp worked as a mason's assistant here for 44 years, and Claes Claesz Reuwer for 30 years.
- **42** SAA, archive 378.0 OK, inv. no. 7, fol. 2 (for mason's assistants 121 guilders and 4 stuyvers, 22 May 1670), fol. 7 (288 guilders for mason's wages, 16 August 1672 and 321 guilders and 6 stuyvers, 12 November 1672); Bijtelaar 1980, pp. 7, 17, 21.
- 43 See the website of Amsterdam City Archives: http://stadsarchief.amsterdam.nl/archieven/archiefbank/indexen/transportakten_voor_1811/zoek/query.nl.pl?i1=1&v1=cl*&a1=bou*&x=14&z=b&s=o.
- 44 SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 3129B (notary Hendrick Rosa), pp. 792-798: Claes entrusts to his wife 'het volle besit van de gehele boedel zo roerende als onroerende, de schulden ende lasten des boedels betaelende, oock met raedt en daet, ende mede met goetvinden van sijn testateurs outste voorsoon Elijas Bouwman ende de soon Abraham Bouwman bij haer testatrice geprocreëert, als hij tot sijn mondige jaeren sal gecomen wesen, item sijn testateurs schoonsoon Johannes Hasewindius, ende sulck met meeste stemming van hun, de vaste goedren te verhuijren, repareren, vertimmeren ende mede vercopen.' In the end, the children would inherit everything. The children of the deceased Sara, who had been married to Jan van Hecke, and her son Barent, would share in the inheritance, but were not permitted to touch Abraham's 'child's portion' of the estate. Barent is depicted in the will as the aggrieved child, who felt that his interests had been harmed by the existence of his half-brother Abraham and tried to lay claim to the latter's portion of the estate.
- **45** SAA, archive 5028, inv. no. 662, fol. 151v, tax assessment for 25 guilders.
- **46** SAA, archive 5063, inv. no. 46, fol. 127v (16 December 1664). The indexes of the mortgage bonds (*schepenkennissen*) were searched from inv. no. 31 (1637) up to and including inv. no. 57 (1677). Claes's name does not appear to occur in the register of original documents kept by the aldermen (*schepenminuutregisters*) (SAA, archive 5066).
 - 47 Dudok van Heel 2008, vol. 2, p. 750.
- 48 Other examples include Tulp's son-in-law Jan Six (1617-1700) and Gijsbert Dommer, who worked with the architect Adriaen Dortsman; see Vlaardingerbroek 1996, p. 163.
 - 49 Röell 2010, pp. 40-59.
- **50** SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 3093 (notary Jan Cramer), fol. 209 (6 October 1659); with thanks to Ruud Koopman. This document refers to Elias as a master mason.
- **51** SAA, archive 366, inv. no. 1349: fol. 69 (Jan Jansen of Amsterdam), fol. 70v (Evert Stevensz of Blocksijen and Pieter Alberts of Amsterdam).
- **52** National Archives, The Hague, 3.03.01.01, Hof van Holland (Court of Holland), inv. no. 83, fol. 41r-42. Muller and Zandvliet 1987, p. 170; for Paen, see p. 154.
 - 53 SAA, DTB, inv. no. 495, p. 142 (4 July 1670).
 - **54** SAA, DTB, inv. no. 1056, p. 60 (19 February 1672).
- **55** SAA, DTB, inv. no. 1056, p. 103 (22 November 1674). She lived on Nieuwezijds Binnenamstel.
- **56** SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 3438 (notary Pieter Cornelis van Poelenburgh), fol. 186-196v (27 December 1675 to 16 March 1676). With thanks to Ruud Koopman. Of the seventeen houses that were rented out by Van Kuijck, Elias Bouman's was by far the most expensive.

- 57 SAA, archive 5028, inv. no. 662, fol. 534v, tax assessment for 10 guilders. The estimated capital of the master carpenter Gilles van der Veen was 1,000 guilders, while that of the master stonemason Pieter van Kuijck was 5,000 guilders. The architects Adriaen Dortsman and Daniel Stalpaert had built up far more capital, estimated at 10,000 and 50,000 guilders, respectively.
- **58** S A A, archive 5075, inv. no. 4965 (notary Michiel Servaes), deed 86, pp. 247-248 (28 October 1680). Bouman fined the mason Marten Hendricksz, who had accepted work from Casper Fernandus Vega despite not being registered with the guild. With thanks to Ruud Koopman.
- **59** SAA, archive nr. 5039, inv. no. 7, fol. 15v (12 April 1681); De Castro 1875, pp. X-XI, n. 52; Van Essen 2011, p. 200, appendices: pp. 11, 37.
- **60** S A A, archive 5039, inv. no. 7, fol. 50-51v (24 March 1682). Abrahamse 2010, pp. 327-330.
 - **61** SAA, archive 5039, inv. no. 7, fol. 95; De Castro 1875, pp. X-XI, n. 52.
 - **62** SAA, DTB, inv. no. 1056, p. 302 (18 March 1686).
- 63 SAA, archive 5046, inv. no. 5, fol. 219, executors Johannes Hasewindius and Bastiaan Stopendaal. Elias owned one-third of his father's house on Binnenkant (2,330 guilders), three houses on Oostenburgerstraat (400 guilders), plots 3 and 4 on Oostenburgerstraat (330 guilders each) and two houses on Oostenburgerdwarsstraat (400 guilders). All this came from his father's estate. In addition, Elias owned one-quarter of a property on Koepoortsweg in Hoorn (200 guilders), which he had inherited from his wife. The total value of Elias's property was estimated at 3,990 guilders; the tax was 202 guilders.
 - 64 Quoted from Vaz Dias 1934, p. 91.
- **65** SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 2787 (notary Pieter van Buijtene), pp. 605-606 (13 December 1668). With thanks to Ruud Koopman.
 - 66 Vaz Dias 1934, p. 91.
- 67 SAA, archive 378.00 K, inv. no. 7, fol. 9 (4 February 1673 157 guilders and 10 stuyvers), fol. 10 (5 August 1673 200 guilders), fol. 11 (9 February 1674 116 guilders and 11 stuyvers), fol. 12 (25 July 1674 175 guilders and 8 stuyvers, and 12 November 1674 252 guilders), fol. 13 (17 July 1675 110 guilders), fol. 14 (12 February 1676 111 guilders), fol. 15 (14 May 1677 121 guilders), fol. 16 (23 February 1678 39 guilders and 15 stuyvers, and 29 December 1678 33 guilders and 6 stuyvers), fol. 17 (30 January 1680 221 guilders), fol. 18 (30 January 1681 89 guilders and 5 stuyvers). Total sum: 1726 guilders and 15 stuyvers. In 1681 Elias became the city's master mason. See also Bijtelaar 1980, p. 21.
- $68\,$ s A A , library, collection 15009, inv. no. 10865, no. O 940.127. These plans state that Daniel Stalpaert would supervise the work, from which it can be inferred that he had designed the Ashkenazi synagogue.
- **69** Vaz Dias 1934, p. 91; S A A, archive 5075, inv. no. 2904 (notary Pieter Padthuijzen), pp. 109-110 (10 December 1671) and p. 261 (9 November 1671). Elias also reportedly promised to make the masonry for 1,200 guilders. See also Van Eeghen 1963, p. 11.
- **70** That Gillis van der Veen also delivered designs is clear from a statement dating from 1676, signed by him and others, stating that the design must be paid for even if the designer did not secure the commission. Ottenheym 1989, pp. 150-151.
- 71 Ets Haim, inv. no. 48 D 34, p. 48 (manuscript of Abraham Mendes Chumachiro).
- **72** SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 19, pp. 629-630 (15 Sebat 5431, or 26 January 1671).
- **73** SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 174, pp. 1148-1149; SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 4083 (notary Dirck van der Groe), deed of 10 July 1676; SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 1777 (notary J. Q. Spithoff), fol. 474 (3 December 1676); SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 4083 (notary Dirck van der Groe), deed 22 December 1676.
- **74** SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 174, p. 1173: Bouman was paid 31 guilders and 16 stuyvers, and the sum of 1 guilder and 5 stuyvers was paid for 'copiar os Beteckens de Bouman'.

