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Early Links between Amsterdam, Hamburg and Italy: Epitaphs from Hamburg's Old Sephardic Cemetery

Marian and Ramon F. Saragat

In 1611, the newly formed Sephardic community of Hamburg bought land for a cemetery in the vicinity of the neighbouring town of Altona, then a Danish town. This cemetery, which remained in use until around 1870, is a major source of information on the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Sephardim of both Amsterdam and Hamburg, since travel between the two cities was common among members of these communities, and many families had close relatives living in both cities. The cemetery is especially important, since most community records of Hamburg's Sephardim were lost during the city's devastating fire of 1842.

As examples presented here show, Amsterdam and Hamburg records can be combined with epigraphic information from Altona to reconstruct a number of key events in the lives of leading figures of these communities. Fortunately, epitaphs are easily accessible in Altona. In contrast to Amsterdam's Ouderkerk cemetery, most Altona graves remain above ground to this day. A large percentage of the stones recorded in an 1874 count, even some of the earliest ones, are still legible, despite damage during the Second World War and the gradual, relentless toll of pollution and vandalism.

A complete study of the Altona cemetery has yet to be made. Two Sephardic community officials, A.R. Rocamora and S.L. Scattel, listed the visible stones by name and date in 1874.⁷ A less complete listing of graves was published by Grunwald

We are greatly indebted to Dr Marjole Postma for her substantial assistance in Hamburg, to Robert Singerman, Judaica Librarian at the University of Florida in Gainesville, for his invaluable help over more than ten years and to Dr Mordechai Arbell for his assistance relating to the historical Hamburg cemetery. Our thanks also to Prof. Rochelle Weinstein for sharing much valuable information and to Rabbi Samuel Z. Fishman for important comments. In Hamburg, we thank the Jüdische Gemeinde for access to the cemetery over many years, Herr Jürgen Sielemann of the Staatsarchiv for invaluable help over more than ten years. Dr Ilse-Marie Rütgerodt-Riechmann of the Denkmalschutzamt for access to important photographs, Prof. Dr Monika Richter, director of the Institut für die Geschichte der Deutschen Juden, for access to the Institute's photographs, and the Hamburg Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky for copies of old books and manuscripts (not used in detail for this article). We also acknowledge the valuable help of Frau Karen Kunde. A.R. Rocamora and S.L. Scattel, *Erzählung von den Gräbern ...*, July 1874, unpublished manuscript labelled item 996b of the Fortgesetztes jüdischen Gemeinde (also mikrofilm HM 949) at the Hamburg Staatsarchiv. In this article, epitaphs are labelled by the numbers assigned by Rocamora and Scattel, denoted with the prefix 'RS'. 'EX' refers to numbers in the list of graves exhumed around 1902, which is stored at the Staatsarchiv as item 996c (also mikrofilm HM 949). 'WE' (west end) and 'NE' (northeast corner) give the general locations where transferred sepulchral monuments were placed. Parenthetical



Figure 1. Portuguese Jewish Cemetery at Altona (Königstraße). Photo archive, Institut für die Geschichte der deutschen Juden, Hamburg.

in 1902.³ The most comprehensive listing is contained in Alfonso Cassuto's unpublished dissertation, which was left unfinished in 1933, the year the Nazis rose to power.⁴ It was around that time that Cassuto emigrated to Portugal. From the seventeenth century itself, there are two major primary sources of information: the record of the burial society, *Irmandade de Guemilut Hasadim*, which covers the years 1675-1760, although incompletely and inconsistently,⁵ and the extant Ham-

buried numbers in some of the epitaphic texts shown here were chiselled on the stones, apparently prior to c. 1653. For precise information on the layout of the cemetery, see R. Weinstein, 'The Storied Stones of Altona. Biblical Imagery on Sephardic Tombstones at the Jewish Cemetery of Altona-Königstraße, Hamburg', in: M. Studemund-Halévy (ed.), *Die Sefarden in Hamburg*, vol. 2, (Hamburg 1997), p. 550-660.

³ M. Grunwald, *Portugiesengräber auf deutscher Erde*, (Hamburg 1902).

⁴ A. Cassuto, *Dissertation über den Friedhof der Port.-Jüd. Gemeinde, Hamburg, in Altona*, unpublished draft at the Hamburg Staatsarchiv, dated 1927-33. Cassuto also donated handwritten copies of nu-

merous Hebrew and Portuguese epitaphs, including texts from stones later destroyed during the war and after; see A. Cassuto, *Grabschriften der portugiesisch-jüdischen Friedhöfe in Hamburg, Altona, Emden und Glückstadt*, at the Hamburg Staatsarchiv as item 996c of the Portugiesisch-jüdischen Gemeinde collection. These transcripts have not been consulted for this article.

⁵ *Memórias das Misvot q Se enterravão em Betahaim Depois de Instituida a Sta Irmandade de guemilut Hassadim* (1675-1760), unpublished manuscript labelled as item 996a of the Portugiesisch-jüdischen Gemeinde (microfilm HM 9409) at the Hamburg Staatsarchiv (cited as '*Irmandade*').

burg protocol of 1652-16

A detailed summary published by Rochelle W about two decades.⁸ Mic the cemetery and the co publishing several papers been published by Gaby our work at the Altona c

This article presents a poetry, discussing both these inscriptions. In cor these inscriptions provide valuable epitaphs provide valuable information on Amsterdam and Hamburg Sephardic and Hamburg Sephardic two Sephardic communities had three fairly autonomous merchants and receiving from Italy, North Africa

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⁶ The originals are untitled m the Hamburg Staatsarchiv as the heading *Protokollbuch. Portugiesisch-jüdische Gemeinde*, with vol. I (1652-1675: 8724 and vol. II (1672-1682: 8735; the protocol is also available in the Archives for the History of Jerusalem.

⁷ J.C., 'Aus dem ältesten Portugiesisch-jüdischen Gemeinde-Jahrbuch der Jüdisch-Literarische (1908), p. 1-54; vol. VII, (1908), p. 227-290; vol. VIII, (1910), p. 225-295; vol. IX, (1912), p. 55-118. The cited below as *Protokoll*. In some man copy omits information handwriting in the original. They apparently denote Isaac Cassuto p. 317 in: A. Cassuto, 'Die Portugiesisch-jüdische Gemeinde in Glückstadt', in *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft*, vol. XXI, (1930).

⁸ See Weinstein, *op. cit.*; see also work by Elke Buchholz for the Staatsarchiv.

⁹ M. Studemund-Halévy (ed.),



Figure 1. Portuguese Jewish Cemetery at Altona (Königsstraße). Photo archive, Institut für die Geschichte der deutschen Juden, Hamburg.

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⁵ M. Grunwald, *Portugiesenjäger auf deutscher Erde*, Hamburg 1922.

⁶ A. Cassuto, *Dissertation über den Friedhof der Portug. Jüd. Gemeinde, Hamburg, in Altona*, unpublished draft at the Hamburg Staatsarchiv, dated 1927-33. Cassuto also demanded handwritten copies of nu-

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⁷ *Memoirs des Miras q se intervinho em Berlim Depois de Instaurado a Sua Irmandade de cemitério Hebraico* (1675-1760), unpublished manuscript labelled as item 966a of the Portugiesisch-jüdischen Gemeinde (microfilm HM 9409) at the Hamburg Staatsarchiv (cited as '*Irmandade*').

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⁸ The originals are unfiled in the Hamburg Staatsarchiv as heading *Portugiesische Familienliste*, with vol. I (1652-1675) 8724 and vol. II (1675-1688) 8733; the protocol is also seen in Archives for the History of Jerusalem.

⁹ J.G., 'Aus dem ältesten Portugiesisch-jüdischen Gemein Jahrbuch der Jüdisch-Lituanische (1008), p. 154, vol. VII (19 VII, 1916), p. 227-292; vol. I vol. X, 1912), p. 227-292; vol. X vol. XIII (1909), p. 33-116. The cited below as *Prüfblatt*. In some copy omits information handwriting in the original. parently denote Isaac Cassuto p. 517 in: A. Cassuto, 'Die P in Glückstadt', in *Jahrbuch d Gesellschaft*, vol. XXI (1938).

¹⁰ See Weinstein, *op. cit.*; see a work by Elke Buchholz for details. <http://bitz.uni->

¹¹ M. Studenmund-Halévy (ed.),

burg protocol of 1652-1682,⁶ part of which has been translated to German.⁷ A detailed summary of the work produced since the Second World War was published by Rochelle Weinstein, who has been working on the Altona cemetery for about two decades.⁸ Michael Studemund-Halevy has edited two books of papers on the cemetery and the community⁹ as well as co-authoring at least one book¹⁰ and publishing several papers.¹¹ Important information on the history of the cemetery has been published by Gaby Zürn.¹² In addition, we have published a previous article on our work at the Altona cemetery.¹³

This article presents a selection of early Hamburg epitaphs that contain Hebrew poetry, discussing both the literary elements and the historical testimony found in these inscriptions. In combination with Amsterdam and Hamburg documents, the epitaphs provide valuable insights into the seventeenth-century history of Amsterdam and Hamburg Sephardim, particularly the early period before 1650, when these two Sephardic communities were in their formative stage. At the time, both cities had three fairly autonomous synagogues, financed by different groups of wealthy merchants and receiving religious guidance from teachers and rabbis brought in from Italy, North Africa and the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴

The religious guidance provided by these teachers and rabbis took several forms, one major ingredient being the Hebrew language and its literature, apparently including, besides the biblical and talmudic periods, medieval and early modern literature.¹⁵ This aspect comes across eloquently in Altona epitaphs, whose poetry is



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ed in Alfonso Cassuto's sources and later destroyed during the Holocaust, including the *Jahrbuch der Portugiesisch-jüdischen Gemeinde in Hamburg*, edited by A. Cassuto, *Grabchriften der portugiesisch-jüdischen Gemeinde in Hamburg, Altona, Emmenthal*, at the Hamburg Staatsarchiv as the Portugiesisch-jüdischen Gemeinde. These transcripts have not for this article.

published manuscript, labelled as the Portugiesisch-jüdischen Gemeinde (HM 9409) at the Hamburg (ed as *Immadade*).

⁶ The originals are united manuscripts stored at the Hamburg Staatsarchiv as item 993 under the heading *Protokollbuch, Portugiesisch-jüdischen Gemeinde, with vol. I (1652-1672) in microfilm HM 8724 and vol. II (1672-1682) in microfilm HM 8733; the protocol is also available at the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem.*

⁷ J.C., 'Aus dem ältesten Protokollbuch der Portugiesisch-jüdischen Gemeinde in Hamburg', in *Jahrbuch der Jüdisch-Lituanischen Gesellschaft*, vol. VI, (1908), p. 153-210; vol. VII, (1909), p. 159-210; vol. VIII, (1910), p. 227-290; vol. IX, (1911), p. 318-366; vol. X, (1912), p. 225-295; vol. XI, (1916), p. 1-76; vol. XIII, (1920), p. 53-118. This series of articles is cited below as *Protokoll*. In some places, the German copy omits information or interprets unclear handwriting in the original. The initials 'J.C.' apparently denote Isaac Cassuto; see, for example, p. 317 in: A. Cassuto, 'Die Portugiesischen Juden in Glückstadt', in *Jahrbuch der Jüdisch-Lituanischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XXI, (1930), p. 287-317.

⁸ See Weinstein, *op. cit.*; see also the unpublished work by Elke Buchholz for the Hamburg Denkmalshilfsamt.

⁹ M. Studemund-Halevy (ed.), *Die Sefarden in Hamburg*, vol. 1, (1997), p. 389-439.

¹⁰ J. Faust and M. Studemund-Halevy, *Bräutling: Sephardische Graber in Schleswig-Holstein*, (Glückstadt 1997).

¹¹ See, for example, M. Studemund-Halevy, 'Die portugiesisch-spanischen Grabinschriften in Norddeutschland: Glückstadt und Emden', in *Jüdische Geschichte*, vol. 1, (1997), p. 103-124.

¹² G. Zürn, 'Der Friedhof der Portugiesisch-jüdischen Gemeinden in Altona (1611-1902)', in: Studemund-Halevy (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 103-124.

¹³ M. and R. Sarraga, 'Some Episodes of Sephardic History As Reflected in Epitaphs of the Jewish Cemetery in Altona', in: Studemund-Halevy (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 661-719.

¹⁴ On Amsterdam, see D. Franco Mendes, *Memórias do Esabeleamento*, edited by L. Fuks, R.G. Fuks-Mansfeld and B.N. Tensma, in *Sifnos*, 9, 2, (1975), p. 10-20; in Hamburg, the three autonomous synagogues of 1652 fused into one at the start of the Hebrew year 5413, as explained in *Protokoll*, vol. VI, p. 5-13.

¹⁵ See, for example, the topics covered in: M.G. Abudiente, *Graffiti Hebraica*, (Hamburg 1933).

mostly in Hebrew.¹⁶ The selection of Hebrew poetry is large and varied, including relatively free Italian styles as well as more traditional forms based on classical Andalusian poetry of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In contrast, only a handful of Portuguese poems are found among seventeenth-century Altona epitaphs. The ratio of Portuguese to Hebrew literary compositions is far smaller than that of Portuguese to Hebrew words inscribed on seventeenth-century stones.¹⁷

The first five literary epitaphs presented here date from the cemetery's first decade, 1611-1621: one belongs to an otherwise unknown teacher who apparently died as a relatively young man, the other four pertain to an Abendana family that is well-documented in Amsterdam's notarial records. Three early epitaphs with poetic compositions follow, belonging to unknown branches of the Aboab family, perhaps Aboab Faleiros or Cardosos. An early Hamburg *hakham*, Jeuda Haim Leão (d. 1660), whose career seems to have paralleled that of Amsterdam's H.H. Saul Levy Morteira (d. 1660),¹⁸ is then discussed, followed by two students of the well-known H.H. Jacob Sasportas (c. 1610-1698), one of whom was apparently married to a granddaughter of Jeuda Haim Leão. Finally, H.H. Abraham da Fonseca (d. 1651), believed (apparently by mistake) to have been the author of *'Ene Avraham* (Amsterdam [c. 1627]), is also examined. The prosodic analysis of Hebrew poems is based primarily on a highly readable book by Dan Pagis, *Hidush u-Masoret*, which defines the Hebrew and Italian prosodic terminology used in this article.¹⁹ The more recent books by Dvora Bregman are also relevant.²⁰

¹⁶ For earlier work on Sephardic epitaphic poetry, see, for example, J.A. Brombacher, 'Poetry on Gravestones: Poetry by the 17th-Century Portuguese Rabbi Solomon de Oliveyra Found in the Jewish Cemetery at Ouderkerk aan den Amstel', in: J. Michman (ed.), *Dutch Jewish History*, vol. 2, (Assen 1989), p. 153-165; see also: J.A. Brombacher, *Hofne Zetim, Handen vol Olijven: De poëzie van Selomoh D'Oliveyra rabbijn en leraar van de Portugese Natie in de 17e eeuw te Amsterdam* ('Handfuls of Olives: The Poetry of Selomoh d'Oliveyra, Rabbi and Teacher of the Portuguese Nation in the 17th-Century in Amsterdam'), PhD diss., Leiden (1991).

