



**Nomination for the UNESCO World Heritage List**  
**Nomination dossier**

**The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona**

## **Imprint**

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**NOMINATION FOR INSCRIPTION ON THE  
UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE LIST**

**THE JEWISH CEMETERY  
HAMBURG-ALTONA**

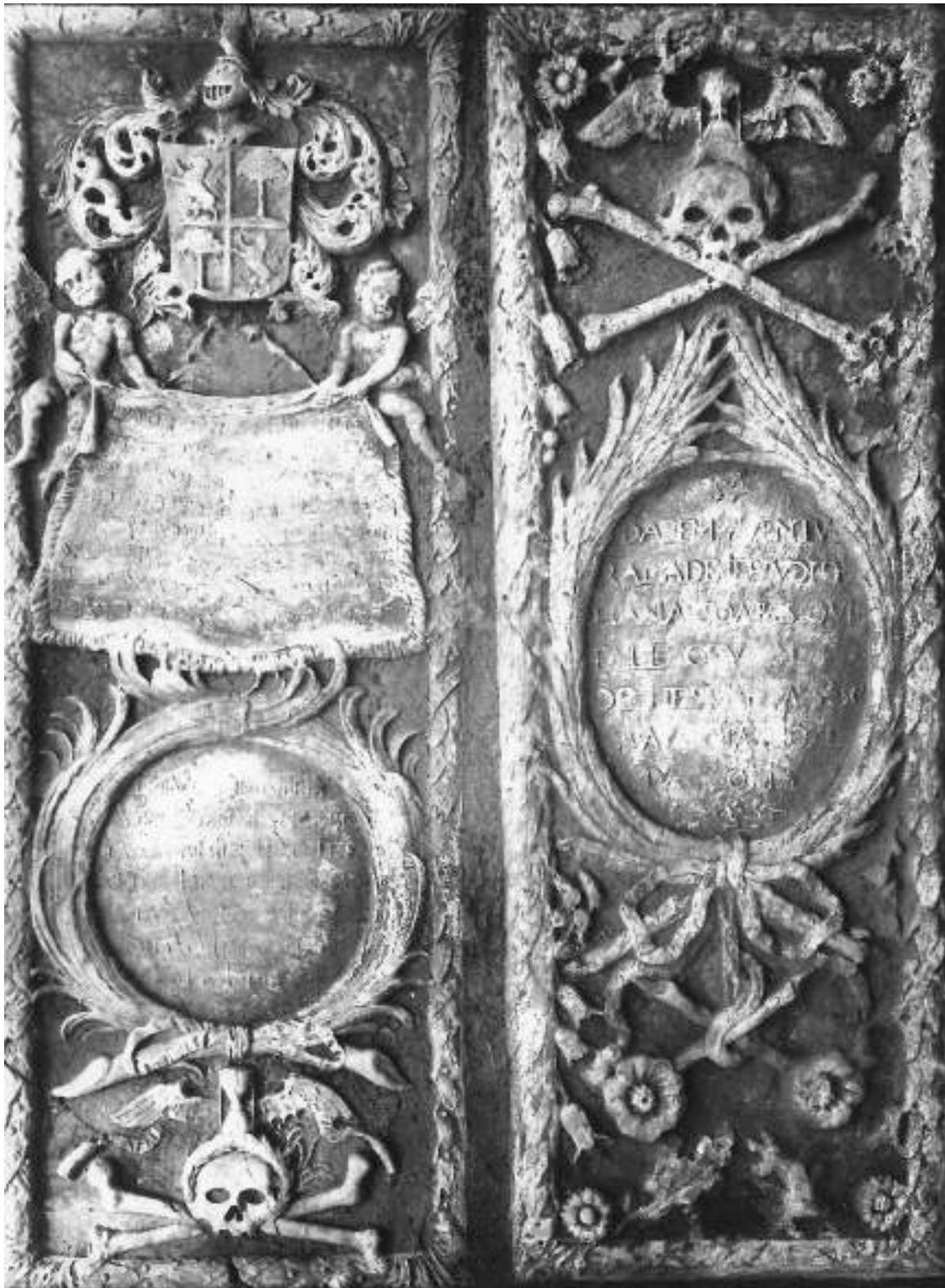


Figure A: The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, Tombstones of Jacob Hizkiau Senior Teixeira and Judit Hana Soares, photographer: Jürgen Faust

# PREFACE

## **by the President of the Senate of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, First Mayor Olaf Scholz, to the nomination for inscription the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona on the UNESCO World Heritage List submitted by the State of Hamburg**

The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona is on the one hand an outstanding historical testament to the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg and its liberal tradition. On the other it is an exceptional symbol of the culture and history of the Portuguese-Sephardic Jews.

During the last third of the 16th century Hamburg established itself as a popular European trading centre and a place of refuge for Jews fleeing religious persecution on the Iberian Peninsula. Among them were merchants, scholars and intellectuals – polyglot, cosmopolitan, cultured and successful. The Hanseatic city was an attractive economic centre, enlivened by the Sephardic community's diverse international trading connections. In a remarkable gesture of gratitude and recognition, they donated the sheet copper for the tower of St Michael's Church to the city in the mid-17th century.

The Sephardic Jews who fled Spain and, 100 years later, Portugal were forced converts to Catholicism. Arriving as Catholics in Protestant Hamburg, they quickly reverted to Judaism. At their cemetery, established in 1611 in neighbouring Altona, they developed an unusual idiosyncratic style of monumental masonry, reflecting the history of their migration.