- 75 Zantkuijl 1993, p. 438.
- **76** SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 915A, nos. 70-71 (two identical maps by Bouman have been preserved); Vaz Dias 1934, p. 91; Hagoort 1997, p. 48; SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 3183 (notary Adriaen Lock), pp. 110-111 (10 October 1678); SAA, archive 5039, inv. no. 915. SAA, archive 213, inv. no. 1112, 23 April 1678; the drawing: SAA, archive 231, inv. no. 1273. With thanks to Hamid M'Sahal.
- 77 With thanks to J. Vlaardingerbroek, Coert Peter Krabbe, Jos Smit, and Gabri van Tussenbroek for their valuable suggestions and to Maria Helena Barreiros for her help in translating archival documents from the Portuguese. The author is deeply grateful to David Mulder, Odette Vlessing, and Eric Heijselaar for their contribution to the archival research.
- **78** General literature on synagogues: Wischnitzer 1964; Eisenberg 1974; Breffny 1978; Herselle Krinsky 1985; Meek 1995; Cohen-Mushlin and Thies 2010.
 - **79** Wischnitzer 1964, p. 71.
 - 80 Van Agt 2006, p. 15.
 - 81 Israel 1995, pp. 372-377.
 - 82 De Castro and Meijer 1950, p. 23.
- **83** See the building accounts in the SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 172, p. 1151.
- **84** SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 2233 (notary A. Lock), fol. 48 (7 May 1670); Hagoort 1997.
- **85** SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 19, p. 622 (3 Kislev 5431); De Castro 1875, appendix D.
- **86** SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 19, p. 622 (9 Kislev 5431). The building committee was headed by Isaac de Pinto, treasurer. Its members were Semuel Vaz, Abraham da Veiga, David Salom de Azevedo, Jacob Aboab Osorio, Jacob Pereyra, and Ishack Henriquez Coytino.
- **87** Ets Haim, inv. no. 48 D 34, included in translation in De Castro and Meijer 1950, pp. 29-30. The report is dated 13 Kislev 5431 (26 November 1670).
- **88** SAA, archive 5039, inv. no. 559, fol. 25v and map 8. The 65,987 square foot parcel was sold for 32,993 guilders and 10 stuyvers. Payment was made in full on 26 July 1674.
 - 89 Keßler 2010, p. 244.
- **90** On this general topic, see Keßler 2007.
- **91** Ets Haim, inv. no. 48 D 34, included in translation in De Castro and Meijer 1950, pp. 29-30. The report is dated 13 Kislev 5431 (26 November 1670).
- **92** These areas are listed in the final resolution to have the building constructed, dated 15 Sebat 5431; SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 19, pp. 629-630.
- 93 The contractual specifications do not mention the mikvah, nor is there any evidence that it was built at this stage; s A A, archive 5075, inv. no. 2908A (notary Pieter Padthuijsen), pp. 882-883, 878, 880, and inv. no. 2908B, pp. 1018-1019, 1014-1017, 1012. Commelin's Beschryvinge van Amsterdam (1693-1694, vol. 1, pp. 502-503) mentions only a 'waterback met verscheyde koopere kraanen' (water tank with various copper taps). The Great Synagogue did have a mikvah from the outset, as we know from the contractual specifications for the masons; s A A, library, collection 15009, inv. no. 10865, no. O 940.127.
- **94** Protestants took a similar view of their churches, whereas Catholics saw their houses of worship as consecrated.
 - 95 Kesßler 2010, p. 246.
- 96 This rule is referred to by Wilhelmus Goeree: 'De groote Synagoge der Joden binnen Amsterdam, heeft, een verheven Dak; en nogtans is 't zelve binnen de Deklijst met een Balustrade van rondom voorzien: niet zonder opzigt van de Wet, Deut. 22:8. Gelijk mij van den Bouwmeester Dortsman, en den vermaarden Jode Jakob Abuaf, met meer van die Natie verzekerd is.' Goeree 1705, p. 76.
 - 97 Earlier examples could be found in Hendrick de Keyser's

Bourse/Exchange (1608), the Binnenhof complex in The Hague (1639) and in the work of Jacob van Campen (Peace Temple in Haarlem, 1648) and Pieter Post (Huis Vredenburg in the Beemster polder, 1642).

- **98** Bouman took some liberties, such as replacing dentil mouldings with straight mouldings and using reduced entablatures that is, entablatures without a frieze.
- **99** The cornice of the main gate in the annexes are Tuscan. The cornice at the top of the exterior walls are modelled after the cornice in the Tuscan order. The true cornice of the gate is modelled after the cornice of a door, and the terminal cornice above it is based on the uppermost base moulding.

The cornice of the exterior wall is in the major Doric order without the frieze. Straight instead of dentil mouldings are used; the other striking feature is that, unlike most architects designing architrave cornices, Bouman included the entire architrave rather than just the bottom two mouldings.

The coping cornice of the attic are modelled after the uppermost base moulding in the Tuscan order. Bouman may have refrained from using the Doric order because the cornice at the top of the wall might then have been too heavy.

The entablature of the synagogue entrance is in the major Doric order and correctly detailed; the dentil moulding has been replaced with a straight moulding.

The cornice in the side aisles of the synagogue is in the Ionic order, based on the mouldings of the main gate (*ornamento della porta maggiore*) without the frieze. The dentil moulding has been replaced with a straight molding.

The same moulding (ornamento della porta maggiore) was used for the cornice of the women's galleries. The crowning partition is surmounted by an Ionic impost cornice.

The reduced entablature in the central nave of the synagogue is in the major Ionic order, without the frieze.

The parnassim bench is in the Ionic order, and its cornice is a hybrid form not found in Scamozzi. The arcade is supported by Scamozzi's minor impost moulding.

The heichal has stacked Ionic and Corinthian orders. The Ionic order precisely replicates Scamozzi's major entablature, and the Corinthian entablature is also perfectly in accordance with Scamozzi's rules.

- 100 Kuyper 1980, p. 41.
- 101 Hermann 1967.
- 102 See also Rosenau 1979 and Kravtsov 2005.
- 103 Popkin 1988.
- 104 Leon 1642; Ramírez 1992; Offenberg 1993, p. 37.
- 105 Offenberg 1988; Offenberg 1993.
- 106 Van der Linden 1990.
- 107 Steenmeijer 2006, p. 183.
- 108 As Herselle Krinsky has noted (1992, p. 8): 'The relationship between the Temple and synagogues was expressed in words more than in architecture, because Temple and synagogue remained fundamentally different.'
- 109 Zwarts 1929, pp. 125 (Palavicino, 1676), 126 (Schudt, 1717), 128 (Luis Desjobert, 1778).
- TIO This chapter was written in close collaboration with Pieter Vlaardingerbroek, who provided the authors with important facts, thought-provoking insights, and critical commentary. Albert Reinstra, building archaeologist at the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands (RCE) in Amersfoort, helped us to resolve some issues relating to the history of the building. One informative gathering was the expert meeting of building archaeologists on 23 February 2012, with Ronald Glaudemans, Hein Hundertmark, Edwin Orsel, Albert Reinstra, and Pieter Vlaardingerbroek. André Winder and Gabri van Tussenbroek assisted in the interpretation of certain elements of the building, and Daniël Klijn did the same

with historical Portuguese texts. David Ph. Cohen Paraira supplied additional information about the 20th-century restorations. David Mulder and Odette Vlessing of the SAA helped us a great deal in our search for relevant archival documents and architectural drawings.

- III SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 330.
- 112 Breen 1908; Zantkuijl 1993, pp. 49-56; Gawronski and Veerkamp
- 113 This figure is mentioned in a manuscript from the time of construction: Ets Haim, inv. no. 48 D 34.
- 114 SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 330. Unfortunately, the specifications for the masons could not be found.
 - 115 SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 330.
- **116** The architects Jac. S. Baars and J.W. Kuipers showed only five barrel vaults in their cross-section, drawn for the restoration of 1954-1959. David Cohen Paraira has corrected this drawing: Cohen Paraira 1991, p. 50.
 - 117 SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 174, p. 1148.
- **118** SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 3429 (notary Cornelis van Poelenburgh), fol. 271 (31 October 1677). This document states that the stonemason Pieter Pietersz van Kuijck had bought stone from Jews, undoubtedly a reference to the Portuguese Jewish congregation. Evidently the congregation had bought too much stone. Van Kuijck paid two stivers per foot less than the usual price charged by Nicolaes Berckelius, a dealer in Bentheim sandstone.
- n's galleries were originally painted the colour of the stone used for the pillars. This contrasts with the conclusions of research carried out by the national historic preservation department (Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg) in 1991-1992 on the colour of the architraves above the main columns. The earliest colour then found on the architraves was raw umber, a dark variety of faux oak; RCE, colour history documentation, colour research by H.H.J. Kurvers, 24 February 1992. Contemporary paint research techniques could lead to new insights about the colour of the architraves above the main columns.
- 120 Fuks, Fuks-Mansfeld, and Teensma 1975, p. 95. Cf. De Castro and Meijer 1950, p. 138 (note 26).
- 121 SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 19, fol. 743. Little is known about the use of Scottish stone, but a number of archival documents mention this material. With thanks to Pieter Vlaardingerbroek.
- 122 Van Tussenbroek 2012. Seven of the ten samples taken could be dated by Bärbel Heußner, 4 March 2008. Three samples were assigned various other dates: after 1542, after 1639, and after 1610. This variety of dates may reflect reuse, but it provides little information of any relevance to architectural history. Four samples, dated to 1666 and 1667, were part of a single consignment. The pinewood used came from western Sweden. Parts that were added later could not be dated because they do not include sapwood.
- Marks of this kind were made in the workshop so that the parts would be assembled correctly on the construction site. In a departure from customary practice, the difference between the left and right ends of a truss was indicated not with a particular sign, but by distinguishing between large and small signs.
- **124** Because the walls that meet at a right angle support each other, they bear the lateral force transferred to them.
 - 125 Janse 1989, p. 270.
 - 126 Vlaardingerbroek 2011, pp. 150-151.
- 127 Adriaen de Jonge was one of the contractors for the carpentry work on the Snoge annexes.
- 128 A joist surmounted by a timber-frame reinforcing structure (*over-spannen balk*) was used here; see De Roon 2008 and Vlaardingerbroek 2011, pp. 150-151.
- 129 SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 4083 (notary Dirck van der Groe), deed of 10 July 1676; SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 1777 (notary J. Q. Spithoff), fol.