¹⁷ Two factors appear to have stimulated the appreciation of Hebrew literature: the imitation of the emphasis on classical Latin and Greek literature that characterised the Renaissance and Baroque periods and Sephardic tradition dating from the Andalusian period, as expressed, for example, in Judah Halevi's *Kuzari*; see M. Genizi, *Ha-Kuzari Ha-Meforash*, (Jerusalem c. 1973), p. 412-413.

¹⁸ In this article, the abbreviation 'H.H.' (*he-hakham ha-shalem*: the complete sage) denotes a rabbi qualified as the halakhic guide of a community; see, for example, p. 84, 494 and 560 in: I.S. Emmanuel, *Precious Stones of the Jews of Curaçao*, (New York 1957). In some 17th-century Portuguese documents, the letters 'H.H.' are also used in the sense of *hakham* (sage), a less specific title than *he-hakham ha-shalem*. Even less specific is the Portuguese title *riby*, which could denote a rabbi, *hazan*, or teacher (see below under *Italian Roots of Hakham Jeuda Haim Leão*).

¹⁹ D. Pagis, *Hidush u-Masoret be-Shirat ha-Hol ha-'Ivrit: Seferad ve-Italyah* [Change and Tradition in Hebrew Secular Poetry: Spain and Italy], (Jerusalem 1986).

²⁰ D. Bregman, *Shevil ha-Zahav / The Golden Way: The Hebrew Sonnet during the Renaissance and the Baroque*, (Jerusalem 1995) and D. Bregman, *Zeror Zehuvim / A Bundle of Gold: Hebrew Sonnets from the Renaissance and the Baroque*, (Jerusalem 1997).

The Hebrew vocalisation *sheva*, or vice versa, in a fixed quantitative system *dagesh*. Exceptions of this poetry. Moreover, some seventeenth-century Sep

Some of the earliest Hebrew employ a metre based on an equal number of syllables as traditional Andalusian models. The poetry originated well before the seventeenth century. This suggests an unusually direct link of traditional Andalusian Portuguese inscriptions. I. Veiga (d. 1625) states, 'R month April, which is ab

רמאל
ם
רמאל
שאל
מים
גלצון
רצון
זבון ומאר
לה נפטר

²¹ Epitaph of Gabriel Abraham Father exalted in wisdom, oh I will pour out my heart from

The Hebrew poem²¹ for Gabriel Abraham Valenzola is an octave with an *a-b-a-b-a-b-c-c* rhyme scheme. Each line has ten syllables, counting a voiced *sheva* or a *ḥataf* as a syllable. Even the *mil'el* lines (2, 4 and 6) have ten syllables, which is rare in Italian Hebrew poetry, since a *mil'el* line normally has eleven syllables, as in the Italian *endecasilabo*, while a *mitra'* line is allowed ten syllables as an *endecasilabo tronco*.²² The gaps, shown here, between groups of words in a line occur on the stone and correspond to the caesurae, or interior pauses, within a line. The caesurae in this poem are at the second and sixth syllables of each line. Indicating the caesurae with blank spaces is typical of Italian Hebrew books of this period, but it is rare on Altona tombstones and is found mostly on stones from about 1700.

This early teacher in Hamburg is otherwise unknown. Although the Hebrew text gives his name as Valenzola, this may be an Italian version of the Castilian name Valenzuela, which literally means 'little Valencia'. The Castilian name is found a century later on Altona tombstones with spellings such as 'Balenzuela' or 'Valensuela'.²³

While prosodic features in epitaphic poems show an Italian influence, the names on tombstones attest to the presence in Hamburg of men from families involved in the religious history of Amsterdam's Sephardim in the period prior to 1650:

RS992
Moseh, son (child) of Ishac Montalto
(7 Hesvan 5376 / 1615)

הֵילָד שְׁעֲשָׂעִים מִשָּׁה
בְּכַמ"ד יִצְחָק מוֹנְטְאֵלְטוֹ
יִצ'וֹ יוֹם ו' ז' לַחֲדָשׁ חֲשׁוֹן
הַשְּׁע"ו

RS1153
Rachel, daughter (child) of Ishac Herrera
(24 Ab 5384 / 1624)

מִצְבֵּי הֵילָדָה רָחֵל
בֵּת כ"ד יִצְחָק הֵרֵרָה
יוֹם ו' כ"ד אָב שַׁפ"ד

In RS1153,²⁴ the father, Ishac Herrera, may have been related to the cabbalist Abraham Cohen de Herrera, who lived in Hamburg for several years, at least

poor man weep now, asking: / Where is one who gives water to all the thirsty? / And he rose to Bethel [the house of God] full of joy, / [in the] year: short on days [young in life] and replete with favour [from the Lord]. [The text in the last line is a variation of Job 14:1, and the *gematria* of the year is 378].

Bottom: Monument of the grave of one esteemed in his spirit [disposition], a man with understanding, the prudent and very / exalted, his honour, our teacher. *Riby* Gabriel Abraham Valenzola. He departed / to his eternity on the 3rd day [of the week], 4 Tisri 378, in the shortened form [of the date].

²² See Pagis, *op. cit.*, p. 294-9; ten-syllable *mil'el* lines are also absent from the metres listed in Bregman, *op. cit.*, (1997).

²³ These variations are simple to explain, because Castilian pronunciation generally does not distinguish between *b* and *v*; moreover, the Sephardim of Hamburg and Amsterdam generally followed the Andalusian pronunciation, in which *z* has the sound of *s*.

²⁴ Epitaph of Rachel, daughter of Ishac Herrera: Monument of the child Rachel, / daughter of the honourable Ishac Herrera: / day 6 (of the week), 24 Ab 384.

around 1615-1620, when Inquisition.²⁵ This denu Nunes de Herrera, perh

With regard to RS992 Eliau Montalto whose b 1616.²⁷ In his account o Montalto's son Moseh v Montalto appear several a son of Moseh and a Franco Mendes. As a yo for a while. An Ishac M mentioned in the Hamb

Early

Four of the earliest tor Abendana, alias Fernão and Haim Abraham. Th David, shown below. A Abendana's family and Abendana who lived an consistent with this assur

A David Abendana o dowry society, Dotar, on his son Ishac on 9 Ab 53 sons also died: Jacob on David himself died on 20 dam notarial record no.

²⁵ See C. Roth, 'The Strang Mendes Bravo', in *Hebrew U* vol. 18, (Cincinnati 1944), p. 2

²⁶ Epitaph of Moseh, son of Is delightful child Mosch. / [son teacher, *Riby*] Ishac Montalto keep him and redeem him: d 7th of the month Hesvan, / 5 'The *heh* in the year הַשְּׁע"ו is ca phrase בכמ"ד is only a guess. s

graved on the stone appear to

²⁷ See Franco Mendes, *op. cit.*, p ²⁸ See W.C. Picterse (ed.), *Livro o Kados Bet Yehacob*, (Assen 1970) as *Livro de Bet Haim*.

²⁹ See *Protokoll*, vol. VII, p. 193-

octave with an *a-b-a-b-a-* voiced *sheva* or a *hataf* as syllables, as in the Italian *endecasillabo tronco*.²² The r on the stone and correct the caesurae in this poem the caesurae with blank g the caesurae with blank but it is rare on Altona. Although the Hebrew text of the Castilian name Castilian name is found a such as 'Balenzuela' or Italian influence, the names from families involved in period prior to 1630:

RS1153
ter (child) of Isaac Herrera
Ab 5384 / 1624)

הַרְבֵּי הַיָּם
וְהַרְבֵּי הַיָּם
וְהַרְבֵּי הַיָּם

related to the cabbalist for several years, at least

line, p. 294-9; ten-syllable *milf* lines from the metres listed in Breg- (1997):
are simple to explain, because unctation generally does not distinguish and τ ; moreover, the Sephardim and Amsterdam generally followed pronunciation, in which τ has the Rachel, daughter of Isaac Herrera: the child Rachel, / daughter of the mac Herrera: / day 6 (of the week).

around 1615-1620, when his presence in Hamburg was reported to the Portuguese Inquisition.²³ This denunciation also mentions a cousin of Abraham named Alonso Nunes de Herrera, perhaps the Isaac Herrera of the epitaph.

With regard to RS92,²⁶ the father, Isaac Montalto, may have been related to the Eliau Montalto whose body was taken to Amsterdam by H. H. Saul Levy Morteira in 1616.²⁷ In his account of this episode, David Franco Mendes points out that Eliau Montalto's son Moseh was in Amsterdam at the time. Both a Moseh and an Isaac Montalto appear several times in Amsterdam's *Livro de Bet Ham*.²⁸ Perhaps Isaac was a son of Moseh and a grandson of the well-known Eliau Montalto mentioned by Franco Mendes. As a young man, this Isaac Montalto may have been in Hamburg for a while. An Isaac Montalto, who was not a resident of Hamburg at the time, is mentioned in the Hamburg protocol of 2 Sebat 5417 (1657).²⁹

Early Abendanas and Aboab Faleros in Hamburg

Four of the earliest tombstone slabs in Altona belong to the merchant David Abendana, alias Fernão Dias (possibly de Brito),³⁰ and his three sons, Isaac, Jacob and Haim Abraham. The tragedy of their final years is recounted in the epitaph of David, shown below. Amsterdam documents can be used to reconstruct David Abendana's family and business connections, assuming there was no other David Abendana who lived and died in Hamburg c. 1620. All available information is consistent with this assumption.

A David Abendana of Hamburg became a member of Amsterdam's Sephardic dowry society, Dotar, on 29 Elul 5377 (1 October 1617),³¹ almost a year before he lost his son Isaac on 9 Ab 5378 (1618). Within a year of Isaac's death, David's other two sons also died: Jacob on 30 Kisleb and Haim Abraham on 11 Sivan 5379 (1619). David himself died on 20 Kisleb 5381 (17 December 1620), consistent with Amsterdam notarial record no. 2575.³² In the epitaph of his son Jacob, David Abendana is

²³ See C. Roth, 'The Strange Case of Hector Mendes Bravo', in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, vol. 18, (Cincinnati 1944), p. 221-245, esp. 221. Epitaph of Moseh, son of Isaac Montalto: The delightful child Moseh, / [son of his honour, our teacher, *Ribb*] Isaac Montalto, / may his Rock keep him and redeem him: day 6 [of the week], 7th of the month Hesvan, / 5376. The *heh* in the year השנ"ו is carved like a *lax*. The phrase השנ"ו is only a guess, since the letters engraved on the stone appear to be השנ"ו .
²⁴ See Franco Mendes, *op. cit.*, p. 19. See W.C. Pieterse (ed.), *Livro de Bet Ham do Kahal Kados Bet Yehacob*, (Assen 1970), referred to below as *Livro de Bet Ham*.
²⁵ See *Protokoll*, vol. VII, p. 193-4. Isaac Montalto's

sister Ribca had been married to a Jacob Baruch of Hamburg; perhaps the Jacob Baruch (RS171) who died later on 3 Kisleb 5426 (1665). Isac Montalto made a claim in 1657, based on his sister's *kehubah*, to some of Jacob Baruch's possessions from Ribca. Isac Montalto's representative in Hamburg was a David Milano.
²⁶ See P.A. d'Azavedo, 'O Bocarro Francês e os Judeus de Cochim e Hamburgo', in *Arquivo Histórico Português*, vol. VIII, (1910), p. 15-20 and 185-198; the alias Fernão Dias also appears in the notarial records cited below.
²⁷ See Amsterdam Municipal Archive (GAA), PA 334, 1141, p. 78.
²⁸ See *Shtetl*, 20, (1986), p. 125-126, no. 2575; the alias given here is Fernão Dias.

his death in late 1620 (i.e.,

Abendana's only heir was his
decal Abendana. Moreo-
nd a brother named Haim
nkfurt before 20 Novem-
ill had been drawn up in
had been executor of

Abraham had two sisters,
nd 500 ducats from their
oned frequently in these
Miriam, Haim Rephahel

ughter Rachel was a man
of a possible daughter of
of Abraham, son of Haim
children of a man named
nd Hana (RS1583; 24
fter Haim Rephahel's wife

d maintained major com-
the nature of whose kin-
a, son of Haim Rephahel.
am Aboab, alias Antonio
raham Abendana, as ex-
on 25 February 1622 when
y 1623 when no. 2890 was
leiro, was in Venice on 25
this notarial record shows

of deceased merchants seem some-
continued using the dead person's
1986), p. 121, no. 2555-6.
o also acted as a trusted agent for
rent occasions: see, for example,
The case of Luis Vaz Pimentel,
early Jewish life in Rotterdam
ingusc Inquisition Archives, in
, p. 7-30.
(1990), p. 75, no. 2890.

that David and Haim Rephahel Abendana had maintained accounts in Venice and

Florence and business links with the fairs of Piacensa.

Abraham Aboab was the father of the famous rabbi, H. H. Semuel Aboab (c. 1610-1697),⁴¹ who was born in Hamburg and lived there as a child until sent to Venice at age 13 to study under Rabbi David Franco.⁴² As a child, H. H. Semuel Aboab had studied under a certain Rabbi Abendarroyo, who occupied a room in Abraham Aboab's houses in Hamburg.⁴³

It may be surmised from Aboab's mention of him that Rabbi Abendarroyo was highly educated and lived in Hamburg at least prior to around 1623 or 1624, when Semuel Aboab was sent to Venice. Perhaps this is the Rabbi Moses Ben Arroyo who succeeded Joseph Pardo (d. 1619) as senior rabbi of the Amsterdam synagogue Bet Ya'acob and who later went to Constantinople, where he became head of a yeshiva.⁴⁴ Moses Abendarroyo could have lived in Hamburg both before and after his tenure as rabbi at the Amsterdam synagogue.

In any case, Semuel Aboab's anecdote provides an insight into how learned persons were attracted to Amsterdam and Hamburg during the early period of the Sephardic communities. Scholars apparently came under the patronage of individual wealthy families, perhaps to staff a fairly autonomous synagogue. One of their legacies may have been the high quality of some early epitaphs, such as those of Gabriel Valenzola, above, and of David Abendana and his sons, below. If, as seems likely, Abraham Aboab and David Abendana knew each other well in Hamburg, it would have been natural for Aboab to commission the writing of David's

רמב"ם כ"ה ע"ב אביר אבירא שנתקשר מן בית בעל
שבתא דרב העבירא כפירא. אלא וזהו שלחן אר
לחיה לחיה לרב ולרבא וזהו לעשר לעשר עתה...
לחיה לחיה לרב ולרבא וזהו לעשר לעשר עתה...