The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona covers an area of just under 1.9 hectares and comprises the Sephardic cemetery of 1611 and the cemetery set up for the Ashkenazim in 1614. The Sephardic section makes it not only the oldest Jewish cemetery in Hamburg but also the oldest surviving cemetery of any kind in the city and the oldest Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in the whole of northern Europe.

The 1660 surviving Portuguese-Sephardic ledger gravestones are characterised by elaborate stonemasonry and an abundance of opulent decoration. Particularly worthy of note is the depiction of human and animal figures and of biblical scenes. Further features are the multilingual nature of the inscriptions and the cultivated epitaphs.

The Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones in Hamburg-Altona differ in their ornamentation, language and materials not only from those in the neighbouring Ashkenazi cemetery but also from those of the Sephardim who fled Spain for North Africa and the Ottoman Empire. They are evidence of an intense cultural exchange between Jewish forced converts and Catholic Christians on the Iberian Peninsula, as well as in northern Europe between Protestant Christians and the Sephardim who had reverted to Judaism. They tell the story of the Sephardic Jews strikingly, including their flight, expulsion, conversion and assimilation.

The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona represents the prototype of this new Portuguese-Sephardic style of monumental masonry. Emanating from Hamburg and Amsterdam, it spread to North and South America where, too, it can still be found. But in no other cemetery in the world has it survived in an integrity and authenticity comparable to that in Hamburg-Altona.

Hamburg is conscious of its special global responsibility for this specific heritage. Moreover, we are proud of these historical traces of an open, liberal urban society forming the basis of an enriching cultural mix. We are determined to keep these traces – this history – alive. The inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List would emphasise the international importance of Portuguese-Sephardic culture and help to preserve the uniqueness of this special place for generations to come.

In my capacity as President of the Senate of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg and First Mayor of the City, I therefore support wholeheartedly the nomination of the Jewish Cemetery in Hamburg-Altona as a UNESCO World Heritage site.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, consisting of a stylized 'O' followed by a series of loops and a long horizontal stroke.

Olaf Scholz, First Mayor

President of the Senate of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg

**NOMINATION FOR INSCRIPTION ON THE  
UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE LIST**

**THE JEWISH CEMETERY  
HAMBURG-ALTONA**



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**NOMINATION FOR INSCRIPTION ON THE  
UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE LIST**

**THE JEWISH CEMETERY  
HAMBURG-ALTONA**

**Executive Summary**



## Executive Summary

<b>State Party</b>	Federal Republic of Germany								
<b>State, Province or Region</b>	Hamburg/ Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg								
<b>Name of Property</b>	The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona								
<b>Geographical coordinates to the nearest second</b>	53°33'0.200"North 9°57'0.400"East								
<b>Textual description of the boundary(ies) of the nominated property</b>	The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona is located in the district of Altona, which is situated west of Hamburg's city center. The approximately 1.91-hectare site stretches from Königstraße in the south to Louise-Schroeder-Straße in the north. The cemetery's western boundary adjoins the back gardens of housing on Blücherstraße. A sports field and the Walter-Möller-Park lie east of the cemetery. The property is confined by an approximately 2m high brick wall on the east side and a low brick wall that runs along the other sides. This wall has square pillars at regular intervals, with grate fencing elements suspended between them.								
<b>Size map of the nominated property, showing boundaries and buffer zone</b>	<p><i>Map see page 12</i></p> <p><b><u>Area of nominated property and buffer zone</u></b></p> <table> <tr> <td><i>Area of the nominated property:</i></td> <td><i>1.91 hectares</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td><i>Buffer zone:</i></td> <td><i>0.23 hectares</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2"><hr/></td> </tr> <tr> <td><i>Total area:</i></td> <td><i>2.14 hectares</i></td> </tr> </table>	<i>Area of the nominated property:</i>	<i>1.91 hectares</i>	<i>Buffer zone:</i>	<i>0.23 hectares</i>	<hr/>		<i>Total area:</i>	<i>2.14 hectares</i>
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<i>Buffer zone:</i>	<i>0.23 hectares</i>								
<hr/>									
<i>Total area:</i>	<i>2.14 hectares</i>								
<b>Criteria under which property is nominated (itemize criteria)</b>	(ii), (iii), (iv)								
<b>Name and contact information of official local institution/agency</b>	<p>Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Ministry of Culture/ Department for Heritage Preservation Große Bleichen 30, D-20354 Hamburg</p> <p>Tel: +49 (040) 42824-750 Fax: +49 (040) 42824-435</p> <p>E-Mail: <a href="mailto:agnes.seemann@kb.hamburg.de">agnes.seemann@kb.hamburg.de</a> Web address: <a href="http://www.hamburg.de/welterbe">www.hamburg.de/welterbe</a></p>								

## Draft Statement of Outstanding Universal Value

### Brief Synthesis

Jewish cemeteries are created for eternity, aptly called “archives made of stone”, they are often the only preserved tangible testimony of Jewish history. The “Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona”, established in 1611, with its graves and tombstones, is a monument to the history of the Portuguese Sephardim, for the period from the end of the Middle Ages to the end of the Early Modern Period. Due to their history of having first fled Spain for Portugal and then, approximately 100 years later, fleeing Portugal and the Inquisition as forcibly baptised Sephardim, their descendants developed an entirely new Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art which differs in ornamentation, iconography, language, epigraphy and material selection from both the traditional Sephardic tombstone art of the Sephardim who fled Spain for North Africa and the Ottoman Empire from 1492 onwards, and also from the tombstone art of the Ashkenazim.