474 (3 December 1676); SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 4083 (notary Dirck van der Groe), deed of 22 December 1676.

- 130 SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 3731B (notary Pieter Sas), fol. 295 (6 May 1675).
- 131 The builders' bill refers to additional work, namely a second underground cistern. This cistern is reported to be under the forecourt near the washing area.
- 132 SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 2908A (notary Pieter Padthuijsen), pp. 882-883, 878, 880, and inv. no. 2908B (notary Pieter Padthuijsen), pp. 1018-1019, 1014-1017, 1012 (see appendix 3). The specifications for the masons call for the construction of a privy with two seats, under one of the stairways leading to the women's galleries. This need evidently became apparent after the synagogue was completed.
- 133 SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 19, pp. 629-630. A statement provided to Elias Bouman by the masons Jan van Haarlem, Huybert Willemsz, Pieter Seghers, and Jacob Damiszo informs us that the foundation piers were completed a month before the columns of the galleries were placed on top of them; SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 4016 (notary Cornelis Akerboom Doedensz), fol. 322 (19 June 1675). With thanks to Pieter Vlaardingerbroek
- 134 In the 1950s still more architectural vestiges of the residences were visible than are now, such as the remains of bedsteads. Kuipers and Kuipers 1959, pp. 6-7.
- 135 It is on the cellar level that most of the trimmed openings and the vaults of the fireplaces are visible. The wooden joisting, largely original, still bears traces of earlier partitions, but these are too fragmentary to allow for accurate reconstruction of the original partitioning of the cellars. In 1872, the architect Willem Springer included a number of flues in a floor plan of the annexes; some of these flues are still present (see fig. 92).
- 136 When the remains of this sewer system were found during the restoration of 1954-1959, it was assumed that they related to the mikvah; see the measurement drawing in SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 5066.
- 137 Wiselius, *Houtvademecum*, 2005, pp. 163-164 (with thanks to Jaap Boonstra).
 - 138 Kuipers and Kuipers 1959, p. 8; Gawronski and Jayasena 2012.
- 139 SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 174, pp. 1148-1149 (see appendix 1) and SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 19, p. 743.
- **140** A flat masonry arch that was above one of the former window openings is still visible in the masonry of the same outer wall surface.
- **141** The presence of pilaster strips is confirmed by architectural traces in the cellars of the south wing (the pilaster strips correspond to the regular spacing of the foundation piers).
- **142** These traces suggest that the cellar windows were narrower than the present-day windows above them.
- 143 The other floor plan by the same artist does not show stairs to the galleries and the extension is not present.
 - 144 SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 330.
- **145** SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 5035; Kuipers and Kuipers 1959, pp. 2, 4; see also Van Agt 1974, p. 39.
 - 146 SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 5039.
 - 147 Kuipers and Kuipers 1959, p. 2.
 - 148 Kloek and Middelkoop 2012.
- **149** In the drawing that Berckheyde used as a basis for his paintings, he also seems to suggest the presence of a hanging mezzanine.
 - 150 De Castro and Meijer 1950, p. 55.
 - 151 Van Agt 1974, p. 43.
- 152 This short article is based on Keppler 2012 (on file at the RCE). The architectural paint research was performed for the RCE by Roos Keppler (Restoration of and Research on Historical Interiors) in collaboration with Annefloor Schlotter (Restoration of and Research on Interiors and Exteriors) in March and April 2012. The microscopic and microchemical rese-

arch was carried out by Annelies van Loon (Analytical Art Research & Conservation) in May 2012.

- 153 Harley 2001, pp. 70-71; De Keijzer and Keune, 2005.
- 154 Offenberg 1976; Offenberg 1993; Cohen Paraira 1991, pp. 56-59.
- 155 Van Agt 1974, p. 39.
- 156 In a drawing by H. Schouten in the Amsterdam City Archives (C.P. van Eeghen collection) from the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the bases of the pilaster strips are shown with blue limestone facing. This change must therefore have been made before the time of the drawing.
- 157 It is unclear whether the present-day skirting replaced earlier sandstone skirting.
- 158 The purlins and vertical posts are dated 1788 in carved and painted figures.
 - 159 Van Agt 1974, p. 21.
 - **160** Krabbe 1998, p. 119.
 - 161 Bertram 2008; Bertram 2009, pp. 81-89.
 - 162 Van der Woud 1997, pp. 43-46; Krabbe 1998, pp. 185-186, 190-199.
 - **163** SAA, archive 10056, inv. nos. 30017920, 30017921, 30017922.
- 164 Bestek en Voorwaarden, waarnaar het Collegie van Heeren Parnassim der Portugeesch-Israëlietische gemeente te Amsterdam, is voornemens aan te besteden (Specifications and Conditions under which the Board of Parnassim of the Portuguese Jewish congregation in Amsterdam has resolved to award the contract), Amsterdam 1852, p. 1.
- **165** In SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 5038, a drawing has been preserved of a much more ornate portal than the one actually built. The designer responsible for this drawing is unknown.
 - **166** SAA, archive 334A, inv. nos. 30017918, 30017919.
- 167 Bestek en Voorwaarden, waarnaar het Collegie van Heeren Parnassim der Portugeesch-Israëlietische gemeente te Amsterdam, is voornemens aan te besteden (Specifications and Conditions under which the Board of Parnassim of the Portuguese Jewish congregation in Amsterdam has resolved to award the contract), Amsterdam 1852, p. 9.
- **168** According to the specifications, the existing benches on one of the galleries were to be reused. Ultimately, benches based on Warnsinck's design were placed on both galleries. The arms of the benches are not shown in the design.
- **169** The benches on the southern gallery were adapted somewhat and have larger seats.
- 170 Kuipers and Kuipers 1959, p. 5. For the original colours, see RCE, colour history documentation, colour research by H.H.J. Kurvers, 24 February 1992, and Keppler 2012.
- 171 The project met with some delays. A letter of 2 March 1854 from Warnsinck, probably to the parnassim, accompanying one of the drawings of the Snoge includes a remark about the slow progress of the renovation (SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 5000). Warnsinck noted that he had spoken to the contractor (Van Ewijk) about this issue.
- 172 For the renovation of the mahamad meeting room, see SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 6: meetings of 7 March, 28 March, 29 July, 12 September, 23 September, and 11 November 1872 and 27 February, 15 July, and 2 September 1873; provisional inv. no. 7: 29 December 1873, 9 February, 9 March, 20 April, 22 September, and 1 December 1874, and 15 February and 24 August 1875.
 - 173 SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 5019
- 174 SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. nos. 5010-5014. Regrettably, the designer is unknown.
- 175 SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 6, meeting of 23 September 1872.
 - 176 SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 5009.
- 177 SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 5004 (design); 5003 (floor plan of existing situation).
- 178 Springer's drawings were accompanied by overlays on tracing paper (of the middle section, service wing, and parts of the floor plan),

which have been preserved separately: SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. nos. 5006-5008.

- 179 SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 5005.
- 180 SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 5017
- **181** SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. nos. 5015-5016 and 5018 (specifications).
- **182** SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 197N NN: letter from the building committee to the synagogue council, 19 December 1881.
 - 183 SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 5020.
- 184 SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 197NNN: specifications for the new structure, May 1882. The project was undertaken by the firm of J.J. Goseling & Zoon for the sum of 10,185 guilders. A bill from this firm (for additional work?) dating from 1882 makes it clear that the wooden columns of the galleries were also reconstructed.
 - 185 Karstkarel and Terpstra 1978, p. 48.
- **186** SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 8, meeting of 31 January 1882.
 - 187 SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 5022.
- **188** The mikvah and the residence were renovated in 1877; SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 197N N: specifications and conditions for the renovation of the mikvah and the cantor's residence, 23 March 1877.
- 189 Bestek en Voorwaarden tot het verbouwen van het Badhuis met Voorlezerswoning der Portugeesch-Israëlitische Gemeente, aan het Jonas Daniël Meijerplein te Amsterdam (Specifications and Conditions for the renovation of the Bathhouse with Cantor's Residence of the Portuguese Jewish Congregation in Jonas Daniël Meijerplein in Amsterdam), Amsterdam 1891.
- 190 SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 10: minutes of the meeting of 31 January 1893. The project was 3,000 guilders over budget.
- 191 SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 10, meeting of 25 November 1890, meeting of 14 April 1891, meeting of 2 May 1892; Baruch-Sznaj 1991, p. 70.
- 192 The madras already had a lantern: SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 197N N N (specifications and conditions for painting work on annexes, 13 June 1877). The report on the restoration of 1954-1959 states that the library has a wooden floor covered with Namur stone tiles. Another wooden floor was subsequently laid, and then, shortly after the Second World War, a parquet floor (Kuipers and Kuipers 1959, p. 6).
- 193 The support rods and clamp bars had to be partly or wholly replaced; in the latter case, masonry had to be broken apart and later restored. Bestek en Voorwaarden waarnaar de bouwcommissie der Portugeesch Israëlietische Gemeente te Amsterdam, voor rekening van die gemeente in het openbaar, bij enkele inschrijving zal aanbesteden (Specifications and Conditions according to which the building committee of the Portuguese Jewish Congregation in Amsterdam will put the contract out to tender), Amsterdam 1889.
- 194 On Elte, see Van Grieken et al. 2001; SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 927.
 - 195 Van Grieken et al. 2001, pp. 15-26.
- **196** SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. nos. 5109, 1510: specifications for painting work and specifications for maintenance of the pointing of the synagogue, both from 1908.
- 197 RCE, building file for Portuguese Jewish Synagogue. For this same anniversary, the women in the congregation hand-knotted a rug for the tebah. The SAA holds a design from 1936 by Elte for a ceiling in the mahamad meeting room: SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv.
- 198 Bestek en Voorwaarden waarnaar door de Bouwcommissie namens de Portugeesch Israëlietische Gemeente te Amsterdam door Harry Elte Phzn., Architekt, zal worden aanbesteed: Het verbouwen van het Perceel Muiderstraat No. 6 te Amsterdam, met alle daartoe benoodigde materialen, arbeidsloonen enz. (Specifications and Conditions according to which