For I remember, when I was a child in the city of Hamburg, that the well-known rabbi, his honour, our great teacher, Rabbi Ben Arroyo, his memory for the world to come, whom my dear father, his memory for the world to come, had taken as my master to teach [me], stayed for some time in the upper rooms of our houses and he wanted to make an *Eme* [...]

It is possible that the apparent misprint from *Dear Semuel* shown above (the final *mem* in *Dear Semuel* originated from incorrectly joining the last *resh* in the title *רמב"ם* and the initial *mem* of a proper name like Moses). The name Arroyo also appears much later in Hamburg: an entry on p. 4 of *Imdad* records the burial of an Isaac Arroyo on 19 Tebet 5436 (1676), although no stone has been found for this person.

⁴¹ See Franco Mendes, *op. cit.*, p. 12 and 16.

⁴² See, for example, M. Benayahu, *Der Ehad ba-Arez / A Single Generation in the Land: Letters of Rabbi Semuel Aboab and Rabbi Moshe Zuculo concerning the Affairs of Eretz Israel*, (Jerusalem 5748 / c. 1984); see p. 50 for a family tree of the Aboab Faleros.

⁴³ See Benayahu, *op. cit.*, p. 28. Perhaps, the timing of Semuel Aboab's departure from Hamburg was motivated by the death of his mother. A Sara Yohebed, wife of an Abraham Aboab, died on 18 Iyar 5384 (1624) and was buried in RS1526. The year agrees approximately with Semuel Aboab's age when he left Hamburg and Semuel's mother is known to have been called Sara; however, there was a second Abraham Aboab, other than Semuel's father, also living in Hamburg at the time. The epitaph of Sara Yohebed has been omitted, because it does not contain poetry and does not shed light on her family connections.

⁴⁴ See Benayahu, *op. cit.*, p. 23, which cites Semuel Aboab's responsa, *Dear Semuel*, p. 57b, response 182:

and David's sons' epitaphs from Abenarroyo or from some similarly learned person residing among the wealthy in Hamburg at the time.

RS1529 – Jacob of David Abendana
(30 Kislev 5379 / 1618)

מַצְבֵּת קְבוּרָה לְמִי
לְיַעֲקֹב בְּחֹרֵר נְעִים
בֶּן הָרַ' דָּוִד בֶּן דָּאָנָה
יְשִׁישׁ יָקָר וְנִשְׂוֹא פָּנִים
בְּזִמְנֵי הָרְאוּי לְחֹפֶה
נִפְטָר לְגַן הָעֵדֵנִים
יּוֹם ב' רה"ח טָבֵת
הַשְּׁעִ"ט חֲשֹׁבֹן הַשָּׁנִים

(32)

RS1530 – Isaac of David Abendana
(9 Ab 5378 / 1618)

בְּשָׁה נֶעְקַד לְפָנָי מוֹת רְהוּי
בֶּן כ' וְלֹא עָבַר עוֹד בְּשָׁנִים
יְצַחֵק בְּנוֹ דָּוִד בֶּן דָּאָנָה
בְּיוֹ' תִּשְׁעָה בְּאָב רַע בְּיָמִים
שְׁנַת שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת וְנִגְס שְׁבַעִים
וְשִׁמְנֵה לַפ"ק הוּא חֲשֹׁבֹן שָׁנִים
זְכוּתוֹ שֶׁל יְצַחֵק יִגְן עָלָיו
לְהַתְּכַפֵּר מֵעוֹן וְאֲשָׁמִים

(20)

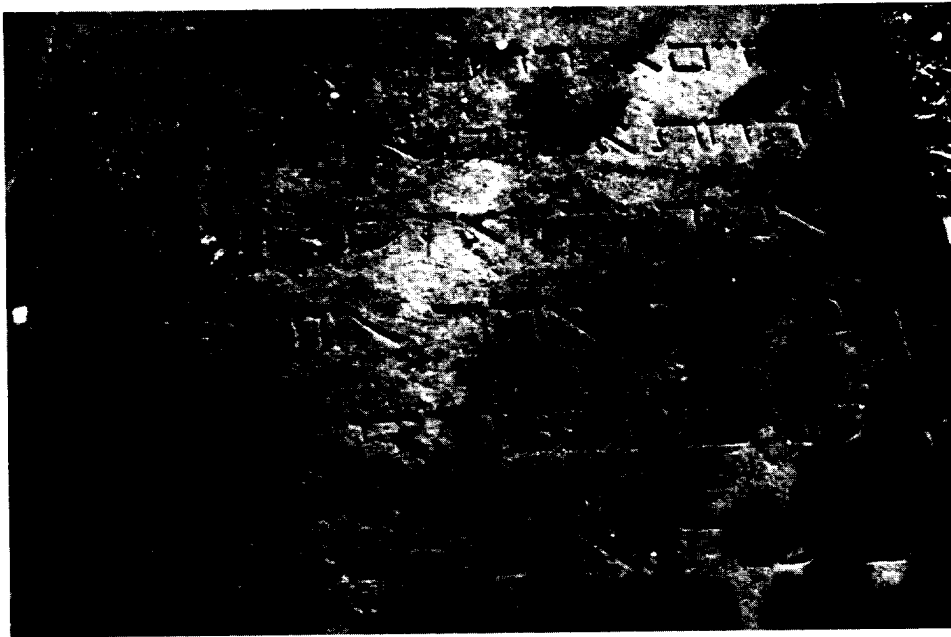


Figure 2. Epitaph of Haim Abraham Abendana (d. 1619). RS 1528 Hamburg. Photo Marian Sarraga.

The epitaph of Ishac, s
without a fixed metre,
syllables, if abbreviation
counted as a syllable.
with *-im*. The odd lines
apostrophes (").
The epitaph of Jaco
brother Ishac, but each
odd and even lines are
as in Isaac's epitaph.

RS1527 – David
(20 Kislev 5381)

אִישׁ רַב פְּעָלִי
ש' בְּנָיו בְּחֹרֵר
י' ח"י עַד כ"ב שָׁנָי
רַב בֵּין אֶפְרוֹחִי
הָיוּ לוֹ יְדִידִים
אֲצֵלֶם תּוֹדֵי נִי שָׁנָי
הַ נְמוֹת וְעִנְיִים
כ' שָׁנֵי עִם עֵדֵנִי
נָא רֵאשׁ לְנִדְבִי
בְּכַסְלֵי לְבִי יָמִי
מִ'עֵה נִפְשׁ תְּמִי
שָׁשׁוּ בְּנֵי עֵדֵנִים
יַעֲמֹד לְסוֹף יָמִי

(53)

⁶⁵ Epitaph of Isaac de David
lamb bound before death. fit
age 20 and not having advanc
[was] Isaac, son of David Ab
day of the 9th of Ab, a bad d
[of the year], / year three hu
enty / and eight, in the shor
date]: that is the count of year
of Isaac protect him, / to ato
guilt.

and David's sons' epitaphs from Abenarroyo or from some similarly learned person residing among the wealthy in Hamburg at the time.

RS1520 – Jacob of David Abendana
(90 Kislew 5379 / 1618)

מַצְבֵּת קְבוּרָה לְמִי
: לְיַעֲקֹב בְּחֹרֵר וְעִים
" בֶּן חַר' דָּוִד בֶּן דָּאָה
: יֵשׁוּעַ יְקָר וְנִשְׂאָה פָּנִים
" בְּסוּמַן חַרְאִי לְחֹפֶה
: וְנִשְׂאָה לְנֹן הַעֲדָנִים
" יוֹם ב' רַח"ח טְבֵּת
: חֲשַׁע"ט חֲשֵׁבוֹן חֲשָׁנִים

(32)

RS1530 – Isaac of David Abendana
(9 Ab 5376 / 1618)

בְּשֵׁה וְעָקָר לְפָנֵי סוּת רַחֲמֵי
: בֶּן ב' וְלֹא עָבָר עוֹד בְּשָׁנִים
" וְצַחֲקֵי בְּנֵי דָוִד בֶּן דָּאָה
: בְּיוֹם חֲשֵׁבֶה בְּאָב רַע בְּיָמִים
" שְׁנַת שְׁלֹשׁ סָאוֹת וְנִים שְׁבַעִים
: וְשִׁמְנֵה לְפ"ק הוּא חֲשֵׁבוֹן שָׁנִים
" וְכוּתוֹ שֶׁל וְצַחֲקֵי וְצָן עָלוֹ
: לְהַחֲבִיטָר מְעוֹן וְאֲשָׁמִים

(20)

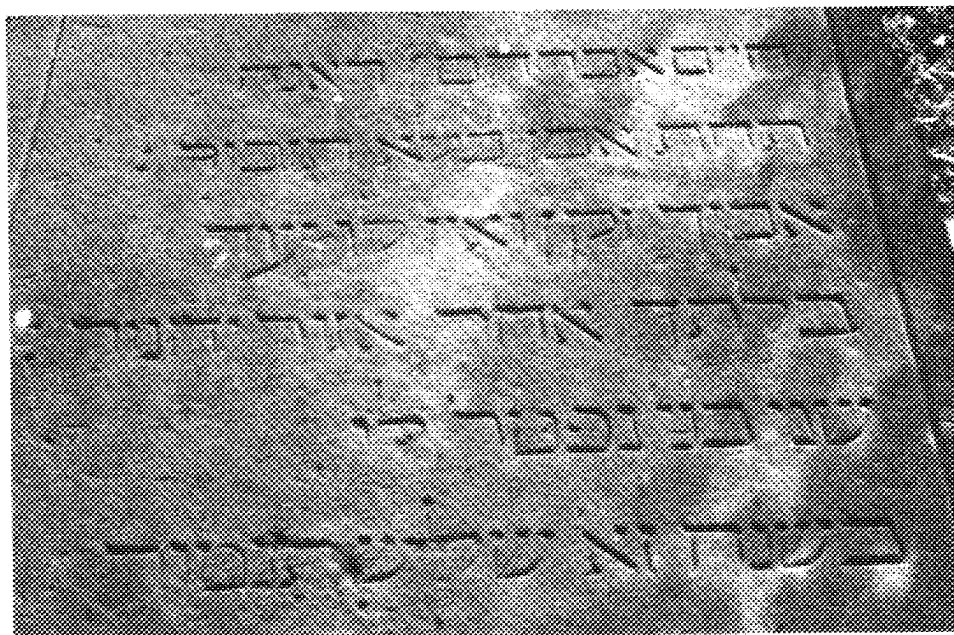


Figure 2. Epitaph of Haim Abentham Abendana (d. 1619), RS 1528 Hamburg. Photo Morian Saraga.

The epitaph of Isaac, s without a fixed metre, syllables, if abbreviations counted as a syllable, with *-im*. The odd lines apostrophes (*).

The epitaph of Jacob brother Isaac, but each odd and even lines are as in Isaac's epitaph.

RS1527 – David
(20 Kislew 5381)

אִישׁ רַב שְׂגִלָּה
ש' בְּנֵי בַחֲוִרִי
ו' ה"י עַד ב' ב' שָׁנָה
ר' בֵּין אֲשֵׁרֹחִי
הָיוּ לוֹ יָדָיִם
אֲצִלָּם חוֹדֵן נ' שָׁנָה
ה' סוּת וְעִים
ש' שָׁנָה עֲדָנִים
נָא רֵאשׁ לְנִדְבִי
בְּכַסְלֵי לְבִי יָמִי
ש' עֵדָה וְנִשְׂאָה חֲסִי
אֲשֵׁר בְּנֵי עֲדָנִים
וְעִמּוֹד לְסוּף יָמִי

(53)

Epitaph of Isaac de David (him) bound to fore death, in age 20 and not having advent [David Isaac, son of David A day of the 9th of Ab it had [of the year] / year three hundred only / and eight, in the short [that is the count of year] of Isaac protect him, / to at gulf.

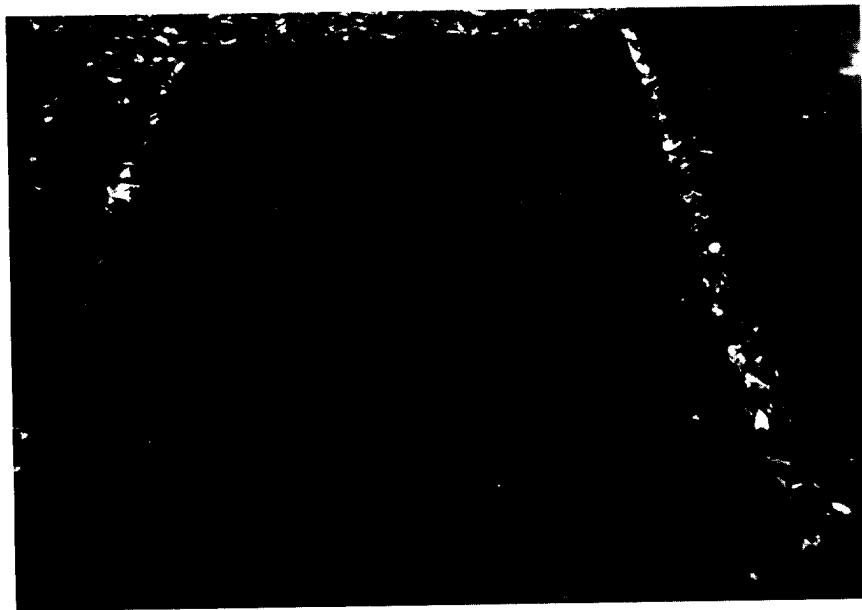


Figure 3. Epitaph of David Abendana (d.1620). RS 1527 Hamburg. Photo Marian Sarraga.

The epitaph of Haim Abraham, son of David Abendana,⁴⁷ is similar in style to those of his brothers Ishac and Jacob. It has ten lines and about eight syllables per line, counting a voiced *sheva* or a *hataf* as a syllable. The odd and even lines are marked on the stone as shown above. As before, only the even lines rhyme, but here their uniform rhyme is based on the ending *-or*.

The epitaph of David Abendana⁴⁸ has thirteen lines, all of which rhyme with *-im*. Each line has 10-11 syllables. In line seven, the word *'aniyim* (poor) cannot be taken literally, if the notarial records reflect David Abendana's true wealth. Two possibilities are that emotional deprivation is meant rather than financial poverty, or that his capital was tied up outside of Hamburg, while he incurred heavy expenses due to illnesses in his family.

⁴⁷ Epitaph of Haim Abraham de David Abendana: Haim Abraham Abendana, / under a stone incarcerated you will remember: / your father is an old man and has nothing more / apart from you. Someone else will assume the amassed [property]. / Two of my sons had departed from me; / this year you will complete three. / Day 6 [of the week] concluded every deed: / your judgment is scaled. Go then in the light, / 11 of Sivan, year 5379. / Go and sleep: at the end you will return.