The flat-lying tombstones of the Portuguese Sephardim at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona are distinguished above all by opulent stone masonry and exuberant decorative richness, particularly by the illustration of human and animal figures as well as by biblical scenes. A further characteristic is the use of more than one language for their epitaphs and sophisticated grave poems. The Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art found on these tombstones is the result of an intensive cultural exchange between assimilated (i.e. forcibly baptised) Jews and Catholic Christians on the Iberian Peninsula, and also between Jews who had recently returned to normative Judaism and Protestant Christians (Calvinists and Lutherans) in northern Europe. The Portuguese-Sephardic burial culture of the 17th and 18th century reflects the diaspora or experience of conversions of the Portuguese Sephardim, and therefore their history.

The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg Altona is the prototype of a new form of Portuguese-Sephardic tombstone art. Originating from Hamburg and Amsterdam, this new Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art spread to North and South America, where it is still present to this day. However, it is not preserved with comparable integrity and authenticity, in any other cemetery in the world, like it is in Hamburg-Altona.

### Justification for Criteria

**Criterion ii:** The Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones from the 17th and 18th century in the Hamburg-Altona cemetery, which was founded in 1611, represent an important interchange of human values in the development of Jewish sepulchral art. The outstanding Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art found here is the result of an intensive cultural exchange between assimilated (i.e. forcibly converted) Jews and Catholic Christians on the Iberian Peninsula, as well as between Jews who had recently returned to normative Judaism and Protestant Christians (Calvinists and Lutherans) in northern Europe. This new Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art was spread from here to the Americas.

**Criterion iii:** The graves and tombstones in the Portuguese-Sephardic part of the Jewish cemetery in Hamburg-Altona are outstanding testimonies to the cultural and religious history of the forcibly baptised Sephardim who had fled Spain and particularly Portugal. They document the history full of conflicts of the Iberian Sephardim in the period from the late Middle Ages to the early Modern Era, and present not only a rarity but also the earliest, most impressive and best-preserved monuments of Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art from the 17th and 18th centuries worldwide. The Jewish cemetery in Altona is thus an extraordinary testimony to the history and the religion of the Portuguese Sephardim, an archive of their perceptions of life, death, transience and eternal life, set in stone.

**Criterion iv:** The Portuguese-Sephardic part of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona bears outstanding witness to the extraordinary Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art, which symbolises the history of the Sephardic Jews from the 16th to the 18th century. Their graves and tombstones, found in Hamburg-Altona, thus document the history of their migration from Spain via Portugal to northern

Europe and on to the Americas, and the Diaspora and conversion experiences connected with it. In the cemetery in Hamburg-Altona, established in 1611, we find the earliest and most impressive evidence and prototypes of Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art. It cannot be found anywhere else in the world in comparable authenticity and integrity.

Through the Sephardic and Ashkenazi burial sites' immediate – and in this form, rare – proximity to one another, the tombstones document the different characteristics of Jewish sepulchral art of the 17th to the 19th century. Furthermore, they are outstanding examples of the art of northern European stone masonry art of the 17th to the 19th century.

### **Statement of Integrity**

The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, with its 1,660 (from originally 1,800) surviving Portuguese-Sephardic graves and tombstones from the 17th and 18th century, features all the elements and structures necessary to document its importance as prototype of the new Portuguese-Sephardic tombstone art, and the history of the Portuguese Sephardim.

With its approximately 8,100 (from originally 8,400) graves and tombstones, the approximately 1.9 (formerly 2.14) hectare Jewish Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona, its two parts having been established in 1611 and 1616, respectively, is preserved in adequate size and is largely intact. Moreover, with the immediate – and in this form rare – proximity of Sephardic and Ashkenazi burial sites to each other, it documents the spectrum of Jewish tombstone art of the 17th to the 19th Century.

### **Statement of Authenticity**

The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona fulfils all requirements for authenticity. Its form and design, determined by the large number of horizontal, opulently designed Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones from the 17th and 18th century and particularly by the depiction of human- and animal shapes, are preserved nearly undisturbed. In relation to materials and substance, both the premises and graves, as well as particularly the tombstones, which are characteristic for the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, are preserved. Its original function has also remained legible and can be experienced and can be experienced unchanged. Therefore the requirements in regard to use and function are also met. This also applies to the requirements of location and setting.

### **Requirements for Protection and Management**

The site submitted for nomination is fully protected by the Heritage Protection Act of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg. The immediate surroundings of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona are also subject to protection, to the extent that they are of formative significance to its appearance or existence, according to Section 8 of the Hamburg Heritage Protection Act. Section 7, paragraph 8 of this law establishes the need to take into account the obligation for the preservation of cultural heritage according to the "Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage", from 16 November 1972, (German Federal Law Gazette -BGBl. 1977 II p. 215).

In order to ensure the long-term preservation of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona and to provide a broad basis for its sustainable development, a Management Plan was developed. The Management Plan contains the following main objectives, which have been approved by the Senate of Hamburg: preservation and conservation of the cemetery grounds, the graves and the original tombstones; continuity in the maintenance and preservation of the cemetery grounds and the gravestones; safeguarding of Jewish traditions; and dissemination of the values connected to the site.