the contract for the following work will be awarded [to] Harry Elte Phzn., Architect, by the Building Committee on behalf of the Portuguese Jewish Congregation in Amsterdam: the renovation of the Parcel Muiderstraat No. 6 in Amsterdam, including all necessary materials, wages, etc.), Amsterdam 1937-1938; Cohen Paraira 1991, p. 62.

- 199 RCE, building files, box 288; Mieras 1940.
- **200** SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 268A, report of the building committee meeting, 27 December 1939.
- **201** RCE, building files, box 288. This includes an architectural drawing showing the measures taken.
 - **202** For more illustrations, see De Castro and Meijer 1950, pp. 96-97.
- 203 One major source of information on this restoration is Kuipers's final report on the work performed: Kuipers and Kuipers 1959 (including 'Bevindingen bij de restauratie van de Synagoge' by the overseer P.C. Lievaart). See also Baruch 1993, pp. 39-43; this article contains additional information not included in the report by the restoration architects. Many of Baars and Kuipers's restoration drawings can be found in the SAA, archive 324A.
- **204** RCE, building files, box 288, meeting of the Rijkscommissie van de Monumentenzorg (national historic preservation committee) on 8 February 1954. The Rijkscommissie wanted the old floor to be put back in place, but this did not happen.
 - **205** Kuipers and Kuipers 1959, p. 1.
 - **206** SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 5032.
- 207 Baruch 1993, p. 41. Baruch also reports that the 'hekwerk op het dak' ('fencing on the roof') came from the Eilandskerk on Bickerseiland, which was demolished in 1950. It remains unclear what he meant by this.
 - **208** Kuipers and Kuipers 1959, pp. 7-8.
 - **209** Kuipers and Kuipers 1959, p. 7.
 - 210 Kuipers and Kuipers 1959, p. 2.
 - 211 SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 5036.
- **212** Baruch 1993, p. 41. The gilded wooden chandelier and wall decorations were also acquired at that time.
 - **213** SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 5037. Baruch 1993, p. 41.
 - 214 In 1996 and 1999 concrete floors were poured in other cellars.
- 215 RCE, building files, box 288, letter from the Board of Parnassim to the directors of the RDMZ, Amsterdam, 5 March 1963; letter from the parnassim to the State Secretary for Education, Culture, and Science, Amsterdam, 1 November 1963; letter from the parnassim to the directors of the RDMZ, Amsterdam, 9 July 1964; letter from the parnassim to the RDMZ (R. Meischke), 3 September 1964.
 - 216 RCE, building files, box 288.
 - 217 On the restoration, see Cohen Paraira 1993, pp. 47-58.
 - 218 De Klerk 1993.
- **219** RCE, colour history documentation, colour research by H.H.J. Kurvers, 24 February 1992.
- **220** The RDMZ proposed painting the half-columns the same colour (Bentheim sandstone) as the four freestanding ones.
- **221** RCE, colour history documentation, report by H.H.J. Kurvers, 12 January 1993. Kurvers disagreed with this choice, describing it as a 'relatively arbitrary choice of colours that inspires boredom rather than reproducing the charm of the original concept.'
 - 222 For an illustration, see Cohen Paraira 1993, p. 58.
- **223** I should like to thank Adri Offenberg and David Cohen Paraira for having been so kind as to read the article and comment on it.
- 224 In using the word 'Bouman', De Hooghe is punning on the name of Elias Bouman, who designed the building, and was thus also its architect [Bouw-man].
- 225 'Dits, 't leerhuys van de Wet, 't gebeedenhuys der Jooden, Een Boumans Meesterstuck, de eer van 't nieuwe werck Aen d'Amstel en het Y; dees Godt geweyde kerck Vreest geen geweeten – dwang noch pijningen noch dooden.

Wast eedle Judaesstam en laet u looten bloeyen.

Wat doet de kracht van 't lant als borgers aenwas groeyen.'

The poem has several verses and is reproduced in De Castro and Meijer 1950, pp. 34-35.

- **226** For the inauguration of the Esnoga, see Fuks 1995, pp. 81-99.
- 227 De Vries 1988, p. 150.
- **228** Ets Haim Library contains the manuscripts with instructions for the chazzanim: Oëb Brandon 1892, reproduced in full in Meijer 1949-1950, pp. 163-231; on Shabbat Nachamu, see p. 53.
 - 229 Israel 1642.
- 230 David Franco Mendes was a merchant and a sworn translator of Portuguese and Dutch at Amsterdam court of appeal (gerechtshof), besides which he also served as secretary to the Portuguese Jewish Congregation in 1769. Franco Mendes promoted the use of Hebrew and collected documents relating to the history of the Sephardim in the Dutch Republic. He was involved in the production of a Hebrew periodical and published Hebrew poetry. For his biography, see Montezinos 1867, p. 21; Melkman 1951; Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld and Teensma 1980, pp. 29-43 and Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld and Teensma 1975.
- **231** Franco Mendes's original manuscript is in Ets Haim, inv. no. 49 A 8; Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld 1975, vol. 2, cat. no. 346.
- 232 Franco Mendes 1772. The copy used here is in Ets Haim, inv. no. 27 A 35.
 - 233 De Castro 1875; De Castro and Meijer 1950.
- 234 Orig.: 'allen waren gekleed in feestgewaad en legden een onuitsprekelijke vreugde, doch tevens ernst aan den dag'; Franco Mendes 1772, p. 90.
 - 235 Franco Mendes 1772, p. 91.
 - 236 Toledano 2009, p. 2.
- 237 Mello had become chazzan of the Portuguese Jewish congregation in 1655, and in 1672 he also became librarian of the seminary Ets Haim. See Molhuysen and Blok 1924, vol. 6.
- **238** For more information on the rabbis' background and the content of their sermons, see Fuks-Mansfeld 1995, pp. 89-96.
- **239** Den Boer 1992, pp. 411-12. Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld 1984, pp. 339 ff.
 - 240 Fuks-Mansfeld 1995, 89.
 - 241 De Castro Tartas 1675 (Ets Haim, inv. no. 15 E 4)
 - **242** Hollstein, vol. 1X, no. 121: 16-18 and no. 126: 257-261.
 - 243 Offenberg 2008, p. 115, n. 19.
- **244** SAA, fig. no. 010097015605. Duinker 1987, fig. 96, p. 80; De Castro and Meijer 1950, p. 75.
- 245 I am very grateful to Sonia Horta for her help in translating the sermons from Portuguese. See also Fuks-Mansfeld 1995, pp. 89-96.
 - **256** De Castro and Meijer 1950, pp. 39, 42.
 - 247 Fuks-Mansfeld 1995, p. 91 and De Castro Tartas 1675, p. 36.
 - **248** Fuks-Mansfeld 1995, p. 92.
 - **249** Fuks-Mansfeld 1995, pp. 92-93 and De Castro Tartas 1675, p. 78.
 - **250** Fuks-Mansfeld 1995, p. 91 and De Castro Tartas 1675, p. 84.
 - **251** Fuks-Mansfeld 1995, p. 93 and De Castro Tartas 1675, p. 127.
 - **252** Fuks-Mansfeld 1995, p. 94 and De Castro Tartas 1675, p. 148.
- 253 For De Hooghe, see Van Nierop 2008. There is a rare copy of the print, furnished with poems from Ets Haim's collection, inv. no. P0179, on loan to the Jewish Historical Museum (J H M), inv. no. B02246. For an edition of the print dating from c. 1695, see the J H M's collection, inv. no. 04103 from c. 1695, published with De Hooghe's consent by Johannes van Keulen (1654-1715). For a similar print, published by Justus Danckerts, see also Rubens 1954, no. 1585.
- **254** JH M, inv. no. 01515 (bequeathed by E. Mendes da Costa-Vet); Swetschinski 1997, p. 44 and Offenberg 2008, p. 125, n. 16.
- **255** See the auctioned property of the Isaac da Costa-Hanna Belmonte family: *Catalogue de la collection importante de livres et manuscrits hebreux*,