⁴⁸ Epitaph of David Abendana: Marker of the grave of a man great in deeds, / at the side of his three unmarried sons. / They did not pass beyond the

ages of 18 to 22 / And the old man [was] like a bird among [its] chicks: / during their lives they were dear to him. / After this, there came upon them, in the span of three years, / weeping, lament and death; and [they became] poor, / after [a period of] 'him who dresses you in crimson with great gratification' [2 Sam. 1:24]. / David Abendana, first among the generous, / departed on day 3 [of the week], at 20 days into Kislev, / in the year: 'save the soul of a perfect man' [5381 by *gematria*]. / And his soul will rest in the Garden of Eden, / and with his sons he will rise at the end of days.

The three Aboab epitaphs whose fixed quantitative structure is similar to the other epitaphs. Nothing is known about whether they belonged to other Aboab families.

RS1259 (EX)
Ester Hana, wife of Sem
(9 Iyar 5399)

מְעַמְקִים
כִּי בֵּין דּוֹרִים
פֶּה לְחַיִּים
אֶתְרָם | אֶתְרָם
יָבֵלַע | פֶּה
אֶתְרָם | פֶּה
יָבֵלַע | (ו) בְּעָה
לְקָנָה | קָרָא
חֲנָה | זָמַת

חֵיל
הַנְּבָרָת מְרַת
הַאֲשֶׁת שְׂמוּאֵל
רַחַם שְׁנַת הַשְּׁצ"ט
: ט :

Clockwise on the stone:
top (start), right, bottom

AQVI IAS A MVITO V
OSA E TEMENTE DO S
ESTER HANA ABOAB QVE E
REPOVZO MVLHER DE SEM
SEMVEL ABOAB DE ANBER
9 DE ROS HODES YIAR 53
A SER EN 2/10 DE MA



Figure 4. Epitaph of David Aboab (d. 1642). RS 1641 Hamburg. Photo Marina Saraga.

The poem in the epitaph of Michael Aboab²⁶ consists of five lines obeying the *mitqarec* metre²⁷ with the rhyme scheme *a-b-b-a-b*. The epitaph of Ester Hana, wife of Samuel Aboab de Auveres (Antwerp)²⁸ contains an octave with an *a-b-a-b-a-b-c-c*

²⁶ Epitaph of Michael Aboab: This hollow and stony mound as a sign / and this ground [is] to cover one who returns [to Heaven], / so that it [the earth] will be a rest and an abode / to one who loves acts of piety / and [who is] upright and faithful, / and loved and cherished and honoured and esteemed. // Upon this mound the monument has been dedicated [compare Gen. 21:32 and note the ambiguously engraved first word נֶזֶר or נֶזֶר], / until the dew descends upon this just [man], / and until he blooms like a flower, / the elder, crowned with the crown / of gray hair [old age]; behold, he is the beloved elder and highly / regarded, Mister Michael Aboab, his memory a blessing. / He departed on the 1st day [of the week], 21st of the month / Adar, year 5395. *Portuguese*: Tomb of the / honourable and venerable elder, Mister Michael Aboab. / He died on / the first day [of the week], 21st of Adar, year 5395; [this] is 1642 11 March.

²⁷ See Paggi, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

²⁸ Epitaph of Ester Hana Aboab: Here [are] the depths, the depths for dissection [comparing physical decay in the grave to Abraham's sacrifice

in Gen. 15:10] / for, among beloved ones [probably inspired by Cant. 2:17], dust will swallow / here the living; [so] a treasure to hide / from the eye of every living [person], it will swallow them. / Here [is] the monument of the grave of Ester; / here, the dust will swallow her. / God, her Creator, has sought her soul for Himself, / He called to her: Fair Hana! This is / the monument and the grave / of a woman of strength, / one revering the Lord, the lady Mrs / Ester Hana, wife of Samuel / Aboab; she departed in the year 5399, / Year 9, / *Portuguese*: Here lies the very virtuous, / and fearing of the Lord, Mrs Ester Hana Aboab, whom may God have in / [a place of] rest, wife of Samuel Aboab from / Samuel Aboab from Antwerp; she died on the 9th of *Rosh Hodesh* Year 5399, which comes / to be / on 11/12 of May 1640. In 1640, the 9th of Year fell on 13 May. Ester Hana may have died in the evening of 12 May, after the start of 9 Year; alternatively, the 9th of Year may have been counted from 30 Nisan, the first day of *Rosh Hodesh* Year, as suggested by the Portuguese epitaph.

²⁷ The form מִתְקָרֵע is also possible as Aramaic.

²⁸ Italy, the Iberian Peninsula

At the top, the right and the left sides of the slab:

AQVI REPOVZA O BEMAVENTV -
RADO DO S. DAVID ABOAB QVE

EL DIO CHAMOV A SI EM SESTA FEIRA BESPVRA DE
QVIPUR 9 DE TISRI DO ANNO 5403 A

CRISAO DO MVNDO [3] DE 8⁸⁰ 1642 ANNOS
SVA ALMA GOZE DA GLORIA DIVINA AMEN

In the epitaph of David Aboab,⁵⁴ the six-line Hebrew poem is read across each line, not down each column. The poem has the structure of the classical Andalusian *mitqarev* and contains three *batim* (full verses).⁵⁵ Each *bayit* has two hemistichal divisions, a *delet* and a *soger*, only the *soger* is required to carry a rhyme, which here is *-av*. In addition, each second *'amud* (metrical unit of the form -- -) carries an internal rhyme. The complete scheme is *a-a-a-b-c-c-b-d-d-d-b*, with each letter representing two *'amudim*. The metre of the last *'amud* in the second *soger* (line four above) requires the exceptional vocalisation shown here. A concordance reveals the fragmentary text on the banner to be an extract from Ex. 25:8.

Italian Roots of Hakham Jeuda Haim Leão

Hamburg seems to have had a counterpart to Amsterdam's well-known Rabbi Saul Levy Morteira in the sense of a religious figure of apparently Ashkenazi origin, but acculturated in Italy, who studied under the famous Venetian Rabbi Leone Modena (1571-1648) and then emigrated to Amsterdam, married a Dotar beneficiary and found a career as a religious leader in a Sephardic community.⁵⁶

This counterpart of Morteira in Hamburg was Hakham Jeuda Haim, also known as Riby Leão. Little has been published about Jeuda Haim. The three main pub-

⁵⁴ Epitaph of David Aboab: Behold, man [is] like a spice, destroyed in vapour [vanity], / and always in pain, tormented and grieved. / Eat a piece of bread [in] repose and strike [stir up] a sea of lament. / And even if there is no respite for a man [who is] a leader and beloved, / behold, hidden there, in the splendour of the Presence. / [is] a sure resting place for David Aboab. / *On the banner:* And [they will make a temple for Me,] and I will dwell in their midst [Ex. 25:8]. / *Bottom:* An abode of peace for the gentleman, the exalted one, his honour, our teacher, *Riby* David / Aboab, his rest in Eden, whom God took / on the 9th

of Tisri, day 6 [of the week], year 5403. *Portuguese:* Here rests the blessed / Mr David Aboab whom // God called to Himself on the sixth day [of the week], eve of / Kippur, 9th of Tisri of the year 5403 [from] // the creation of the world. [3rd] of October, 1642 years. / May his soul enjoy the divine glory. Amen.

⁵⁵ See Pagis, *op. cit.*, p. 123 and p. 127-131.

⁵⁶ On Saul Levy Morteira, see H.P. Salomon's (Dutch) introduction in his *Saul Levi Mortera en zijn Traktaat betreffende de waarheid van de wet van Mozes*, (Braga 1988).

lished sources are a under the entry 'León 106 of Grunwald's *Portugiesisch-Judische* Alfonso Cassuto, who records, particularly th

Jeuda Haim's role i in Amsterdam. From tioned principally as *hakham* (*he-hakham ha-shalem*: c

In the Hamburg pr 5412 (1652), when he w apparently the society (1654), Jeuda Haim as assistant *hazan* Ishac N service as one reason was granted.

On 9 Nisan 5416 (16 performing an essential Elul 5419 (1659), Jeuda together with one of th Finally, on 2 Nisan 542 Jeuda Haim, who had Haim's widow.

In Amsterdam's arc record, dated 5380 (16 Ester, daughter of Dar had won her dowry in his acceptance of the time, Jeuda Haim was records show that a

⁵⁷ See *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. VI, p. 1905.

⁵⁸ A. Cassuto, *Gedenkschrift An den 250. Geburtstag des H. Aboab*, (Amsterdam 1927).

⁵⁹ *Protokoll*, vol. VI, p. 18.

⁶⁰ *Protokoll*, vol. VI, p. 38-39; *Protokoll*, vol. VI, p. 19 (21 Elul 5412).

⁶¹ See *Protokoll*, vol. VII, p. 166; *Protokoll*, vol. VII, p. 166; abbreviation 'H.H.' for the 'os' H.' (Mr *hakham*).

lished sources are a rather uninformative article in the 1905 *Jewish Encyclopedia*⁷ under the entry 'Leon' (giving the full name 'Judah Hayyim Leao' and citing page 106 of Grünwald's *Portugiesengänger*), various references in *Protokoll*, and a mention by Alfonso Cassuto, who calls him a *samas* (beadle).⁵⁸ As shown below, Amsterdam records, particularly those of Dotar, shed considerable light on Jueda Haim's life. Jueda Haim's role in Hamburg was far less prominent than Saul Levy Mortera's in Amsterdam. From 1652 until his death in 1660, Jueda Haim seems to have functioned principally as *hazan*, although he is called a *hakham* in the protocol and 'H.H.' (*he-hakham ha-shalem*: complete sage) in the epitaph of his wife, shown below. In the Hamburg protocol, Jueda Haim is first mentioned in the entry for 21 Elul 5412 (1652), when he was appointed *hazan* of the synagogue Bet Israel and of a *hebra*, apparently the society for visiting the sick and burying the dead.⁵⁹ On 1 Nisan 5414 (1654), Jueda Haim asked to be succeeded after his death by his son-in-law, the assistant *hazan* Ishac Namias, a native of Venice.⁶⁰ Jueda Haim cites his forty years of service as one reason why the *parnassim* should grant him this favour. The request was granted.

On 9 Nisan 5416 (1656), Ishac Namias's salary was increased, since he was already performing an essentially full job as *hazan* due to Jueda Haim's failing health.⁶¹ On 15 Elul 5419 (1659), Jueda Haim is called *hakham* in the protocol and is consulted, together with one of the senior rabbis, H.H. Moseh Israel, on a halakhic matter.⁶² Finally, on 2 Nisan 5420, Ishac Namias was confirmed as the *hazan* in succession to Jueda Haim, who had died a few days earlier.⁶³ A pension was granted to Jueda Haim's widow.

In Amsterdam's archives, the first clear reference to Jueda Haim is in a Dotar record, dated 5380 (1620), of a dowry payment to him following his marriage to Ester, daughter of Daniel Lopes, alias Bernardo (or Bernardo) Lopes. Ester had won her dowry in the Purim draw of 5379 (1619).⁶⁴ Jueda Haim recorded his acceptance of the terms in a notarial record dated 19 June 1620.⁶⁵ At this time, Jueda Haim was still living in Amsterdam.⁶⁶ In 5386 (1626), however, the records show that a payment was sent to Jueda Haim in Hamburg.⁶⁷ The

⁵⁷ See *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, (New York and London 1905).
⁵⁸ A. Cassuto, *Cedenkschrift Anlässlich des 275-jährigen Bestehens der Portugiesisch-jüdischen Gemeinde in Hamburg*, (Amsterdam 1927), p. 18.
⁵⁹ *Protokoll*, vol. VI, p. 38-39; for the Venetian origins of Hazan Namias, see *Protokoll*, vol. VI, p. 19 (21 Elul 5412).
⁶⁰ See *Protokoll*, vol. VII, p. 166-167, which gives the abbreviation 'H.H.' for the Portuguese original 'os' H.' (Mr *hakham*).
⁶¹ *Protokoll*, vol. IX, p. 332.
⁶² A 1616 Dotar document (GAA, PA 334, 1141, p. 47) places three daughters of Bernardo Lopes, presumably including Ester, in [Saint] Jean de Luz with their mother. The history of the three sisters can be traced in Dotar documents.
⁶³ See *Shtetl*, 17, (1983) p. 66, no. 2127.
⁶⁴ See GAA, PA 334, 1141, p. 138.
⁶⁵ See GAA, PA 334, 1142, p. 66.

of the week], year 5403. *Portugiese* passed / Mr David Aboab whom Himmell on the sixth day [of the Kippur, 9th of Tisri] of the creation of the world, [3rd] of years. / May his soul enjoy the

Jueda Haim, also known as well-known Rabbi Saul Ashkenazi origin, but in Rabbi Leone Modena a Dotar beneficiary and

is read across each line, the classical Andalusian as two hemistichal divi-hyme, which here is -w- each letter representing line four above) requires reads the fragmentary text

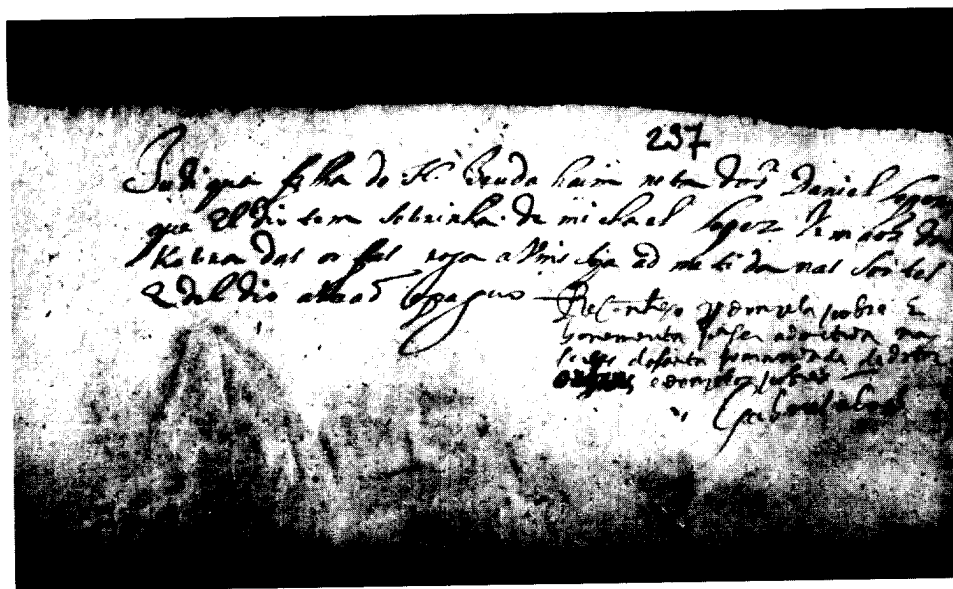


Figure 5. Application of Jeudit, daughter of Hakham Jeuda Haim, granddaughter of Daniel Lopes, for the Dotar draw. GAA, PA 334, no 1151 (see p. 41).