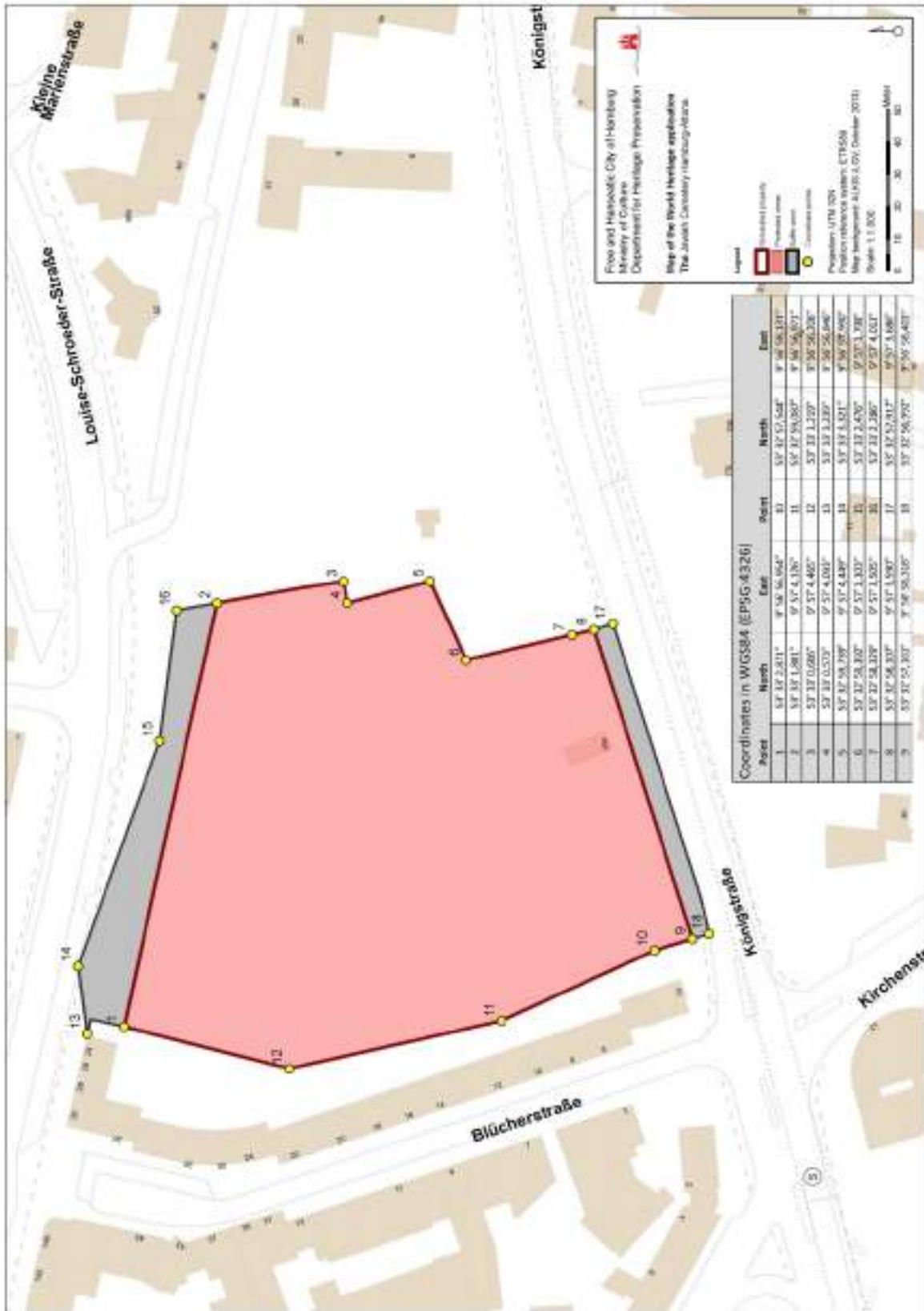




Figure A: Field of Portuguese-Sephardic tomstones at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona



Figure B: Portuguese Sephardic tombstones at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona



Figure C: Ohalim at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona



Figure D: Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones and ohalim at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona



Figure E: Scene of Daniel in the lions' den, on the tombstone of Daniel Jessurum, died 1722



Figure F: Rahel with sheep on a tombstone at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona

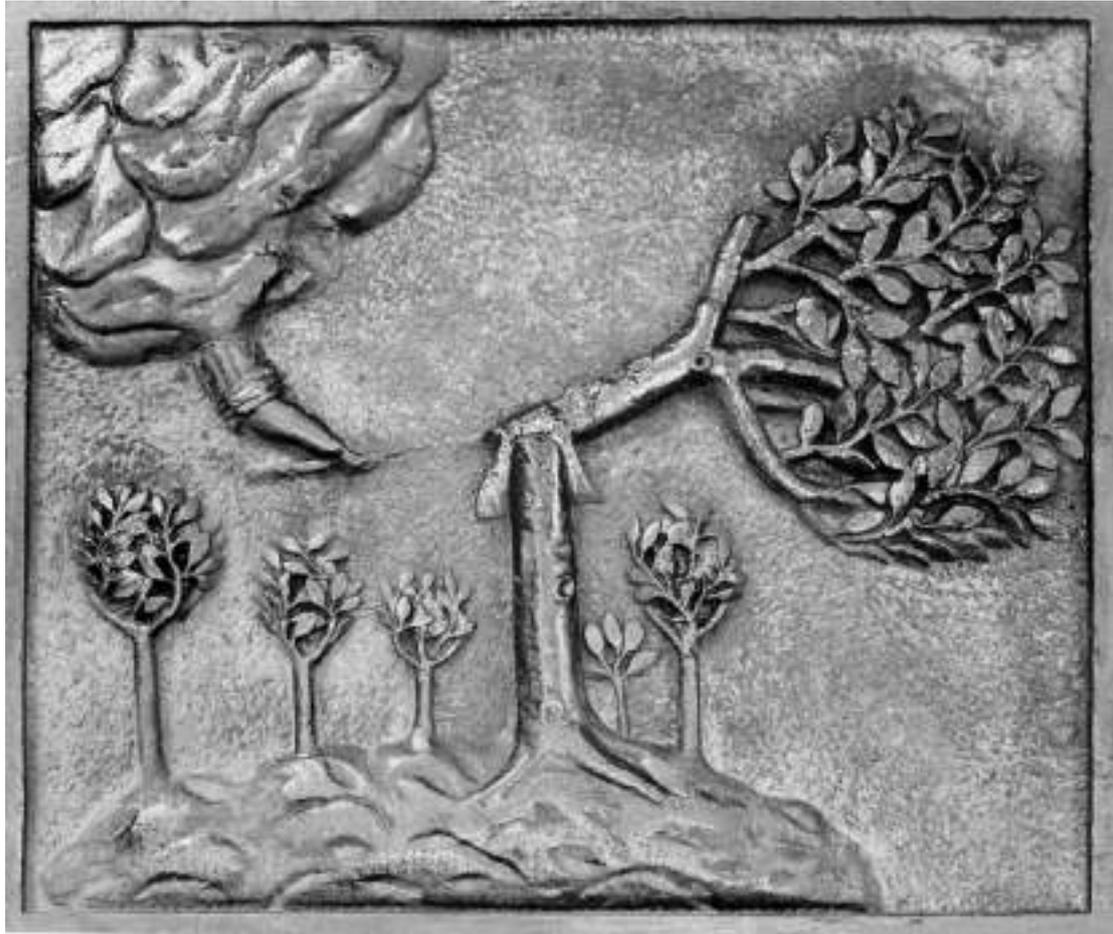


Figure G: A hand coming from the clouds and felling a tree with an axe; found on Portuguese-Sephardic gravestones at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona



Figure H: Field of Ashkenazi Tombstones on the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona

**NOMINATION FOR INSCRIPTION ON THE  
UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE LIST**

**THE JEWISH CEMETERY  
HAMBURG-ALTONA**

**NOMINATION FORMAT**



# 1 Identification of the Property

## 1.a Country

Federal Republic of Germany



Fig. 1: Central Europe with the Federal Republic of Germany

**1.b State, Province or Region**  
Hamburg; Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg



Fig. 2: Federal Republic of Germany with the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg

### 1.c Name of Property

Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona

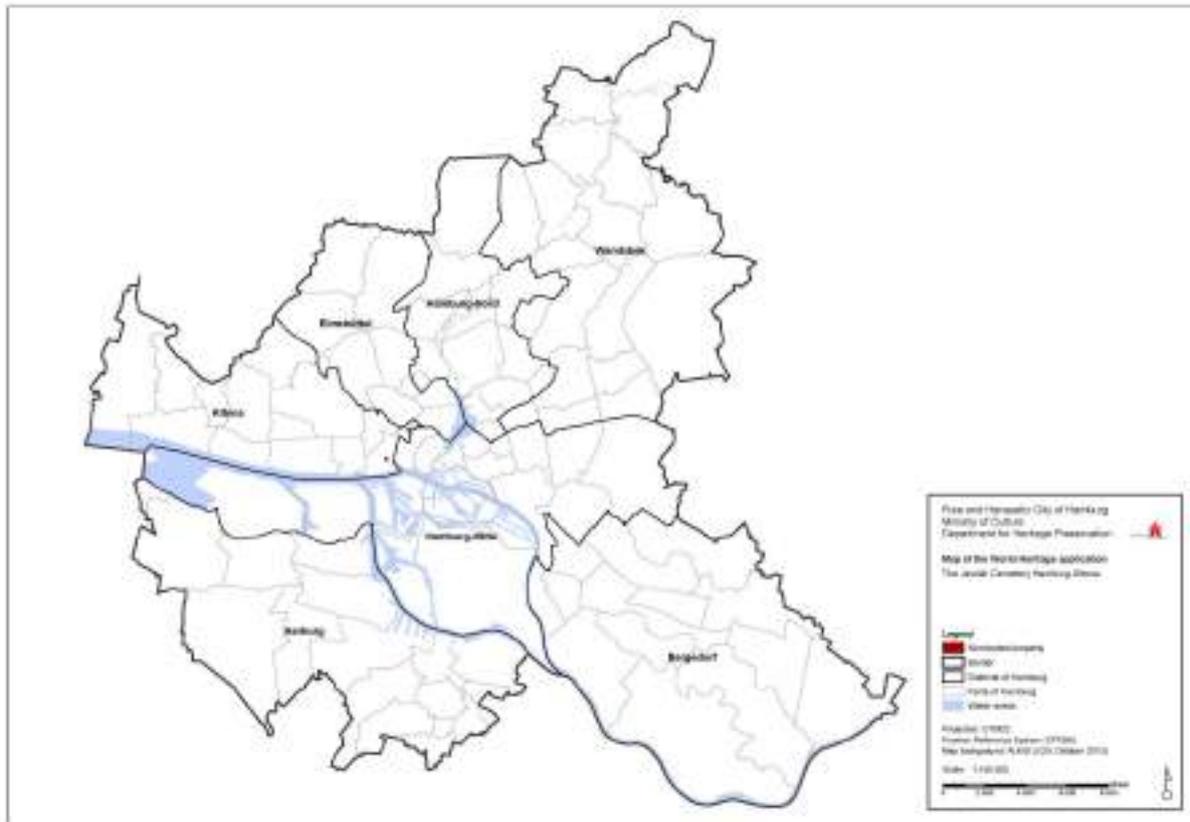


Fig. 3: The nominated property in the Hamburg City Limits

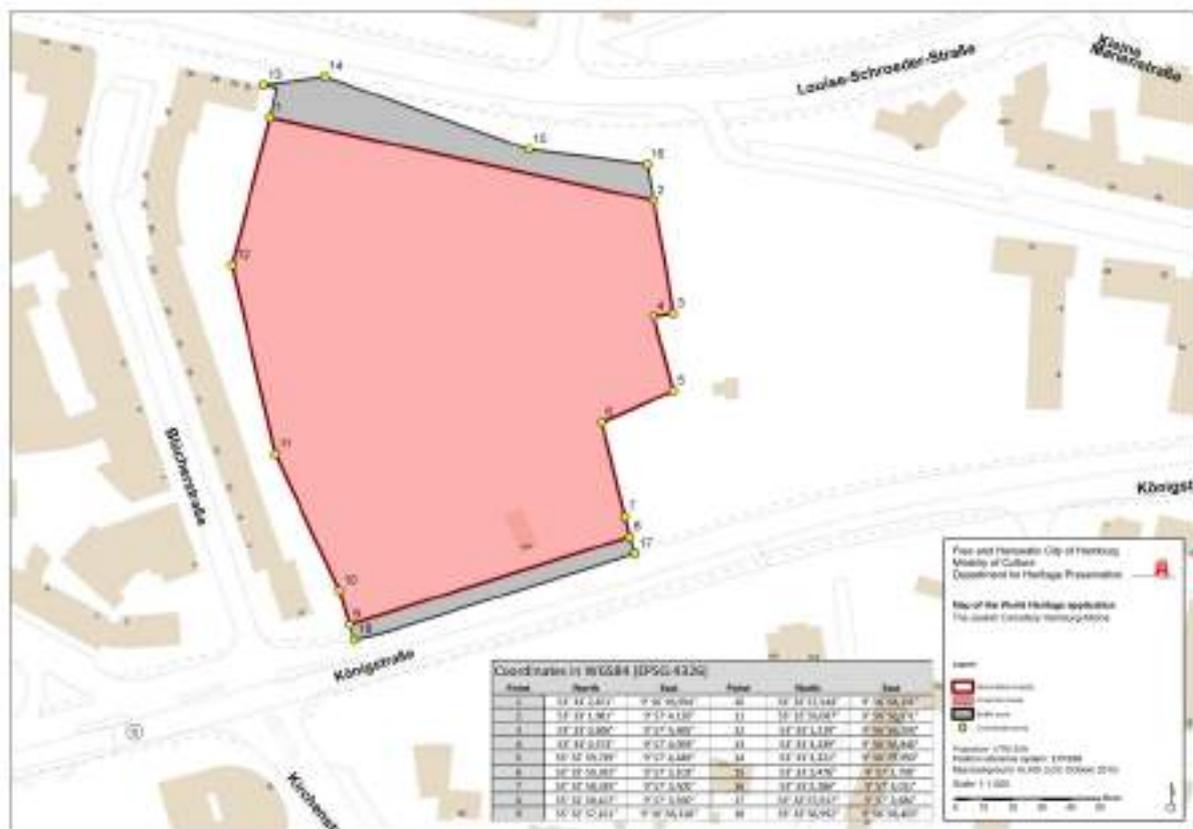
### 1.d Geographical Coordinates to the nearest second

Coordinates of the approximate geographic centre of the Jewish cemetery Hamburg-Altona:  
53°33'0.200"North 9°57'0.400"East

Coordinates of the perimeter of the nominated property and its buffer zone

Coordinates in WGS84 (EPSG:4326)					
Point	North	East	Point	North	East
1	53° 33' 2.871"	9° 56' 56.954"	10	53° 32' 57.544"	9° 56' 58.131"
2	53° 33' 1.881"	9° 57' 4.126"	11	53° 32' 59.087"	9° 56' 56.971"
3	53° 33' 0.606"	9° 57' 4.465"	12	53° 33' 1.219"	9° 56' 56.206"
4	53° 33' 0.573"	9° 57' 4.093"	13	53° 33' 3.239"	9° 56' 56.846"
5	53° 32' 59.739"	9° 57' 4.449"	14	53° 33' 3.321"	9° 56' 57.990"
6	53° 32' 59.392"	9° 57' 3.103"	15	53° 33' 2.476"	9° 57' 1.798"
7	53° 32' 58.329"	9° 57' 3.505"	16	53° 33' 2.286"	9° 57' 4.011"
8	53° 32' 58.107"	9° 57' 3.590"	17	53° 32' 57.917"	9° 57' 3.686"
9	53° 32' 57.161"	9° 56' 58.318"	18	53° 32' 56.992"	9° 56' 58.403"

**1.e Maps and Plans, showing the boundaries of the nominated property and the buffer Zone**



**Fig. 4: The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, map showing the nominated site and the buffer zone with its boundaries and their coordinates**

The central area of the nominated site corresponds to the area of the present-day Jewish Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona. Narrow strips have been designated as buffer zone north and south of the central area. These are strips of land, which were separated from the cemetery in the late 19th and early 20th century. By designating these strips of land as buffer zone, the cemetery’s historic territory shall be protected. The present boundaries at the east and west of the site correspond to the historic boundaries of the cemetery.