- espagnols et portugais et d'une collection de planches ayant rapport aux Juifs; provenants de la bibliotheque de feu Mr. Isaac da Cost, Amsterdam, auction catalogue, Frederik Muller, Amsterdam 29 October 1861, lot 2812.
- **256** The drawing is in the Print Room of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. R P-T-00-38. See also Wilson 1975 and Offenberg 2008, p. 113.
 - **257** Wilson 1975; Baskind 2007, p. 52, n. 21 and Offenberg 2008, p. 113.
- 258 They had been donated 'door de hele nobele heer Mozes Curiël, met zo veel generositeit, dat hij ieders applaus ontving [during the inauguration], het werk bijna naar hem vernoemend'; De Castro Tartas 1675, unpaginated, preface. This Dutch text (from which the English translation derives) is a translation from the Portuguese.
- **259** A rare, nine-sheet edition of these prints can be found in the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana.
 - **260** JHM, inv. no. 07318. See Offenberg 2008, p. 118.
- **261** These figures contrast with mediaeval representations of the Synagogue, personified opposite Ecclesia as a blindfolded woman (that is, unable to see the Redeemer) with a broken lance, her face averted, and sometimes carrying the Tablets of the Law in her left hand, but frequently upside-down.
 - **262** JHM, inv. no. 05305.
- 263 'De tyrannie der inquisiteurs woedt tegen al de uwen, o Juda, met schatting, vuur en zwaard, en niet is het genoeg dat gij u schuil houdt. Geen enkele veiligheid kent ge aan de oevers van de Seine of aan de oevers van de Taag. Wijzer is de stad aan de Amstel: zij erkent en koestert openlijk uw synagogen binnen haar muren.' This Dutch text (from which the English translation derives) was translated from the Latin by F.F. Blok and appears in Offenberg 2008, p. 112.
- **264** Entry in the account-book 'Journaal met de afrekening van allerlei kosten inzake de bouw en inwijding in 1676', in SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 174, fol. 1117. The expenses incurred for musicians also appear in diverse sources. 'Pago a diferentes tangedores fl. 37,16' is recorded in the documents bound into De Castro Tartas 1675 (Ets Haim, inv. no. 15 E 4) and in the homily by Abraham Mendes Chumachiro with notes on the building of the Esnoga (Ets Haim, inv. no. 48 D 34).
- **265** 'Que preparou em sua Vida Selomoh Rephael Senior Coronel, Mestre que foij da muzica que se cantou na intrada da Santa Esnoga do K.K. de T.T., em 10 de Menahem do Ao 5435.' See De Castro and Meijer 1950, p. 137, n. 18.
 - **266** Franco Mendes 1872, p. 91.
- **267** A printed, fold-out version of the poem is pasted into a manuscript with a collection of prayers in Ets Haim, inv. no. 47 E 5. See Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld 1975, cat. no. 448. See also appendix F of De Castro 1875.
- 268 The stones were made by the Amsterdam firm of J.D.J. Teixeira de Mattos and Son. De Castro and Meijer 1950, p. 59. A book calligraphed with the donors' names was donated to accompany the stones. PIG, inv. no. 0650.
- **269** For the rules for its use, see Oëb Brandon 1895, p. 46 (Ets Haim); Békius 2003, pp. 207-257, figs. 1-2; Cohen 1991, p. 81.
- 270 The authors of this article owe a special debt of gratitude to David Cohen Paraira for his indispensable contribution. We also wish to thank Reinier Baarsen, Jaap Boonstra, Pol Bruijs, Jurjen Creman, Paul van Duin, Coert Krabbe, Harrie Schuit, Pieter Vlaardingerbroek, and Iep Wiselius, who shared a great many valuable facts and insights with us at an experts' meeting on wood and furniture on 17 January 2012. We are also grateful to Sabine Brink and Willem Brink of the firm of Brink and Van Keulen, who restored the brass chandeliers in 1993, as well as to Dorota Gazy, for sharing their knowledge with us. Many thanks too to Sonia Horta and Anna de Wilde who helped on this project as assistant and intern, respectively.
- **271** The petition was for a synagogue large enough 'voor allen om gezamenlijk de goddelijke majesteit om vergeving van onze zonden te kunnen bidden.' A Dutch translation of this text is reproduced in De Castro 1875, appendix D. Ets Haim, inv. no. 11 D 16.

- 272 There are indications that this structure also existed in the synagogue of Cordoba in 1315. For the location of the tebah in Sephardi synagogues, see Messinas (1988), pp. 156-57 and Narkiss (1992).
 - 273 Mishna, Pirkei Avot 4:17
- 274 The letters were cleaned during the restoration of 1993; the gilding had worn away. The brass letters were subsequently varnished. Information provided orally by David Cohen Paraira.
- 275 According to the inscriptions, the Ark was donated to the synagogue in 1551. See Kayser and Schoenberger 1958, pp. 20, 22 (cat. 1). The commandments were added in 1622/23; see Mann 1989, cat. no. 114.
- 276 These disks are firmly attached in a deep wooden box dating from the twentieth century, as indicated by the modern wire nails that were used in it. They may date from 1910, since a newspaper cutting from that year teaches us that work was done on the heichal at that time.
- 277 For the chazzan's responsibilities in respect of caring for the contents of the heichal, see the Seder Chazzanut of the chazzan Oëb Brandon, Amsterdam 1892, reproduced in Meijer 1949-1950, p. 217.
 - 278 Franco Mendes 1772, p. 152.
 - 279 Franco Mendes 1772, p. 115.
- **280** Mozes Curiel served the king of Portugal in various capacities in Amsterdam: as agent in the periods 1659-1680, 1686, and 1695, consul in 1673-1678, and Resident in 1683-1688. Schutte 1983, p. 622, no. 598 and n. 1471; Swetschinski 1982; Israel 1983.
 - 281 Wiselius, 'Jacht', 2005.
 - 282 Cohen 2008, pp. 177, 179.
- 283 The synagogue contained a 'Groote Casse, van Saradahout met zyn aenkleven, een groote schapraij [tebah] van wagenschot'; Van Agt 1974, pp. 12, 90; Vaz Dias 1930-31, p. 287; Pieterse 1963.
- **284** On the thefts, see e.g. Knotter 2011, p. 101. The added Bramah locks (made in Britain) were patented in 1784. For the patented locks and their inventor Joseph Bramah, see en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph_Bramah and www.bramah.co.uk (consulted in May 2012). Information kindly supplied by Pol Bruijs and Jaap Boonstra.
- 285 One of the beams under the platform bears the inscriptions 'IOSEP.d.LEMOS INSPEKTOR 5538' and 'IVOP 1778'.
- **286** De Castro 1875, pp. 38, 40-41; Koldeweij 1998, vol. 1, pp. 166, 179, 217, 289 and vol. 4, cat. nos. 12a, 356b, fig. 95: SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 174, p. 1116.
- **287** In 1675 the following individuals and companies producing gilt leather were active in Amsterdam: Hans le Maire, De Rijsende Son (run by the Van den Heuvel family), De Gecroonde Son (run by Abraham Hamer), and Herman and Israël Elle. In the same period, gilt leather was also produced in workshops in The Hague, Dordrecht, and Middelburg. See Koldeweij 1998.
- **288** The gilt leather was commissioned by the *gabbai* Abraham Zagache and purchased by Elias Belosinas in Antwerp; see SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 174, p. 1116.
- 289 Koldeweij 1998, vol. 1, p. 289 and vol. 4, cat. no. 346a, fig. 197. The pattern can be dated to the period 1770-1790.
- **290** These hangings were in poor condition in the early twentieth century, according to two notes by the gilt leather maker Jan Mensing, dated 25 August 1910 and 12 October 1932; SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 1590.
 - 291 Cohen 2002, p. 25.
- **292** Since 1903 these panels have been in the collection of Musée Masséna, Nice (inv. no. 2928); Koldeweij 1998, vol. 1, p. 221, n. 72 and vol. 4, cat. no. 15a; Fournet 2004, vol. 4, pp. 671-689.
 - **293** Mann 1989, cat. nos. 102, 258; Koldeweij 1998, vol. 1, p. 289, n. 172.
- **294** Schotmüller 1910, pp. 262-263; Cohen 2004, p. 294; Cohen 2008, p. 170.
- 295 Only one other specimen of the wall covering and the border has been preserved: the Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis in