Dotar records for 1621 to 1625 do not state where the intervening payments were sent.⁶⁸

Jeuda Haim reappears in the Dotar records on 13 Adar 5397 (1637), when his daughter Flor is entered for the Purim draw: *Flor de Leão, filha do Hahaõ Ribij Leão [ex] Amb^o, parent^o do compan. ML israel lopes*.⁶⁹ Although nothing else is known about Flor, her existence sheds light on another Hamburg tombstone discussed below.

More than a decade later, Jeuda Haim's daughter Jeudit won a dowry in the Purim draw of 5409 (1649): [...] *Judica Haim filla do H: juda haim en hanburg en seg^o grau con o comp^o mical lopes [...]*.⁷⁰ Note that Jeudit's family name is given as 'Haim', not 'Leão'. Preserved among the loose sheets of Dotar records is the petition by Jeudit to be admitted for the Purim draw of 5409, a petition that explains the family relation-

⁶⁸ It is unclear whether Jeuda Haim could be the Jehudah Italiano mentioned three times in *Livro de Bet Haim*: on p. 71, as Jehudah Italiano, on p. 112, as Jehuda Leão italiano and on p. 126, as Jehudah o italiano. The entries on p. 112 and 126 concern the burial of a daughter of Jehuda Leão italiano in Amsterdam on 26 January 1625 (5385), prior to the 1626 dowry payment sent to Jeuda Haim in Hamburg. The entry on p. 71 pertains to payment of promised money. In a letter from a

Gabriel Aboab in Hamburg to Dotar, dated '2/12 May 1647', Jeuda Haim's name appears as *H. Jeuda haim Italiano*; see GAA, PA 334, 1151, no. 242.

⁶⁹ GAA, PA 334, 1142, p. 233: 'Flor de Leão, daughter of the Hakham Ribij Leão, of Hamburg, relative of the member M[ichael] Israel Lopes'.

⁷⁰ GAA, PA 334, 1143, p. 167: '[...] Jeudit Haim, daughter of the Hakham Jeuda Haim in Hamburg, [related] in the second degree to the member Michael Lopes [...]'.

ships: *Judiqua filha do michael Lopez Irmaos da*

These loose sheets a Hamburg certifying th Another item is a note the dowry be paid to there is a contract in F to collect the dowry. countersigned by the L Abraham da Fonseca, must be the *hazan* nam

Apparently, Jeuda H For example, the foll named Jeuda, called L

רשאו הגאון דלעיל
דעתו כי יגדל

To the Hakham Ribij Y him, in Hamburg, my

He drank water from r blessings, and [as] a 'sm he will grow and produ hands, I uphold the gar

⁷¹ GAA, PA 334, 1151 no. 23 the Hakham Jeuda Haim, Daniel Lopes, whom God Lopes, [both] members of phans, implores your graces draw [...]'.

⁷² GAA, PA 334, 1151 no. 258

⁷³ GAA, PA 334, 1151 no. 257

⁷⁴ GAA, PA 334, 1151 no. 256

⁷⁵ See S. Simonsohn, *Ziqne Y Judah: Letters and Responsa of Modena*, (Jerusalem 5716 [1955])

⁷⁶ This saying, which is taken (Ber. 48a), literally means th the quality of a young pur that oozes from the stem; s of a student can be told fi

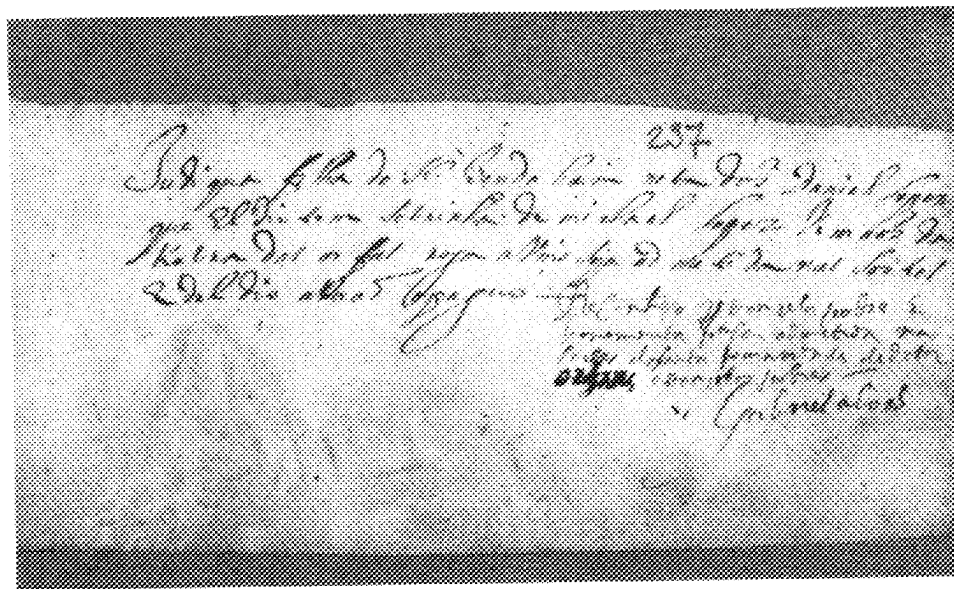


Figure 5. Application of Judith, daughter of Hakham Jouda Haim, granddaughter of Daniel Lopes, for the Dowry draw. GAA, PA 334, no. 1151 (no. p. 41).

Dotar records for 1621 to 1625 do not state where the intervening payments were sent.⁸⁸

Jouda Haim reappears in the Dotar records on 13 Adar 5397 (1637), when his daughter Flor is entered for the Purim draw: *Flor de Leão, filha do Haim Bibij Leão [ex] Ambr, parente do compan. ML Israel Lopes*.⁸⁹ Although nothing else is known about Flor, her existence sheds light on another Hamburg tombstone discussed below.

More than a decade later, Jouda Haim's daughter Judith won a dowry in the Purim draw of 5409 (1649): [...] *Judica Haim filha do H. juda haim em hanburg em seg grau com o comff miquel Lopes* [...].⁹⁰ Note that Judith's family name is given as 'Haim', not 'Leão'. Preserved among the loose sheets of Dotar records is the petition by Judith to be admitted for the Purim draw of 5409, a petition that explains the family relation-

⁸⁸ It is unclear whether Jouda Haim could be the *Jehudah Italiano* mentioned three times in *Diary de Bet Ham*: on p. 71, as *Jehudah Italiano*, on p. 112, as *Jehuda Leão Italiano*, and on p. 126, as *Jehudah Italiano*. The entries on p. 112 and 126 concern the burial of a daughter of *Jehuda Leão Italiano* in Amsterdam on 26 January 1625 (5385), prior to the 1626 dowry payment sent to Jouda Haim in Hamburg. The entry on p. 71 pertains to payment of promised money. In a letter from a

Gabriel Atzob in Hamburg to Dotar, dated 7/12 May 1617, Jouda Haim's name appears as *H. Jouda haim Italiano*; see GAA, PA 334, 1151, no. 747.

⁸⁹ GAA, PA 334, 1147, p. 241: 'Flor de Leão, daughter of the Hakham Ribij Leão, of Hamburg, relative of the member M[ichael] Israel Lopes'

⁹⁰ GAA, PA 334, 1145, p. 197: '[...] Judith Haim, daughter of the Hakham Jouda Haim in Hamburg, [related] in the second degree to the member Michael Lopes [...].'

ship: *Judica filha do H. Jouda haim em hanburg em seg grau com o comff miquel Lopes*

These loose sheets of Hamburg certifying that the dowry be paid to her. Another item is a note that there is a contract in Hamburg to collect the dowry, countersigned by the Hakham Abraham da Fonseca. It must be the *hazan nam*.

Apparently, Jouda Haim For example, the following named Jouda, called I

השם הנ"ל
הוא הנכח

To the Hakham Ribij Y
him, in Hamburg, my

He drink water from
blessings, and [in] a so
he will grow and produ
hands, I uphold the ga

⁹¹ GAA, PA 334, 1151 no. 29: the Hakham Jouda Haim, Daniel Lopes, whom God Lopes, [both] members of plans, implies your gra draw [...].

⁹² GAA, PA 334, 1151 no. 256.

⁹³ GAA, PA 334, 1151 no. 272.

⁹⁴ GAA, PA 334, 1151 no. 151.

⁹⁵ See S. Simonsohn, *Ziqur E Yudaic: Letters and Responses of Modena* (Jerusalem 1976) 10.

⁹⁶ This saying, which is taken from Ber. 31a, literally means that the quality of a young plant that comes from the stem, and of a student can be that of

great in the Torah and may he have glory according to the religion of an instructor [in the Law], a mortal, pained and grieved.⁷⁸ [signed:] the youthful, Yehudah Aryeh Modena.⁷⁹

On p. 31 of the introduction to *Ziqne Yehudah*, Simonsohn explains that 'Azola' should be the town Asolo and not the Italian town of Asola, citing Blau,⁸⁰ who states that the Hebrew family name *me-'Azolah* corresponds to the Italian 'di Asolo'.⁸¹ As an example, Blau refers to a Gershon Azola Katz, whom he discusses in a different context, and suggests that this Gershon was apparently the father of the Leon Azola in Modena's letter. Even if the relationship was less close, it seems likely that Leon was a member of the Ashkenazi Azola family.

Although Blau does not quote the letter by Leone Modena reproduced by Simonsohn, he quotes the following on p. 168:

(assuming the abbreviation of the title is understood correctly). The title *hakham* could have been used by Modena as an informal title of respect applicable also to a *haver* (see Bonfil, *op. cit.*, on this usage.) Another possibility is that Jeuda Haim had advanced beyond a *haver* under other rabbis (the 'geonim above') and Modena acknowledges this fact, while limiting his certification to the achievement of *haverut* that he had witnessed; i.e., the 'geonim above' could have granted Jeuda Haim more than just the 'garland of *haverut*' mentioned in the quote. (These 'geonim' could be the well-known early rabbis of Amsterdam and the word 'above' may mean that the text reproduced by Simonsohn came from a larger document containing the names of the *geonim*.) The epitaph of Jeuda Haim's wife Ester explicitly calls Jeuda Haim *he-hakham ha-shalem*, but this is not decisive, as discussed below. It is unclear to what extent the tripartite ordination sequence was followed by rabbis in the early Sephardic communities of Amsterdam and Hamburg. The title *haver* is almost never found in the relevant epitaphs and documents; however, a possible analogue is found relatively often: *maskil ve-naxon* (understanding and prudent, i.e., an accomplished scholar).

⁷⁸ The 'instructor, a mortal, pained and grieved,' seems to be an allusion to Modena himself. We thank Rabbi Samuel Z. Fishman for pointing out this allusion to us. The reason for the apostrophes in the word אֲרִי is unclear. Maybe Modena is calling himself 'ari *nohem ve-dov shoqeq* (a roaring lion and a noisy bear, as in Prov. 28:15). If the marks indicate a *genatria* for the year 357 (1596-7), this seems unlikely as the date of Modena's letter, since the Hamburg Sephardic community was formally established in 1611 and the Ashkenazi

community was formed later. One possibility is that Modena wrote the letter to an undercover Yehudah Leon living in Hamburg in 1597 (and probably different from Jeuda Haim, who died in 1660); however, the most probable scenario appears to be that the letter was sent to Hamburg in the period 1620-6, when Jeuda Haim arrived there and probably wanted to back his credentials with an endorsement from Modena, who by then had acquired an illustrious reputation. In fact, the Hamburg Sephardic community is known to have received letters from Modena in the 1620s regarding the physician David Namias de Crasto. See M. and R. Sarraga, *op. cit.*

⁷⁹ The word *zayir* (youthful) should not be taken literally. It was an expression of modesty among 17th-century rabbis; e.g., Jacob Sasportas called himself *ha-qatan* (the small one) when he signed one of his letters dating from the Sabbatean controversy of 1666. At the time, Sasportas was about 56 years old. See J. Sasportas, *Zizat Novel Zevi* [Blooming of the Wilted - or Wicked Zevi], ed. by Isaiah Tishby, (Jerusalem 1954), p. 15.

⁸⁰ See L. Blau, *Leo Modenas Briefe und Schriftstücke*, (Strassburg 1907), Hebrew Section, p. 168, n. 8 on p. 168 and n. 3 on p. 114.

⁸¹ A Sephardic Jew of that time would not normally have transliterated the place name Asolo into Hebrew as 'Azolah, since the final *o* was generally rendered as a *vav* by Sephardim; moreover, a *samekhi* or *sin* would have been likelier candidates for the Italian *s* than a *zayin*. If Jeuda Haim was Sephardic, the Azola in Modena's letter would probably not be the Italian town Asolo; if Jeuda Haim was Ashkenazi, then Blau's explanation seems quite reasonable.

ליאון אזולה [...

These are the sons I
every lesson except ha

In fact a 'Leon Asola
August 1612 concernin
functioning oven. As
forty years of service;
clearly show that he m
he must have counted

If Leon Asola and
events suggests itself: I
such as Joseph Pardo
perhaps as part-time h
dam. He married in 1
necessary or desirable
one from Leone Mod
main synagogue, a po
reconstruction cannot
community documents

This reconstruction
never appears with the
Asola was only a place
assign different surnam
the family name as 'Le
Haim'. This ambiguity
called 'Riby Leão' in th
is not found in the epi
simply had no surname
first name Jeuda, a nam
is consistent with the p

An early Altona tom
presented below, togeth

⁸² Note Modena's exclusion
quote, consistent with the p
haverut.

⁸³ See *StRos*, 6, (1972), p. 113,

tion of an instructor [in the
dah Aryeh Modena.⁷⁶

claims that 'Azola' should
lau,⁸⁰ who states that the
di Asolo.⁸¹ As an exam-
es in a different context,
of the Leon Azola in
ems likely that Leon was
Modena reproduced by

formed later. One possibility is
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t from Jueda Haim, who died in
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ly wanted to back his credentials
nent from Modena, who by then
illustrious reputation. In fact, the
rdic community is known to
ers from Modena in the 1620s
sician David Namias de Crasto.
arraga, *op. cit.*

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ed the place name Asolo into
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ud have been his/her candidate,
than a *zaym*. If Jueda Haim was
Azola in Modena's letter would
the Italian town Asolo; if Jueda
kenazi, then Blau's explanation
onable.

לְאֵל אֲרֵיחַ מוֹדֵנָה] [...] אֲרֵיחַ מוֹדֵנָה
לְאֵל אֲרֵיחַ מוֹדֵנָה] [...] אֲרֵיחַ מוֹדֵנָה

These are the sons I raised and elevated with my teaching (since they had been with me for every lesson except halakha).⁸² [...] Leon Azola, today in Hamburg, [...]