As the cemetery, or rather the two former separate cemeteries, have always been bordered by building development or enclosures and therefore were mostly not visible, in terms of site preservation, protection of the visual integrity by an extended buffer zone is not necessary here, particularly as, in accordance with Hamburg’s Heritage Protection Law, the surroundings of the registered ensemble Jewish Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona are subject to “protection of surrounding area”, and as such, any development is subject to approval by the Department for Heritage Preservation.



Fig. 5: “The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona”, aerial view

**1.f Area of the nominated property (ha.) and the proposed buffer zone (ha.)**

The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona:

Area of the nominated property:	1.91 hectares
Buffer zone:	0.23 hectares
Total area:	2.14 hectares



## 2 Description

### 2.a Description of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona



Fig. 6: Map of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, with its Portuguese-Sephardic and Ashkenazi parts, 2015

The Jewish cemetery known today as the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, where burials were conducted between 1611 and 1877, consists of two neighbouring yet separate cemeteries of two different Jewish congregations:

the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery, established in 1611 and occupying the southwest quarter of the area, and

the cemetery of the Ashkenazi Jews, to the east and north, which was first used in 1616.

This cemetery is therefore not only the oldest Jewish cemetery in Hamburg and the city's oldest maintained cemetery of any faith, but with its Portuguese-Sephardic part also the oldest cemetery in Europe for Sephardic immigrants from Portugal. It is also one of the rare burial places in the world where Sephardic and Ashkenazi cemeteries are found in direct vicinity of each other.

Around 15,300 burials altogether were conducted here between 1611 and 1877; 2,000 in the Portuguese-Sephardic section, and 13,300 in the Ashkenazi section (including the "Hamburg part"). For various reasons it can be assumed that not all the tombs of the persons buried here were provided with a tombstone. For example no tombstones were erected for children under the age of two, for persons who were living in Hamburg but were not members of a Jewish Hamburg and Altona community, for the middle-class members of the community or for members of foreign communities who were on their way through.

Today, of the originally existing 8484 gravestones, around 8167 are still visible here, either intact or in fragments, 6,500 on the Ashkenazic, and 1,667 on the Sephardic part.



**Fig. 7: Aerial view of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona and its surroundings**

The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona is located in the district of Altona, which lies west of Hamburg's city center and belonged to the county of Holstein-Pinneberg of the Protestant Count Ernst von Schauenburg at the time the cemetery was established. The approximately 1.91-hectare site runs from Königstraße in the south to Louise-Schroeder-Straße in the north. The grounds are located on a slight north-south slope on the edge of Altona's sandy ridge. They are mostly flat with some raised areas near the boundaries. Approximately in the centre of the property stands a small mound, which was evidently constructed in the 18th century.

The cemetery's western boundary adjoins the back gardens of housing on Blücherstraße. A sports field and Walter-Möller-Park lie east of the cemetery. The grounds are confined by an approximately 2m high brick wall on the east side. A low brick wall runs along the other sides, with square pillars at regular intervals. Bar grate fencing elements are suspended between them.

The main entrance is located on Königstraße, which is why the cemetery is often referred to as the "Königstraße Jewish Cemetery". Immediately behind the entrance gate, on a plot which has never belonged to the cemetery grounds, is the only building in the cemetery, the visitors' centre, also called Eduard Duckesz House (see Abb. 3:), built in 2007. A transparent cube of steel and glass, designed by Hans-Jörg Peter. It serves as a visitors' centre and is the starting point for guided cemetery tours.



**Fig. 8: Eduard Duckesz House, the present visitors' centre, photographer: Alexandra Kruse**

The two areas of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona which historically consists of two separate cemeteries are still clearly recognisable today, as the two burial grounds are quite distinct from one another. The nearly square Portuguese-Sephardic section to the south west, which occupies approximately one fourth of the total area, contains long, rectangular tomb slabs and other low-lying tombs, in keeping with Sephardic custom. The graves are arranged loosely in rows which run somewhat east to west. There are no firm paths, grass and moss is growing between the stones. Young trees, such as birch, poplar, maple, hornbeam and oak, have come up, mostly spontaneously, in relatively even distribution over the site.



**Fig. 9: The Portuguese-Sephardic burial grounds and enclosure in the cemetery's south and west sections, photographer Michael Doose**

The remaining area of the cemetery contains the graves of Ashkenazim. Unlike the horizontal tombstones of the Sephardim, the Ashkenazi graves have stones which stand upright (steles).



**Fig. 10: Ashkenazi burial ground, photographer: Michael Doose**

The Ashkenazi graves, like the Portuguese-Sephardic graves, are arranged loosely in rows. However, a number of stones in the Ashkenazi section are overturned or skewed.

There are no firm paths in the Sephardic section. In the Ashkenazi section central axes were made, corresponding to the original paths, to facilitate access to the graves and to keep visitors from walking on or between the graves.