- Brussels contains a fragment of this wall covering with the same pattern (inv. no. 5345/16); the border is identical to that of the gilt leather in the Justus Lipsius room of the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp. Consequently, the latter must likewise be dated to the seventeenth century. Koldeweij 1998, vol. 4, cat. nos. 12b, 356a.
- 296 These modifications may date from 1910. This date can be inferred from one of the newspaper cuttings found in a chest with gilt leather fragments, containing both gilt leather dating from 1675 as well as some produced in the first quarter of the 18th century, and copper clouts that are kept in the heichal. These cuttings are from Amsterdam newspapers of 25 January 1910 and 18 September 1943. The early 18th-century gilt leather can be attributed to the gilt leather manufacturing firm of Carolus Jacobs (1693-1728) in Mechelen: Koldeweij 1998, vol. 4, cat. no. 155g.
 - 297 Koldeweij 2000, p. 79.
- 298 Cohen 2008, p. 179. Neither the heichal nor the tebah has been preserved.
- 299 SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 174, fol. 1148: 'Pago no feitio y conserto de la teba.' The same note is included in the record of the building costs in two manuscripts in Ets Haim, inv. nos. 48 D 34 and 15 E 4.
- **300** This function of the tebah is clearly expressed in the archival documents with the mahamad's decisions, which frequently begin with the words, 'Termo que se publicou da tebã'.
- **301** The compound manuscript containing Idaña's letter is in the SAA, library, ms. O 826. See Teensma 1991 and Teensma 1977, p. 134.
- **302** For decisions about allocations of seats between the columns, see e.g. SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 19, fol. 829 (1680); SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 22, fol. 45 (1701), and for the remaining seats, see e.g. SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 338 (1675-1812).
 - 303 SAA 334, no. 22, fol. 49 (1700).
- **304** A large proportion of these date from the 17th century, but some were added later. The amount of wear on the foot rail provides a good indication of a bench's age.
 - 305 Franco Mendes 1772, p. 170.
- **306** This donation is described in SAA, archive 334, inv. no. 164, fol. 205.
- **307** PIG, inv. no. Vo189. No specific study has been made of these seats to date. They display distinct similarities to the Empire chairs in the royal palace at Dam Square; see Fleurbaay 1983.
- 308 In the 'Livro dos termos deste Kahal Kados de Beth Israel', the book containing resolutions adopted by the congregation Beth Israel for the period 1618–1639, diverse gifts donated by the Bridegrooms of the Law are registered. Gratitude was often expressed by including the donor's name in a blessing. For specifications of objects and donors, see the published inventories of the congregations in Cohen 2008, p. 177 and n. 25, Cohen 2009, pp. 176-177, 186, 195, 199, 202, 204.
- **309** See note 39; the donor is identified in the archival document as 'um zeloso Jachid deste Kaal Kados'.
- 310 Both the construction and execution in walnut are suggestive of a French origin, as is the upholstery. With thanks to Reinier Baarsen, Willemijn Fock and Hillie Smit for sharing their expertise regarding these sofas and their upholstery.
- 311 Provisional list for 1928, p. 93. Signatures on furniture tapestries are very rare and may have been added for considerations of commercial competition. Chevalier, Chevalier and Bertrand 1988, p. 191; Hartkamp-Jonxis and H. Smit 2004, cat. nos. 119-120; Mertens 2008, p. 237, fig. 71.
- 312 It is not yet possible to attribute the work to one of them. Samuel Dessarteaux is documented in 1736, Mathieu Dessarteaux from 1746 onwards. Chevalier, Chevalier and Bertrand 1998, pp. 160, 191, 193; Bertrand 2000, p. 433; Mertens 2008, p. 328, 341. With thanks to Hillie Smit for these references.
- 313 With thanks to D. Cohen Paraira for drawing our attention to this detail.

- 314 Cohen 2002. See also the proof of delivery and receipt for the little bench with the still life of birds and fruit by Carl Schneider, Eschersheimer Landstrasse 74, for transport to the assembly point in Wiesbaden, dated Frankfurt am Main 22 November 1946 and signed by Walter Weber; SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 1590.
- 315 He wrote of 'zeer grote luchters van geel koper ... die zo schitteren dat ze van goud lijken te zijn'; Teensma 1977, p. 133.
 - 316 Exodus 27:20 and Leviticus 24:2.
 - 317 Guttmann 1983, p. 19.
 - 318 Dubbe 1980, pp. 143-148.
- 319 Dudok van Heel 1975, p. 151. On 30 December 1676 the building known as De Kerkkroon on Nieuwendijk was sold by Elias Vliet's heirs to Jan van Marken, probably indicating the end of this company. SAA, archive 5061, inv. no. 2125, fol. 4. With thanks to Pieter Vlaardingerbroek.
 - **320** See Dubbe and Van Molle 1971, pp. 25-26, figs. 4-5.
- **321** For Hans Rogiers, see Dubbe and Van Molle 1971; Dubbe 1980; Dubbe 1982, pp. 424-425. The original branches of these chandeliers were probably melted down and remodelled for the new Esnoga.
- 322 In 5378 (1617/8) Neveh Shalom congregation ordered a brass chandelier for 42 guilders and 18 stuyvers from Rogiers's workshop, and on 18 October 1639 the congregation Talmud Torah paid 45 guilders to his widow for a brass lantern with six branches. See Cohen 2008, p. 179.
- 323 'Op die binnenplaats ... bevinden zich zes scholen, waar men de kinderen vanaf hun vierde jaar Hebreeuws leert lezen, dat wil zeggen in vijf ervan in opklimmende graad, en in de zesde, de zogenaamde Grote School, discussiëren de reeds volleerde mannen over de geheimenissen van de wet, en zij hebben tot hoofd en leermeester een groot bejaard geleerde die de gesprekken leidt'; Teensma 1977, p. 134.
 - **324** Paraira and Da Silva Rosa 1949, pp. 81-97.
 - **325** Franco Mendes 1872, p. 104.
- **326** On the demise of this association, see an anonymous letter to the editor entitled 'Het gaat slecht' ('Things are going badly') 1873; Van Agt 1974, p. 48.
- 327 Similar cabinet-like heichalot are found, for instance, in the collection of the J H M, inv. no. 05558 and the synagogue of Almere (originating from Maarssen). A similar piece of furniture was documented in 1977 on the premises of the antiquarian S. van Leeuwen in The Hague (Catalogue 29th Delft Art and Antiques Fair, 1977, p. 65). Two other examples are mentioned in note 329.
- **328** Koldeweij 1998, vol. 1, p. 291, vol. 4, cat. no. 216c, fig. 203. The pattern dates from around 1720-1730.
- 329 Bierens de Haan 1990, p. 170, cat. no. 141 (Vaassen, Cannenburch Castle). Jacob Stodel art dealers, Amsterdam (2010) (purchased on the London art market).
 - 330 De Vries 1968, pp. 37, 173, 217.
 - 331 Beschrijvinge van Amsterdam, Commelin 1693-1694, vol. 2, p. 502.
- 332 'Ook zijn er reinigingsbaden voor de vrouwen wanneer ze gemenstrueerd hebben, waarna ze zich weer bij hun mannen mogen voegen, en dat gebeurt iedere maand. Deze baden staan met verlof van de regenten onder toezicht van weduwen, en die krijgen salaris'; Teensma 1977, p. 134.
 - 333 Hagoort 2005, p. 67.
- **334** See e.g. 'Gebeden en verordeningen: Orde bij het reinigen der dooden' published by Joachimsthal, Amsterdam.
- 335 '... se fizesse pegado da Esnoga o aposento para a Santa Iesiba e Irmandade de Guemilut Hasadim ...'; there is a Dutch translation of the inscription in Salomon 2002, p. 59.
- **336** For literature on the Portuguese Jewish cemetery Beth Haim, see Hagoort 2005 and Vega 1975.
 - **337** Franco Mendes 1772, pp. 124-125.
- 338 This remains the custom following the death of a chacham. With thanks to D. Cohen Paraira.
 - 339 Franco Mendes 1772, p. 124.