In fact a 'Leon Asola' is mentioned in an Amsterdam notarial record⁸³ dated 16 August 1612 concerning a dispute about a house rented to this Leon Asola without a functioning oven. As already noted, Jueda Haim stated in 1634 that he had given clearly show that he moved to Hamburg from Amsterdam between 1620 and 1626, he must have counted years of service in Amsterdam.

If Leon Asola and Jueda Haim are one and the same, a possible sequence of events suggests itself: Leon arrived in Amsterdam by 1612 and studied under *geonim* such as Joseph Pardo or Isaac Uziel. Starting around 1614, he took a position, perhaps as part-time *hazan*, in one of the private synagogues at that time in Amsterdam. He married in 1620 and had moved to Hamburg by 1626. Here he found it necessary or desirable to present endorsements from previous teachers and obtained one from Leone Modena. In 1632, he was appointed full-time senior *hazan* of the main synagogue, a position he filled until his death in 1660. Unfortunately, this reconstruction cannot be conclusively verified since virtually all the early Hamburg community documents have been lost.

This reconstruction does fit the available information. The fact that Jueda Haim never appears with the name Asola in community documents is easily explained if Asola was only a place of origin and not a surname. In fact, community documents assign different surnames to Jueda Haim. As already stated, some Dotar records give the family name as 'Leão' and others say 'Haim'; e.g., 'Flor de Leão' and 'Judica Haim'. This ambiguity is also seen in the epitaphs shown below: Jueda Haim is called 'R'iby Leão' in the Portuguese portion of his epitaph, while the surname 'Leão' is not found in the epitaph of his wife.⁸⁴ It seems quite probable that Jueda Haim simply had no surname and 'Leão' (lion, in Portuguese) was adopted because of his first name Jueda, a name traditionally associated with a lion.⁸⁵ The lack of a surname is consistent with the possible Ashkenazi origin of Jueda Haim.

An early Altona tombstone gives 'Haim' as the apparent surname. Its epitaph is presented below, together with those of Jueda Haim and his wife Ester:

⁸² Note Modena's exclusion of halakha in this *liawnt* quote, consistent with the previous explanation of
⁸³ Sec *Sikra*, 6, (1972), p. 113, no. 567.
⁸⁴ However, Jueda Haim's wife is called 'Ester de Leão' in later documents; see, e.g., the 1687 entry for Hazan Ishaq Namias in *Immadate*, p. 53.
⁸⁵ Sec Gen. 49:9.

RS1639

Ester de Leão
(8 Iyar 5427 / 1667)

מַצְבֵּת
 קְבוּרַת אִשֶׁת חֵיל
 מֵרַת אֶסְתֵּר אִשֶׁת
 הַחֲכָם הַשְּׁלֵם זְקֵן
 וְנִשְׂוֵא פָּנִים כַּמְהַר־ר
 יְהוּדָה חַיִּים נִפְטָרָה
 בְּיוֹם ב' ח' לַחֹדֶשׁ אֵיָר
 שְׁנַת הַתַּכ"ז תַּנְצַב"ה

RS1308 · Fior Haim
(16 Nisan 5383 / 1623)

5383

מַצְבֵּת קְבוּרַת מֵרַ'
 פִּיּוֹר חַיִּים הֶלְד' לְבִי'
 עוֹלָמָה הַי' יו' א' י"ז
 נִסָּן הַשַּׁפ"ג לַפ"ק :

(40)

RS1640

H.H. Jeuda Haim (*Riby Leão*)
(28 Adar 5420 / 1660)

מְעוֹנָה וּמִשְׁכָּב לְאִישׁ [ח] י
 וַיִּשָּׂן | מְעוֹשָׁר בְּ[חֲכָמָה] וּמְעֻלוֹת
 וּמַיְדָה | וְעֵנָה אֲשֶׁר חֵי [שִׁבְעַ
 וְ[רִשׁוֹן] | וְיִדְאִי וְעֵבֶר] כְּאַרְיֵה
 יְהוּדָה

בְּנוֹעַם וּמִירוֹת זְרָמִים
 לְמַ[וּלִים] | בְּדַת] אִשׁ סְ[גוּלוֹת] מְנַחֵהוּ
 נְתוּנָה | וְ[לְבַשׁ פְּ] עוֹלוֹת [חֲלִיפוֹת]
 שְׁמֻלוֹת | יְהוּדָה וְחַיִּים [בְּיַדִּין]
 אַמּוֹנָה

וְנִקְרָא אֶל הַשָּׁמַיִם מְעֵלָה
 יוֹם חֲמִישִׁי כ"ח לַחֹדֶשׁ
 אֶדְרַר שְׁנַת הַת"ך

[AQVI YA]Z O VIRTUOSO HE
 HONRRADO VELHO R LEO
 QVE O CHAMO HEL DIO EM
 5 F 28 DO MES DE ADAR
 ANNO [54]20

The Hebrew poem is *mitqaret*⁸⁷ similar to the into two *stanzas* (a verses). Each *bayit* has requiring a rhyme, -a consists of four 'amudin line has been inserted in brackets are mostly three and four in the the stone by full stops

The epitaph of Ester (*shalem*) to her husband appear to be a mere ex not allowed to use even the Ma'amad of 26 El *hakham* after death, u Ma'amad had expressed not only to the basic remains unclear whether Ma'amad, or for studi

An interesting aspect 'flower'.⁹¹ As already n

⁸⁶ Epitaph of Jeuda Haim: living [i.e., righteous] man crowned [in wisdom and [and virtue; and he answered] and he satisfied / [and e Judah [also passed (among the pleasantries of poetic religion] / [cherished by religion] of fire, his portion and [he clothed himself with variety of tunics for Judah hands / [were] true faith. to Heaven above / on the / 28th of the month / Ad guese: [Here lies] the virtuous *Riby Leão*, / whom God c [of the week], 28th of the 5420.

⁸⁷ See Pagis, *op. cit.*, p. 123 and

⁸⁸ Epitaph of Ester de Leão: grave of a woman of strength of the complete sage (H.H.) and distinguished, his honor Rabbi / Jeuda Haim. She c

RS1640
a Haim (Rby) Lcao)
ar 5420 / 1660)

הַיָּמִים הַזֵּהָרִים
וְהַיָּמִים הַשְּׁמֵרָה
וְהַיָּמִים הַשְּׁמֵרָה
וְהַיָּמִים הַשְּׁמֵרָה
וְהַיָּמִים הַשְּׁמֵרָה
וְהַיָּמִים הַשְּׁמֵרָה
וְהַיָּמִים הַשְּׁמֵרָה
וְהַיָּמִים הַשְּׁמֵרָה
וְהַיָּמִים הַשְּׁמֵרָה
וְהַיָּמִים הַשְּׁמֵרָה

[N] O VIRTUOSO HE
AVO VELHO R LEAO
CHAMO HEI DIO EM
DO MES DE ADAR
VNNO [54]20

The Hebrew poem in Jueda Haim's epitaph⁹⁶ is a slightly modified Andalusian *miṭṭaqar*⁹⁷ similar to the previous poem of David Aboab. Here the poem is divided into two stanzas (a post-Andalusian innovation) each containing two *batim* (full verses). Each *bayit* has two hemistichal divisions, a *delet* and a *soger*, only the *soger* requiring a rhyme, *-dah* in the first stanza and *-nah* in the second. Each hemistich consists of four 'amudim (metrical units) of the form -- --. In the above text, a vertical line has been inserted after each hemistich that ends within a line of text. The letters in brackets are mostly guesses. The most doubtful reconstructions are those of lines three and four in the Hebrew text. In the Portuguese text, words are separated on the stone by full stops rather than spaces.

The epitaph of Ester de Lcao explicitly applies the title 'H.H.' (*he-hakham ha-shalem*) to her husband Jueda Haim.⁹⁸ While the title 'H.H.' in this 1667 epitaph may appear to be a mere exaggeration by devoted relatives, individuals in Hamburg were not allowed to use even the simple title of *hakham* without justification. A ruling by the Ma'amad of 26 Elul 5419 (1659) decreed that no man could be given the title of *hakham* after death, unless he had possessed the title during his lifetime, or the Ma'amad had expressly given its approval.⁹⁹ Even assuming that this ruling applied, not only to the basic title of *hakham*, but to the full title of *he-hakham ha-shalem*, it remains unclear whether Jueda Haim had received the title *honoris causa* from the Ma'amad, or for studies under rabbis other than Leone Modena.

An interesting aspect of the Fior Haim epitaph⁹⁶ is the name Fior, Italian for 'flower'.¹⁰⁰ As already noted, the first daughter of Jueda Haim, named in the Dotar

⁹⁶ Epitaph of Jueda Haim: Aboad and bier for a living [i.e., righteous] man, / and [venerably] old, crowned [in wisdom and] jolly [knowledge], / [and virtue; and he answered whoever was alive and] he satished / [and enriched; and certainly] Judah [also passed (among us)] like a lion. // In the pleasantry of poetic charms, [flowing like] streams, / [cherished by the circumcised in the religion] of fire, his portion [in life] / was given, and [he clothed himself with] great deeds; / the variety of tunics for Judah and Haim [life] in his hands / [were] true faith. // And he was called to Heaven above / on the fifth day [of the week], / 28th of the month / Adar, year 5420. / *Portuguese*: [Here lies] the virtuous and / honest elder, *Rby* Lcao, / whom God called on / the 5th day [of the week], 28th of the month Adar, / year 5420.

⁹⁷ See Pagis, *op. cit.*, p. 123 and p. 128.

⁹⁸ Epitaph of Ester de Lcao: Monument / of the grave of a woman of strength, / Mrs Ester, wife / of the complete sage [H.H.], the [venerably] old / and distinguished, his honour, our great teacher, Rabbi / Jueda Haim. She departed / on the 2nd day [of the week], 28th of the month Adar, / year 5420.

⁹⁹ More precisely, *fior* is 'flower' in Italian; however, in the Venice region during the seventeenth century, the popular pronunciation tended to drop the final *e*. See M.R. Cohen (trans. and ed.), *The Autobiography of a Seventeenth-Century Venetian Rabbi: Leon Modena's Life of Judah*, (Princeton NJ 1988).

¹⁰⁰ The unusual expression for the number 16 is found in other Altona epitaphs. The inscription for Fior Haim contains two major errors: the use of *הבית*, with *bayt* as an abbreviation for *habayit* and of *פ"ד* for a date that includes the millennium digit. The female gender of Fior Haim is evident from the stone: the abbreviation signs and, in particular, the *heh* in *היה* are clearly engraved.

¹⁰¹ The shortened form [of the date].

¹⁰² Ms / Fior Haim; she went to her / eternal house today, 1st day [of the week], 16 / Nisan 5383; in the unusual expression for the number 16 is found in other Altona epitaphs. The inscription for Fior Haim contains two major errors: the use of *הבית*, with *bayt* as an abbreviation for *habayit* and of *פ"ד* for a date that includes the millennium digit. The female gender of Fior Haim is evident from the stone: the abbreviation signs and, in particular, the *heh* in *היה* are clearly engraved.

¹⁰³ Epitaph of Fior Haim: Monument of the grave of original Portuguese protocol.

¹⁰⁴ See XI and R. Saraga, *op. cit.*, which quotes the lit.

¹⁰⁵ 5427. May her soul be bound in the binding of day [of the week], 8th of the month Iyar, / year 5427.

records, was called Flor, which is 'flower' in Portuguese; however, this record dates from 1637, while the stone is from 1623. Moreover, the epitaph of Fior Haim refers to an adult, since a child would never have been called *marat* (Mrs or Miss). Fior Haim may have been a close relative of Jeuda Haim, a sister or perhaps his mother, since Flor could have been Jeuda Haim's first daughter.⁹² The 1623 date of Fior Haim's stone is consistent with Jeuda Haim's move to Hamburg some time between his marriage in 1620 and the dowry payment of 1626.

Hazan Ishac Namias, who died on 4 Tisri 5448 (1687), is buried in RS1638, beside his mother-in-law, Ester de Leão (RS1639).⁹³ His tombstone is now mostly illegible, although a small cartouche containing the name 'ISACK NAMIAS' is clear. His wife Jeudit, who died on 3 Iyar 5459 (1699), is buried nearby (RS1633) in the same row. Between Ishac and Jeudit Namias lies the grave (RS1635) of an Ester Hana, wife of a Yehiel Meatob, apparently the one in RS1632, next to Jeudit Namias. Judging from the pattern of names of Yehiel Meatob's children, Ester Hana was probably a daughter of Hazan Ishac Namias, named after her grandmother Ester de Leão.

Yehiel Meatob and Ishac de Rephael Milano

Although Yehiel Meatob belongs to a later generation, a short digression on this figure is in order, since he was probably the Yehiel Meatob who appears in the well-known work of Rabbi Jacob Sasportas, *Zizat Novel Zevi*, which contains numerous documents and eyewitness accounts from the first decade of the Sabbatean controversy. A Yehiel Meatob, student of Jacob Sasportas, signed a letter written in 5429 (c. 1669) to Rabbi Jacob ibn Sa'adun of Salé in Morocco,⁹⁴ who supported Shabbetai Zevi even after the latter's apostasy in 1666.⁹⁵ The Yehiel Meatob in RS1632 died in 5467 (1707), apparently before reaching the age of 60, since his epitaph does not call him a *yashish*. In 1669 he would therefore probably have been less than 22 years old, a likely age for a student of Jacob Sasportas. According to his epitaph, Yehiel was the son of a certain Hakham Abraham Meatob, probably the one buried in RS248 (d. 23 Elul 5425 / 1665), who was a teacher.⁹⁶

⁹² Leon Asola may have had relatives in Amsterdam in 1612; note the 'Asar Asola' also mentioned in *StRos*, 6, (1972), p. 113, no. 567.

⁹³ See *Immandade*, p. 53.

⁹⁴ On Sa'adun, see the pages indicated in the index of G. Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah, 1626-1676*, trans. by R.J. Zwi Werblowsky, (Princeton NJ 1973).

⁹⁵ See Sasportas, *op. cit.*, p. 340-358; Yehiel Meatob's name appears on p. 358.

⁹⁶ See *Protokoll*, vol. X, p. 281-2 (27 Tisri 5426), where this Abraham Meatob's successor as teacher is named. RS248 has the titles *הרוכס העולה כמר*. The title *כמר* denotes a teacher, while the title *כמורר*, applied to Abraham Meatob in Yehiel's epitaph, generally corresponds to 'H.H.'. The discrepancy in titles is probably not significant in this case.

The epitaph of Ye
Italian Hebrew poetry
shape of a triangular p
and the other two car

RS1632

רָבֵן לְפָנַי אֵל
שֶׁל מִכְּאֵל
מִבְּיָאִים צְדָקָתוֹ
לְיוֹצֵר נִשְׁמָתוֹ

שִׁי תִשְׁעָה
כֶּן וְנִקְבֵּר
ת קוֹדֶשׁ
מִנְצֵב"ה

A

The second en

Side one⁹⁷ contains an
the columns rather th
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tion along the top of t
quoted fairly often on

⁹⁷ Epitaph of Yehiel Meatob:
the end, [and you will rise
of days (Dan. 12:13)]. /
Stored, hidden in its light [
a pure soul, for he departed
and he resembles an angel
[his soul], / he intones hy
Me-ha-tov [from the good
Lord]. / Side one, left column
soul as a sacrifice before t
and called with the name of
Seraphim introduce his rec

Another student of Jacob Sasportas signed an earlier letter, dated 5427 (c. 1667), which is also preserved in *Zizit Novel Zevi*, in this case against Rabbi Hosea Nantawa of Alexandria.¹⁰⁸ The student was Ishac, son of Rephael Milano,¹⁰⁹ perhaps the same Ishac Haim Milano buried in Amsterdam in 5459 (1699). Ishac de Rephael Milano apparently lived in Hamburg for several years.¹¹⁰ The Altona cemetery contains the stone of the boy Rephael, son of Ishac de Rephael Milano, RS60 (EX 13) WE (d. 1674). In addition, there is the stone of Jeudit, wife of Ishac Haim de Rephael Milano, RS757 (d. 1680).¹¹¹

The Amsterdam epitaph of Ishac Haim Milano, shown below, was copied from Henriques de Castro.¹¹²

OS C6 N35 - Ishac Haim Milano
(18 Iyar 5459 / 1699)

S^a
do Siene H.H.R. Jshak
Haim Milano f^o em
18 de Ijar DE 5459
תנצב"ה

(-) --- ◡ --- ◡ ---

עַל מִזְבֵּחַ אֲדָמָה נֶעֱקֵד יִצְחָק
מִי לָנוּ בְּמוֹתָךְ בְּמִדּוֹת
חֲכָמְתוֹ בְּרַעוֹת (ו') נְחֻמְדוֹת
וְלִהְיָא תְּמִימָה בְּשָׂמִי שְׂחָק

The title of Ishac Haim Milano in his epitaph¹¹³ is 'H.H.R.' (*hakham riby*: sage master), which is apparently a transliteration of the Hebrew abbreviation הַחָרַר (*he-*

¹⁰⁸ On Nantawa, see references indicated in Scholem *op. cit.*, index.

¹⁰⁹ See Sasportas, *op. cit.*, p. 177-185; Ishac de Rephael Milano is mentioned on p. 185.

¹¹⁰ See, for example, *Protokoll*, vol. XI, p. 49, (25 Kislev 5428 / 1667).

¹¹¹ Her epitaph, including a poem, appears in M. and R. Sarraga, *op. cit.*, p. 690-691.

¹¹² See D. Henriques de Castro, *Grafschriften op de Oude Afdeling der Portugees-Israëlietische begraafplaats te Ouderkerk aan de Amstel*, unpublished manuscript notes in GAA, PA 334-1328-1329; the designation 'OS C6 N35' above corresponds to carton 6, number 35, in the 'old section' of the Ouderkerk cemetery.

¹¹³ Epitaph of Ishac Haim Milano: Grave / of the learned Hakham Riby Ishac / Haim Milano; he died on / 18 Iyar 5459. / May his soul be bound in the binding of life. *Hebrew poem*: On an earthen altar Ishac was bound; / whom do we have like you in [his] virtues? / His wisdom [was present] in [his] desirable opinions, / and that perfected [wisdom] had the fragrance of Heaven. Henriques de Castro points out that *Siene* should be *Sciente* in the second line of the Portuguese text. In the last line, *DE* is engraved as one letter. Note the pun on 'Milano' in line two of the Hebrew text.

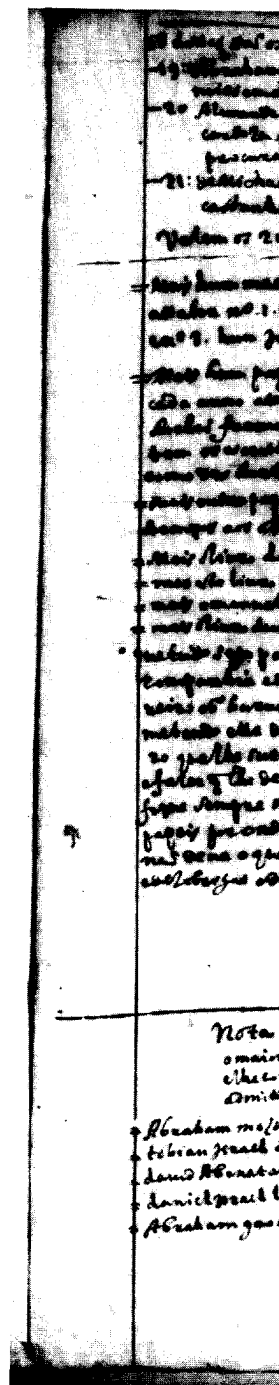
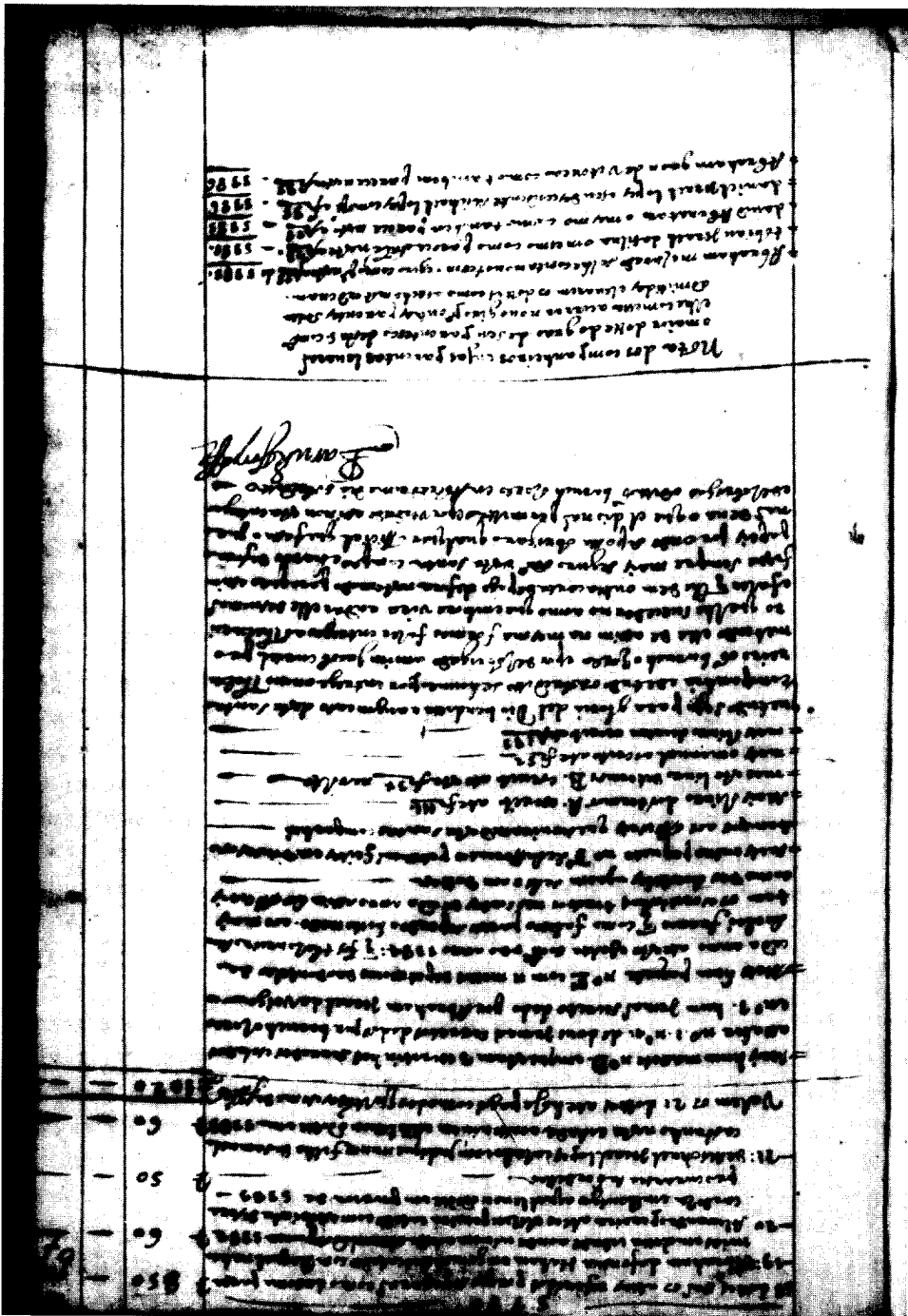


Figure 6. Dolar entry 19 (5386), married to Rachel Namias. GAA.

Figure 6. Dolar entry 19 (5386/1626) records a dowry payment to Abraham da Fonseca in Glückstadt, married to Rachel Nantawa. GMA, PA 334, no 1142.



... Haim Milano: Grave / of the
 ... Raby Isaac / Haim Milano; he
 ... 5459: / May his soul be bound
 ... Hebraic poem: On an earthen
 ... bound: / whom do we have like
 ... His wisdom [was present]
 ... opinions; / and that perfected
 ... fragrance of Heaven.
 ... should
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 ... Note
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H.R.: (Abraham rby: sage
 w abbreviation TTT) (he-

... ter, dated 5427 (c. 1667),
 ... perhaps the same
 ... Haim de Rephael Milano
 ... cemetery contains the
 ... (EX 13) WE (d.
 ... Haim de Rephael
 ... below, was copied from

hakham ribi) used by Modena when addressing Jeuda Haim, as explained above.¹⁰⁴ In essence, the epitaph seems to give Ishac Haim Milano the title *hakham* but not 'H.H.' (*he-hakham ha-shalem*).

The Hebrew rhyme scheme is *a-b-b-a*. The *a* lines have eleven syllables, counting the voiced *sheva* and the *hataf* as syllables, while the *b* lines have ten syllables and a *milra'* rhyme, as in the *endecasilabo tronco*. The *a* lines should have a *mil'el* rhyme because of their eleven syllables; hence, the name *yizhaq* at the end of line one should be pronounced as *mil'el*. In line three, the word *de'otav* of Henriques de Castro's transcription has been shortened in order to satisfy the metre.

H.H. Abraham Haim da Fonseca

Another early rabbi buried in Altona is H.H. Abraham Haim da Fonseca, believed to be the author of '*Ene Avraham*'¹⁰⁵ and apparently the same man who endorsed Hazan Ishac Namias's request for a Dotar dowry payment, as explained above.

A Dotar entry, dated 25 October 5384 (1623),¹⁰⁶ shows that an Abraham da Fonseca married a girl, orphan of Jeosua Namias, who had won a dowry in the Purim draw of 1622.¹⁰⁷ A 1626 Dotar entry calls the bridegroom Hakham Abraham da Fonseca, gives the bride's name as Rachel, and notes that a dowry payment was sent to Glückstadt.¹⁰⁸ Rachel's father Jeosua was a brother of Dotar member David Namias Pascual,¹⁰⁹ alias Pascual Lopes.¹¹⁰ The H.H. da Fonseca buried in Altona had a wife named Rachel who died on 14 Adar I 5418 (1658) and was buried beside him in RS687. As widow of a *hakham*, Rachel had received financial support from the unified Hamburg Sephardic community in 1652.¹¹¹ Another relative was H.H. Abraham's daughter Ribca, who died as a child on 7 Tisri 5408 (1647) and was buried in RS284.¹¹² The epitaph of H.H. da Fonseca,¹¹³ below, seems to allude to the vicissitudes of life in Glückstadt:

ת איש אשר הניע
 גלה בשכני ארץ
 ירתו ופה ירניע
 לתולדות פרוץ
 נחתו ומי יפניע
 ליום בוא קרץ
 הוא בתום וצדק
 הודו לחזק ברק
 ה"ה

The poem¹¹⁴ is an octava words and expressions of verse, '*Avne Shoh* participated as an actor in Rohiel Jesurun's play *L* to compose this epitaph territory was being invaded calamity' alluded to in

Yet the H.H. Abraham who lived in Glückstadt efforts, in 1658, of a man from Glückstadt to Ha

¹⁰⁴ These explanations of the Portuguese 'H.H.R.' and the Hebrew *החכם* are based purely on our reading of various community records and noting the titles used for religious figures.

¹⁰⁵ See the entry on Abraham da Fonseca in *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York and London 1905); also M. Kayslerling, *Sephardim: Romanische Poesien der Juden in Spanien*. (Leipzig 1859), p. 176, 312 and 362. Kayslerling's source was J.C. Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*. (Hamburg 1715-1733), vol. I, p. 96, which gives inconsistent years of death, viz., 5435 and 1671. In any case, the author of '*Ene Avraham*' seems to have been the Abraham, son of Daniel da Fonseca, mentioned below.

¹⁰⁶ See GAA, PA 334, 1142, p. 26.

¹⁰⁷ See GAA, PA 334, 1142, p. 1.

¹⁰⁸ See GAA, PA 334, 1142, p. 67.

¹⁰⁹ See GAA, PA 334, 1141, p. 167.

¹¹⁰ See GAA, PA 334, 1141, p. 52.

¹¹¹ See *Protokoll*, vol. VI, p. 17.

¹¹² The Hebrew epitaphs of both Rachel and Ribca refer to Abraham da Fonseca explicitly as *he-hakham ha-shalem*, as in the epitaph of Ester de Leão for Jeuda Haim.

¹¹³ Rocamora and Sealtiel, *op. cit.*, give the date as third day of the week, Tisri 5411 (without date), while Cassuto has 29 Iyar 5411, but Tisri and 29 seem to be errors. The *gimel* of the third weekday resembles a *bet*; in fact, 4 Iyar 5411 fell on a third day of the week.

¹¹⁴ Epitaph of H.H. Abraham the grave of a man who arr heights among the inhabit This is his repose and here storms of the world and Who will rise in his place [the Lord]? / Who will imp destruction comes? / Who of man] is he? In [his] perfe / his glorious image was fo cation of the] breach. [See, hold, he is / the man, the complete / sage, his honour / Rabbi Abraham Haim

The *parnassim* refused to allow the move, but Abraham moved to Hamburg nonetheless, promising to leave the city as soon as he could, apparently to go to Amsterdam. This Abraham could not be the H.H. Abraham of RS688, since H.H. Abraham had died in 1651.