- 340 Kaplan 2001, p. 31.
- **341** PIG, inv. no. 0550. The carpet was designed by H. Verheus in 1975 and made in Britain.
- 342 See inter alia the silver-gilt basins used for hand-washing by kohanim, such as the 16th-century Portuguese basin with hunting scenes including an image of a wild boar (PIG 0508), and the 17th-century kohanim basin with the scene of the Judgment of Paris, chased in relief (PIG, inv. no. 0458b, JHM, inv. no. Boo96) and the box of fragrant spices for the Havdalah dating from c. 1712 with images representing the five senses, linked to Jewish symbolism (PIG, inv. no. 0441).
- 343 'Segunda parte del sedur, contiene las Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth, Sucoth, y dia octavo; con todas las cosas que nellas se suele dezir en casa y en la ysnogua, Amsterdam' (in Isaac Franco) 1612.
 - 344 Franco Mendes 1872, p. 136.
- 345 Hendrik Nieuwenhuis, silver-gilt washing cup with scenes from the life of Joseph and an oval cartouche with the congregation's coat of arms containing the pelican, Amsterdam 1780 (PIG, inv. no. 0507); Torah cover with pelican, donated by A. Samuel Sarphati in 1849 (PIG, inv. no. 0150); J.S. Posthumus, silver medallion with the image of a pelican to commemorate the Esnoga's 200th anniversary, 1875 (PIG, inv. no. 0465); L.J. Limburg, silver wine flagon with engraved pelican, donated by the Ashkenazi congregation (NIHS), Amsterdam 1925 (PIG, inv. no. 0445).
- 346 'Het symbool van den Phoenix: de Joodsche Gemeenschap, die na haar ondergang in Spanje en Portugal op Amsterdams gezegenden bodem als het ware uit haar asch is herrezen, spreekt veel duidelijker dan het Katholieke symbool der Pelikaan'; Da Silva Rosa 1925, pp. 42-43.
 - **347** Teensma 1977, p. 134.
- 348 He mentions 'een Christen, een Hollander, die tot taak heeft de synagoge aan te vegen en schoon te houden, en op de Sabbat en feestdagen de kandelaars aan te steken en te doven, want dan mogen Joden dat niet doen, en die man noemen ze de Casero [superintendent]'; Teensma 1977, pp. 133-134.
- 349 On the debate about candle illumination, see e.g. Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad, 35 (1900), no. 39, which can be consulted online at: http://kranten.kb.nl/view/paper/id/ddd%3A010874236%3Ampeg21%3A p002 and Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad 43 (1908), no. 43. http://kranten.kb.nl/view/paper/id/ddd%3A010872603%3Ampeg21%3Ap002 (consulted in June 2012).
- 350 De Castro and Meijer 1950, p. 77. RCE, building file (pandsdossier) on the Portuguese Jewish Synagogue: Jacob Vaz Dias Jzn to National Commission for the Conservation of Historic Buildings and Sites (Rijkscommissie voor de Monumentenzorg), Amsterdam, 30 July 1925.
- **351** SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 1590: report of the parnassim to the Council of the Portuguese Jewish Congregation, 8 April 1012
- 352 He felt they would 'nimmer dat onmiskenbaar karakter van oudheid verkrijgen, de glorie van dezen Synagoge'; SAA, archive 334A, provisional inv. no. 1590: letter to an unknown gentleman, dated 1 August 1010.
- 353 In 2003 the entire collection was included in the list appended to the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act, thus placing it under the protection of the Dutch government. The great expertise, enthusiasm, and knowledge of Nathalie Rothstein (1930-2010), former curator of textiles of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, who drew up an inventory of the textile collection together with the author in 2001, were invaluable and contributed significantly to obtaining recognition for this collection. I am also extremely grateful to the parnassim and the ornaments committee of the Portuguese Congregation, who have placed their trust in me to work with this precious heritage since 1998, and in particular to David Cohen Paraira, who has supported me in the care for this collection with unflagging enthusiasm for all these years.
 - 354 Exodus 28:2.

- 355 Cohen, 'Presentation', 2004.
- 356 'Een antiek zilveren Hanuca-Lamp van de dames H.S. and R. Lopes-Salzedo, ter voldoening aan het verlangen van hare tante, wijle mejuffraou. H.I. Lopes-Salzedo, welke donatie is aangenomen, met bepaling, dat deze Lamp op de vier eerste dagen van het Hannucafeest zal worden gebruikt'; PIG, inv. no. 0431. 'Verslag' 1877.
 - 357 Oëb Brandon 1892, reprinted in Meijer 1949, p. 217.
 - 358 For the English version, see www.chazzanut-esnoga.org.
 - 359 Oëb Brandon 1895.
 - **360** Alexander-Knotter and Smid 2004, cat. no. 46, p. 41.
 - 361 Talmud B. Shabbat 133b.
- **362** Shulchan Aruch, Orach Chaim 154; the rule also applies to synagogue benches.
- **363** PIG, inv. no. 0509. The basin is mentioned in the 1640 inventory of Neveh Shalom; Cohen 2004, p. 261.
- **364** PIG, no inv. no.: Torah scroll, manuscript on vellum, Ashkenazi, c. 1400; h. 122.0 cm.
- **365** Talmud, Shabbat 133b; see also the Foreword by Louis Finkelstein in Kayser and Schoenberger 1959, p. 5.
 - 366 Faber 2004.
 - **367** Oëb Brandon 1892, reprinted in Meijer 1949, p. 218.
 - 368 PIG, inv. no. 0140.
 - **369** PIG, inv. no. 0128b, PIG, inv. no. 0057.
- 370 PIG, inv. no. 0055, see also Alexander-Knotter and Smid 2004, cat. no. 2, p. 9.
 - 371 Exodus 28:34.
- **372** See De Castro and Meijer 1950, p. 48 and Cohen, Kröger and Schrijver 2004, cat. no. 28 for a similar pair.
- **373** Cohen, Kröger and Schrijver 2004, cat. nos. 6, 11, 12; De Lorm 1999, cat. no. 33; Citroen 1916, no. B 79.
 - **374** Alexander-Knotter and Smid 2004, cat. no. 51, pp. 44-45.
- 375 PIG, inv. nos. 0460 and 0461 (on loan to the JHM, inv. nos. B0097, B0098). See Cohen, Kröger and Schrijver 2004, cat. no. 29.
- 376 The daily newspaper De Amsterdamsche Courant of 29 April 1775 reported the theft of the Torah finials from the heichal. The same newspaper reported, in the edition of 10 April 1777, that an East Indies chest had been broken into, in a room next to the secretariat, from which 'a large silver lamp, chased by Vianen' ('een groote zilvere Lampet-Kan, gedreeven door Viana') had been stolen, along with diverse precious fabrics. See De Castro and Meijer 1950, pp. 48-49.
 - **377** PIG, inv. no. 0474.
- 378 PIG, inv. no. 0123: tebah cloth, Shah Abbas workshop, Kashan, Central Persia, late 16th century.
- 379 Brandon 1895 (p. 46) mentions the use of this cloth on Shabbat Nachamu, Simchat Torah, Shabbat Bereshit, Shabbat Beshalach, Shabbat after 7 February. He names Pereira as the donor. During the building of the Esnoga (according to information communicated orally, the cloth was first used at the inauguration), there were several Pereiras, including the parnas Mozes Pereira, who performed privileged tasks during the inauguration.
- **380** PIG, inv. no. 0518. Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad, 6 (1870), no. 9, pp. 34-35.
 - **381** PIG, inv. no. 0514.
- **382** Genesis 48:4-5, 8-9; PIG, inv. no. 0234. In the date 1909, the letter dalet is not counted (it is small and uncrowned); neither is the large letter hei, which represents the numerical value of 5,000 here.
 - 383 PIG, inv. no. 0441.
- 384 See e.g. I. Faber et al., 'Jewish Ceremonial Silver from Germany in the J H M', Yearbook X L, Leo Baeck Institute (London 1995), pp. 265-288. Basin: P I G, inv. no. 0509. For the donation, see S A A, archive 334, inv. no. 20, fol. 178.

- **385** PIG, inv. no. 0507.
- **386** PIG, inv. no. 0458b (JHM, inv. no. Boo86): Abraham Warnberger II, Basin, Augsburg c. 1670; PIG, inv. no. 0458a (JHM, inv. no. Boo97): David Bessman, Basin, Augsburg 1652-3.
- **387** PIG, inv. no. 0033: this cloth was made of silk dating from 1730-40; it was used at Pesach and donated by M.L. Suasso. PIG 0053: this tebah cloth dates from the 19th century; it was used at Shavuot and was donated by Jacob van Namias de Torres.
- **388** PIG, inv. no. 0427: filigree box for the etrog, without a maker's mark and undated.
- **389** PIG, inv. no. 0447: silver lulav holder, donated by Philip Polak in 1966.
 - 390 Proverbs 6:23. PIG, inv. no. 0483.
- 391 PIG, inv. no. 0125. The embroidery is southern European, the velvet possibly Italian, both date from the 17th century. The whole was probably put together in its present form in the 19th century (the wavy trimmings in the central section probably date from the 19th century). With thanks to Pat Griffiths and Nathalie Rothstein, who inspected the cloth on 13 June 2001 and communicated these findings.
 - **392** PIG, inv. no. 0418 a-d. See Knotter 2011.
 - 393 PIG, inv. no. 0453.
 - 304 PIG, inv. no. 0124 a-c.
- 395 Harmen Bussenschut, carpenter (d. 1713, Lutheran Church) built the houses at Nieuwe Herengracht 19-25 together with Reynier Nieuwland. Nieuwland was allocated 19 and 21; Bussenschut 23 and 25 (Van Eeghen 1971, p.87). This is probably the same Harmen Bussenschut who collaborated on the circular Lutheran Church and who bequeathed 6,000 guilders in 1690 and 8,000 guilders in 1714 for an organ in this church; Kooiman 1941, pp. 97-99, 212.
 - **306** This includes the sum of 236 guilders for additional work.
- 397 SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 3429 (notary Cornelis van Poelenburg), fol. 271 (31 October 1677): 'Acte waarin vermeld staat dat Pieter Pietersz van Kuijck zandsteen die hij van de Portugese joden had gekocht, verkocht tegen een prijs die 2 stuivers lag onder die van Berckelius.' Berckelius traded in Bentheim sandstone. See also Meischke 1995, p. 108. SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 3438 (notary Cornelis van Poelenburg), fols. 186-196v (27 December 1675 to 16 March 1676): Elias Bouman lived in a house built by Pieter Pietersz van Kuijck. The estate lists an outstanding debt of 651 guilders and 15 stuyvers to be paid by the 'Portugeesche Joodekercke'.
- **398** This may be the sculptor Barent Rysenbeek, who also worked on the Oosterkerk, a project on which Claes and Elias Bouman likewise collaborated; Bijtelaar 1980, p. 19.
- **399** Adriaen de Jonge, Jan de Jonghe and Jan Uijlenburgh accepted carpentry commissions for the front buildings for 8,500 guilders; s A A, archive 5075, inv. no. 2908A (notary Pieter Padthuijsen), pp. 882-883, 878, 880.
- **400** Bouman was given permission to purchase materials for the front buildings for the sum of 13,100 guilders; see SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 2908B (notary Pieter Padthuijsen), pp. 1018-1019, 1014-11017, 1012.
- **401** According to the written records of Abraham Haim Lopes Arias, dating from 1752, the ten curtains were made of Indian red cotton.
- **402** For masonry work on the front buildings, 1,500 guilders (see SAA, archive 5075, (notary Pieter Padthuijsen) inv. no. 2908B, pp. 1018-1019, 1014-11017, 1012); at the end of 1676 he was paid another 3,484 guilders and 6 stuyvers for supplemental work, which sum is not included in the entry mentioned here (SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 4083 (notary Dirck van der Groe), document of 10 July 1676; SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 1777 (notary J.Q. Spithoff), fol. 474 (3 December 1676); SAA, archive 5075, inv. no. 4083 (notary Dirck van der Groe), document of 22 December 1676).
- **403** Franco Mendes 1872 refers to the sum of 2,045 guilders and 19 stuyvers paid to the smith Fred. Alders.