Moreover, Cassuto lists an Abraham da Fonseca who became a new citizen of Glückstadt on 18 December 1651, some 7 or 8 months after the death of an H.H. Abraham.¹¹⁸ Cassuto also states, without offering a reference, that this Abraham was a son of an H.H. Abraham of Glückstadt.¹¹⁹ Cassuto's statement is plausible, since the Hamburg protocol of 1669 mentions an Ishac, son of an H.H. Abraham da Fonseca¹²⁰ and this may have been the Ishac who had tried to have his brother Abraham from Glückstadt admitted in Hamburg.¹²¹

The existence of an Ishac, son of H.H. Abraham da Fonseca, is also confirmed by epitaphic evidence. Both Cassuto and Rocamora-Sealtiel list the grave (RS1651) of a Rachel (d. 23 Tebet 5454 / 1694), wife of Ishac de H.H. Abraham da Fonseca. Her epitaph, now partially illegible, apparently stated that her husband was a son of H.H. Abraham. Beside Rachel's tombstone, in RS1652, is the prism-shaped stone of a Dr Jeosua da Fonseca (d. 6 Kislev 5462 / 1701), who was apparently also a son of H.H. Abraham.¹²² The stones of Rachel and Dr Jeosua have suffered heavy damage, apparently during the Second World War.

H.H. Abraham da Fonseca's family should not be confused with another Da Fonseca family, possibly related, which lived in seventeenth-century Hamburg and Amsterdam. Fortunately, the genealogy of this second family was recorded in eighteenth-century Amsterdam.¹²³ An Ishac Haim da Fonseca buried in Altona (RS487) on 4 Tamuz 5421 (1661) fits neatly into this Da Fonseca genealogy. Ishac Haim's epitaph records the names of three sons, Daniel, Jacob and Abraham, who are also mentioned in the genealogy.¹²⁴ The match is also clear from Ishac Haim's wife Angela and their daughters Rachel, Sara and Hana. According to the genealogy, Angela was a daughter of Jacob Machorro, alias Pedro Rodrigues de Moraes, who

¹¹⁸ See Cassuto, *op. cit.*, (1930), p. 312.

¹¹⁹ See Cassuto, *op. cit.*, (1930), p. 315, note 11.

¹²⁰ See *Protokoll*, vol. XIII, p. 87 (16 Hesvan 5430).

¹²¹ If H.H. Abraham da Fonseca was a son of a man who had no Jewish name (see below), he might have used the name Abraham for his oldest son, i.e., the son whom Sephardim normally named after the son's paternal grandfather. This discretionary practice probably arose from the tradition of using the phrase 'our father Abraham' in documents, such as *ketubot*, when a father's name is unavailable. However, the evidence here suggests that H.H. Abraham did not have a son called Abraham.

¹²² See *Protokoll*, vol. VI, p. 49 (Adar 5415), in which a physician, Jeosua da Fonseca, is mentioned; in

vol. VII, p. 161-2 (9 Adar 5416), Dr Jeosua asks if the community will pay for medicine bills left by his late father, not mentioned by name. The question is not a request for charity; it therefore implies that the community is somehow indebted to Dr Jeosua's father. Jeosua was the name of H.H. Abraham's father-in-law, as mentioned above.

¹²³ See item 327 in: L. Fuks and R.G. Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew and Judaic Manuscripts in Amsterdam Public Collections*, vol. II, (*Catalogue of the Sephardic Manuscripts of Ets Haim/Livraria Montezinos, Sephardic Community of Amsterdam*), (Leiden 1975), p. 197.

¹²⁴ In fact, the Da Fonseca genealogy shows that Ishac Haim da Fonseca was an ancestor of David Franco Mendes.

was probably the Jacob who died on 2 Elul 5427 (1666) in Haim. Their daughter was Jacob Israel Belmonte.¹²⁵ II 5434 (1674) and was Rachel who died on 10 Tebet 5434 (1673). Fonseca married a Jacinta de Moraes. However, Sara was buried a few graves away from Sara's sister Hana. He had a prism-shaped stone. N 5475 (1715).¹²⁷

According to the Da Fonseca genealogy, Abraham who married Sara was apparently the same Abraham who had a wife named Rachel. He was known as Dr Jeosua da Fonseca. His wife was Ester Melo but apparently not the same as the one in RS775 (EX 96) WE. The Da Fonseca family in Amsterdam's Ouderkerk cemetery was buried on 10 Kislev 5424 (late 1660s). Jeosua da Fonseca (d. 1661).

The Da Fonseca genealogy shows that Jeosua da Fonseca was Daniel, alias

¹²⁵ This Pedro Rodrigues de Moraes was the same name as the *assistant* of the same name mentioned in Boyajian, *Portuguese Bankers in Amsterdam, 1626-1650*, (Rutgers NJ 1983), p. 16, note 1. See also *Index A-16*, for more recent information. See also Schreiber, *Marranen in Madras*, (Leiden 1994); our thanks to Dr Haim Halévy for providing us a copy of the genealogy.

¹²⁶ For a sketch of Jacob Belmonte, see *Bet Haim*, p. 183-4; Jacob Belmonte is also mentioned in *Genealogie der Ouderkerk aan de Amstel met bijbehorende aantekeningen*, (Leiden 1883), p. 183-4, transl. Ouderkerk aan de Amstel.

¹²⁷ Incidentally, the Da Fonseca genealogy shows that a daughter Angela of Jeosua da Fonseca (see above) was married to a daughter of Selomoh Haim (see above). According to the genealogy, she was the wife of

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cently to go to Amsterdam.
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II. *(Catalogue of the Sephardic Manu-*

scriptum), Leiden 1973), p. 197.

Da Fonseca genealogy shows that

Fonseca was an ancestor of David

was probably the Jacob Machorro buried in RS709 on 4 Sivan 5412 (1652).¹²⁵ Angela died on 2 Elul 5427 (1667) and was buried in RS486, beside her husband, Isaac Haim. Their daughter Rachel married Selomoh Belmonte, son of Amsterdam's Jacob Israel Belmonte.¹²⁶ This Selomoh was probably the person who died on 1 Adar II 5434 (1674) and was buried in RS160 (EX 38) WE, sharing a stone with his wife Rachel who died on 14 Nisan 5473 (1713). The daughter Sara of Isaac Haim da Fonseca married a Jacob Machorro, probably a grandson of Pedro Rodrigues de Moraes. However, Sara died on 20 Sivan 5429 (1669) and was buried in RS482, a few graves away from her mother Angela in RS486. Jacob Machorro then married Sara's sister Hana. He died on 29 Adar 5473 (1713) and was buried in RS947 under a prism-shaped stone. Next to him in RS948 lies his wife Hana, who died on 5 Adar 5475 (1715).¹²⁷

According to the Da Fonseca genealogy, Isaac Haim da Fonseca had a brother Abraham who married an Ester Melo and had only one surviving daughter. This Abraham was apparently not the H.H. Abraham buried in Altona, because the latter had a wife named Rachel, at least one son named Isaac and probably another known as Dr Jesusa da Fonseca. The Altona cemetery seems to have the grave of Ester Melo but apparently not that of her husband Abraham. Ester's stone seems to be RS775 (EX 96) WE, which carries the name 'Ester da Fonseca Melo, wife of Abraham da Fonseca', and is dated 3 Iyar 5450 (1690). On the other hand, Amsterdam's Ouderkerk cemetery has the grave of an 'H.H. Abraham da Fonseca', dated to Kislav 5424 (late 1663),¹²⁸ who may have been the brother of Isaac Haim da Fonseca (d. 1661).

The Da Fonseca genealogy also indicates that the father of Isaac Haim da Fonseca was Daniel, alias Moseh, da Fonseca, apparently one of the first Sephardic

¹²⁵ This Pedro Rodrigues de Moraes is probably the *aventi* of the same name mentioned in: J.C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Bankers at the Court of Spain, 1626-1650*, (Rauigens NJ 1983), p. 174-5 and Appendix A-16. For more recent information on Portuguese living in seventeenth-century Spain, see M. Schreiber, *Marranos in Madrid, 1600-1670*, (Stur-Gatey for providing us a copy of this book. Hart 1994); our thanks to Michael Studmund-For a sketch of Jacob Belmonte's life, see *Leyro de Bet Ham*, p. 183-4; Jacob Belmonte's epiaph appears in: D. Henriques de Castro, *Kew van graf-tonen op de Portuges-Israelietische begrafplaats te Ouderkerk aan de Amstel met beschrijving en biografische aantekeningen*, (Leiden 1883; repr. with English trans. Ouderkerk aan de Amstel 1999).

¹²⁷ Incidentally, the Da Fonseca genealogy reports that a daughter Angela of Jacob Machorro married Jacob, son of Selomoh Belmonte (mentioned above). According to the genealogy, Angela died

giving birth to a daughter, who was named after her. The Hamburg record of *ketubot* shows that Angela de Jacob Belmonte married Isaac, son of David Abendana Mendes. Their son Jacob Abendana Belmonte started the Abendana Belmonte family of Hamburg and Amsterdam. David Abendana Mendes was probably a brother of the scholar Isaac Abendana and of H.H. Jacob Abendana of London. See J.W. Wesselsius, "I don't know whether he will stay for long", Isaac Abendana's early years in England and his Latin translation of the Mishnah", *Sifras*, 22, (1988), p. 85-96, n. 6.

¹²⁸ GAA, PA 334: 1328-1329, old section, carton 18, number 56. The letters 'H.H.' were included by Henriques de Castro in his transcription of the epiaph; perhaps 'H.H.' here means *hakham* instead of *he-hakham ha-shalem*. The tombstone is currently buried in the soil and there are no photographs from which to check.

printers in Amsterdam.¹²⁹ Abraham, the son of Daniel da Fonseca, seems to have had a religious title, according to a cryptic entry, dated 5384 (1624), in the burial book of Amsterdam's Bet Haim synagogue, cited by Pieterse:¹³⁰ *Cobrey de rebj Abraham da Fonceqa [...] seu paj Danjel da Fonceqa [...]*. The title *rebj* suggests that this Abraham may have been the 'H.H. Abraham' buried in Ouderkerk. Moreover, this Abraham may have been the author of the book *'Ene Avraham*, which was printed by Daniel de Fonseca in 5387 (1626/27). On the title page, the author is given as *'ha-maskil ha-navon km"r' Abraham da Fonseca*' (the accomplished scholar, his honour, our teacher, *Riby* Abraham da Fonseca).¹³¹ The absence of the title *hakham* implies that the author was probably not the Abraham called *hakham* in a Dotar record of 1626, roughly the year when the book was printed; nevertheless, the author may have acquired the title *hakham* after the book was published.

Moreover, the H.H. Abraham da Fonseca of RS688 seems to have had a father other than Daniel da Fonseca. A rabbi named Abraham da Fonseca in Hamburg is mentioned in a denunciation to the Inquisition¹³² as being a son of a Henrique Gomes of Lisbon, while the printer Daniel da Fonseca, according to the Da Fonseca genealogy, was from Viseu and had used the name Lopo da Fonseca in Portugal. The surname Da Fonseca Gomes does appear in Altona, e.g., on the stone (RS306) of a Dr Abraham da Fonseca Gomes (d. 23 Tebet 5487 / 16 January 1727).

It seems plausible, therefore, that two religious figures named Abraham da Fonseca lived in Glückstadt for a while. One was the H.H. Abraham who married Rachel de Jeosua Namias in 1623, acted in *Dialogo dos Montes* with Moses Gideon Abudiente in 1624, moved to Glückstadt by 1626 and finished his career in Hamburg, where he died in 1651 and was buried in RS688. The other Abraham, author of *'Ene Avraham*, was a brother of Ishac Haim da Fonseca and son of Daniel da Fonseca, the printer. He may have moved from Amsterdam to Glückstadt in 1651 or earlier and was probably the Abraham da Fonseca mentioned by Cassuto as resident of Glückstadt in 1651.¹³³ In 1658, this Abraham apparently left Glückstadt, spent some months in Hamburg (as shown by the Hamburg protocol) and returned to

¹²⁹ See Franco Mendes, *op. cit.*, p. 2 and 159; the family tree mentioned by Franco Mendes on p. 2 is apparently item 327 in Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld, *op. cit.* An independent check of the early period of the Da Fonseca family tree, when the family was still living in Portugal as *conversos*, appeared in: E. Samuel, 'The Curiel Family in 16th-century Portugal', in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, 31, (1990), p. 111-136. Out thanks to Michael Honey, an English genealogist, for introducing us to Edgar Samuel and to Edgar Samuel for providing additional information that was not published.

¹³⁰ See *Livro de Bet Haim*, p. 53: 'I received payment

from *Riby* Abraham da Fonseca [...] his father Daniel da Fonseca [...]'.

¹³¹ *'Ene Avraham* is not a halakhic or otherwise specialised treatise that presupposes an author with a top-level rabbinical education.

¹³² See I.S. Révah, 'Une famille de "nouveaux-chrétiens": les Bocarro Francès', in *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. XVI (CXVI), (1957), p. 73-87 esp. p. 80.

¹³³ This scenario implies that Cassuto erred when he wrote that the Abraham da Fonseca residing in Glückstadt in 1651 was a son of an H.H. Abraham; indeed, the H.H. Abraham of RS688 may not necessarily have had a son named Abraham.

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Amsterdam, where he died in late 1663, less than three years after his brother Ishac
Haim. Two circumstances suggest that this second Abraham da Fonseca was at most
a teacher or *hazan*, but not a full rabbi. First, Henriques de Castro did not record any
Hebrew epitaph for him in spite of reporting the title 'H.H.' Second, the 1690 Altona
epitaph of his presumed widow Ester da Fonseca Melelo does not contain any rabbinic
title, not even *riby*, for her husband. Perhaps this omission was accidental, although
it is unlikely if her husband had enjoyed a prestigious position. While plausible, this
scenario is not fully verified and hence needs further investigation.

The families and epitaphs discussed here illustrate clearly the close ties that existed
among the Jews of Amsterdam, Hamburg and Italy during the first fifty years of the
Sephardic communities in Amsterdam and Hamburg.
In particular, the history of Hákham Jueda Haim Leão points to closer early links
between Sephardim and Ashkenazim than later episodes of their history in Amster-
dam and Hamburg would indicate.¹³⁴ In essence, relations between Sephardim and
Ashkenazim in the early period seem to have followed the pattern of reserved col-
laboration established in Italy, e.g., in the ghetto of Venice.

Another interesting feature of this early period is the emphasis on the use of
Hebrew language and literature in epitaphs. It must have been a difficult language to
learn for adult *conversos* from the Iberian Peninsula; yet the language and its literature
were cherished, as illustrated by the widespread use of Hebrew and the number and
quality of literary compositions discussed in this article. Despite pockets of cynicism
and unbelief found among *conversos* from the Iberian Peninsula, there was clearly a
central core committed to Judaism in every aspect, cultural as well as religious.

Marian and Ramón F. Sarraga have been studying the Sephardim of Hamburg and Amster-
dam since 1986. They have visited Hamburg's Altona cemetery every summer since around
1990 and have copied about 1650 epitaphs, i.e., nearly all extant tombstones. The main focus
of their work is the genealogy and textual legacy of these Sephardim. Marian has an MS in
biology and Ramón a PhD in physics.

¹³⁴ See also the instances of early Ashkenazi influ-
ence on Hamburg Sephardim cited in M. and R.
Sarraga, *op. cit.*