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Glossary

- aisle: in the case of the Snoge, these are the architectural masses between the large columns and the side walls, where the women's galleries are located.
- arched window: window that is semicircular at the top.
- architrave: the lowest, weight-bearing part of an entablature, usually surmounted by a frieze in the middle and a cornice on top.
- Ashkenazim: Jews whose origins lie in Central and Eastern Europe; Ashkenaz is the Hebrew name for the region of Germany and France along the Rhine river.
- attic: part of an exterior wall jutting out above the cornice and partly or wholly concealing the roof from view; often serves as a pedestal for vases or statues.
- bar mitzvah: Hebrew for 'son of the commandment', used to refer to a boy's religious coming of age at thirteen.
- barrel vault: vault in the shape of the upper half of a horizontal cylinder, with a semi-circular cross-section.
- bay: part of a facade or building between two successive support axes (such as columns, buttresses or pilasters).
- Beth Haim: house of life, name of the Portuguese Jewish cemetery in Ouderkerk aan de Amstel.
- beth haknesset: house of assembly, synagogue.
- booth, tabernacle, sukkah: temporary structure with a roof made of reeds or branches through which the sky is visible. Used during the festival of Sukkoth in memory of the temporary huts in which the Jews lived during their wanderings through the desert.
- buttress: large, solid structure used to reinforce a wall by counteracting lateral force from the vaults, flying buttresses, and roofs supported by the wall.
- central nave: the central nave or aisle of the three (or five or seven) in a house of worship or hall; in the case of the Snoge, the high middle section where one enters the building and where the tebah and heichal are located.
- central ressault: projecting middle section of an exterior wall; a peripheral ressault is a projecting section at one end of an exterior wall.
- chacham: literally 'sage', the title of the highest-ranking rabbi in a Sephardi community.
- Chanukah lamp, Chanukah menorah: nine-branched candelabrum lit during the festival of Chanukah (the Feast of Dedication).
- chatan (plural: chatanim): literally 'bridegroom', used during the Simchat Torah holiday to refer to the member of the congregation who gives the final reading of the old Torah cycle and the one who gives the first reading of the new cycle.
- chazzan (plural: chazzanim): cantor who leads the service.
- cherem: exclusion from the Jewish community.
- cherub (plural: cherubim): biblical angelic being.
- cohen: see 'kohen'.
- corner bay: a bay at one end or corner of a building. cornice: the uppermost and furthest projecting moulding in an

- entablature; the term is also used for crowning elements above windows, doors, and panelling.
- cross window: window made of stone or wood and divided into four lights by a cross; often the upper lights are glazed and the lower ones have wooden shutters.
- diaspora: from the Greek for 'scattering', the dispersion of a people (particularly the Jews) around the world.
- duchan: the raised area in front of the heichal; also the priestly blessing recited there by the kohanim.
- entablature: horizontal set of mouldings consisting of an architrave, a frieze, and a cornice.
- Esnoga: Portuguese name for the Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam. Ets Haim (plural: Atzei Chaim): tree of life. The plural form is used for the shafts around which the parchment Torah scrolls are wrapped, and the singular form is the name of the Portuguese Jewish seminary in Amsterdam and its library.
- festoon: carved stone or wood ornament consisting of fruit, flowers, leaves, or cloths, also called a garland.
- frieze: middle part of an entablature, between the architrave and the cornice. Sometimes blank, and sometimes decorated with relief sculpture.
- gabbai: synagogue treasurer.
- garland: see festoon.
- Gemara: teachings, written commentary on the Mishna and related topics. There are two versions: the earliest is the Gemara of the Jerusalem Talmud, while that of the Babylonian Talmud is more comprehensive and authoritative.
- Haftarah: set of selections from the books of the prophets read aloud in synagogue after the Torah portion.
- Halachah: 'path of life', Jewish law and the rules of conduct derived from it.
- heichal (plural: heichalot): Torah ark, cabinet in the synagogue where the scrolls of the law are kept. In Western countries, it is along the east wall.
- impost moulding: protruding, contoured, or ornamented slab; contoured framing element less elaborate than an entablature.
- Judaica: objects relating to Jewish life and to Jewish religion and culture. kohen (plural: kohanim): priests, direct descendants of the first high priest, Aaron.
- mahamad: board of parnassim, governing body of the Portuguese Jewish Congregation.
- maranno: crypto-Jew, Jewish convert to Christianity who secretly adheres to Jewish laws and customs; also known as New Christians and anusim.
- medras (plural: medrasim): classroom, from the Hebrew phrase bet midrash, house of learning.
- mikvah: ritual bath.
- minyan: the minimum of ten adult men required to hold a Jewish religious service.

Mishnah: teachings, the orally transmitted doctrines put down in writing by Rabbi Yehudah Hanasi around the year 200 CE.

nave: see 'central nave'

Ner Tamid: Eternal Light, a sanctuary lamp that burns continually. parnas (plural: parnassim): member of the synagogue's executive board. pediment: top part of a facade, consisting of a triangular area (the tympanum) bordered by moulded cornices.

Pesach (Passover): celebration of the exodus from Egypt.

pier: section of a wall between two openings (windows or doors) or masonry arches.

pilaster strip: protruding part of an exterior masonry wall that forms a flat, vertical band; similar to a pilaster, but lacking a capital.

pitched roof: roof with two sloping surfaces meeting in the middle to form a ridge. In cross-section, a pitched roof is shaped more or less like an equilateral triangle.

ponteiro: Sephardic term for yad, the pointer used in reading from the Torah scrolls.

priestly basin: basin used by the kohanim for ritual hand-washing prior to the recitation of the priestly blessing.

ressault: see 'central ressault'

rimon (plural: rimonim): from the Hebrew for 'pomegranate', used for the ornamental finials on the Torah scrolls.

Rodeamentoshuis: cemetery building where ritual processions are performed around the funeral bier prior to interment.

saddle bar: horizontal iron bar used to reinforce the panels in stained glass windows.

samas (plural: samasim): sexton or attendant.

Sephardim: Jews whose origins lie in the Iberian peninsula (Spain and Portugal).

Shabbat: the seventh day of the week, when the work of Creation was completed; established as a day of rest.

Simchat Torah (Joy of the Law): a holiday on 23 Tishri, at the end of Sukkoth, during which the annual cycle of Torah readings is completed and a new one is begun.

Snoge: the Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam; corruption of Esnoga, the Portuguese name.

snogeiro: person who attends religious services at the Snoge. sukkah: see 'booth'

Sukkoth (Feast of Booths): this holiday celebrated from 15 to 21 Tishrei commemorates the journey through the desert, when the Jewish people lived in huts (Leviticus 23:39-43).

tabernacle: see 'booth'

Talmud: Jewish oral teachings; the Mishna and the Gemara.

tebah: raised platform in the synagogue where the cantor stands and where Torah readings take place.

tie rod: iron rod that carries tensile force; in the Snoge, such rods are found directly above the large columns. In the eighteenth century, additional tie rods were put in place at a higher level to act against the thrust (horizontal force) exerted by the roof structure.

Torah: Jewish teachings, the five books of Moses or Pentateuch, the first five books of the Bible.

Torah cloth: cover for the scrolls of the law, used between readings. Torah shield: shield suspended from the Torah scroll, which shows at what times the scroll is to be used.

unboarded roof: roof that does not have a layer of boards or planks over the purlins and rafters; from below, the bottom of the roof covering (the tiles) is visible.

wall plate: heavy wooden beam resting horizontally on top of an exterior wall and supporting rafters.

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The Portuguese Synagogue, or Snoge, was the largest Sephardi synagogue in the world when it was built, between 1671 and 1675. The fact that Amsterdam's Sephardim were permitted to erect this grand structure attests to the relative freedom of Jews in this part of Western Europe, at a time when Jews elsewhere were confined to ghettos and subject to restrictions. Through the centuries, foreign tourists have been amazed by the beauty and scale of the complex. The present volume examines many aspects of this glorious synagogue, which has been preserved almost perfectly in its seventeenth-century state.