**Fig. 11: Newly created path from the visitors' centre to the north (l) and from this path heading west (r), photographer: Alexandra Kruse**

### 2.a.1 *The Portuguese-Sephardic section of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona*

The Portuguese-Sephardic section of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, the outstanding universal value of which justifies its nomination as a UNESCO World Heritage site, occupies an almost square area of approximately 0.48 hectare in the south-western part of the cemetery. It is densely occupied by graves from the period between 1611 and 1871, without recognisable interruption by paths.

The Portuguese-Sephardic section of the cemetery was researched thoroughly in the last hundred years. More prominent researchers include the leader of the congregation Isaac Cassuto (1848 Hamburg – 1923 *ibid.*), Rabbi Dr. Max Grunwald (1871 Zabrze - 1953 Jerusalem), the then student of Romance studies Alfonso Cassuto (Hamburg 1910 - Lisbon 1990) and linguist Michael Studemund-Halévy (Hamadzija 1948). Every gravestone has been cartographically recorded, documented, photographed and translated. Each stone has been assigned a number in a grid quadrant to make it easier to locate.

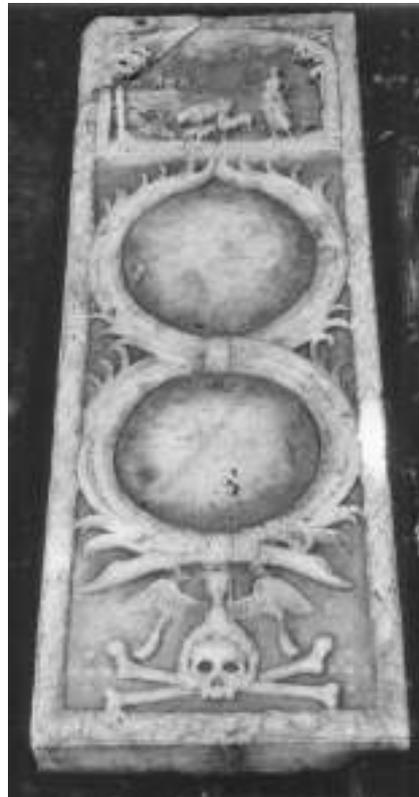


Fig. 12: 1984 map of the Portuguese-Sephardic Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona by Elke Buchholz, with charting of stone varieties by Holger Dietrich, 1991 (white = Obernkirchen sandstone, blue = marble, red = limestone, black = basalt, green = Cotta sandstone, hatched = ruins)

According to a geological report in 1984, the site holds 1,652 gravestones or gravestone fragments, mainly from the 17th and 18th centuries, made from the following materials: 1,535 from Obernkirchen sandstone, 62 from limestone, 52 from Carrara marble, 2 from Cotta sandstone, and 1 from basalt.

The tombstones in the Portuguese-Sephardic section of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona are distinguished by extraordinarily richly decorative ornaments and artistically playful motifs (see 2.a.1.2. to 2.a.1.5).

The uniqueness of the Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art in the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona is manifested above all in the presentations of human and animal shapes, in violation of the Second Commandment: “Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is on the earth beneath, or that is in the water and under the earth” (Exodus 20:4), which was later linked to the prohibition of image worship (Exodus 20:5).



**Fig. 13: Richly decorated tomb slab of Rahel de Fonseca, died 1692, photographer: Regina Schwarzburg**

The richness of the Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones, which reached their climax in the Baroque era, is, however, shown not only in the numerous religious and secular symbols and in the splendid realisation of biblical themes in gripping scenes. It is also shown in the choice of texts and stone materials, as well as in the artistic combination of symbols, in the biblical scenes, in the biblical and postbiblical quotes, and in the languages.

Alongside the ornamentation, we learn much about the origins of the deceased from the grave inscriptions. On the Portuguese-Sephardic gravestones, these inscriptions are mostly in two languages – Hebrew and Portuguese, less in Spanish, occasionally in French and English, and since 1810 in German as well. These languages and their frequency and combination shall be discussed in detail in chapter 2.a.1.k.

### 2.a.1.a The Tombstone Forms

The majority of the Portuguese-Sephardic gravestones consist of lying tomb slabs aligned from the west to the east, according to Sephardic tradition, and are mostly single graves, although there are also stones for two or three people. There are also 29 “tent graves” (Hebrew: ohalim) and two stone sarcophagi.



**Fig. 14: Sephardic burial ground in the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Michael Doose**

There are also 10 post-like steles, dating back to the transportation of the mortal remains of decedents which had been buried in Hamburg between 1627 and 1653 on one of the premises of St. Nicholas' Church, the so-called “St. Mark's Square”, situated at the “Kohlhöfen”. After this property was cleared in 1654, the mortal remains from there were transferred to the Portuguese-Sephardic Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona. 9 of these steles bear the names of deceased, while the 10th stele notes the transferral event itself.



**Fig. 15: Memorial for the city burial ground which was dissolved in 1654, holding various bones transferred to their current resting place in the Hebrew month of Sivan 5414; photographer: Michael Studemund-Halévy**

### *2.a.1.a.1 Tomb Slabs*

The majority of gravestones in the Portuguese-Sephardic Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona are tomb slabs lying flat (stone tablets), or sometimes resting on bases (table stones). As a rule they are no more than 2 metres long and one metre wide, and cover the grave completely.

Most of the tomb slabs fit horizontally over the graves and are decorated with Hebrew, Portuguese or Spanish texts which either run along the slab or are arranged in lines underneath one another more or less artistically. In many cases raised rosettes, often in the geometrical embellishment of the “eternal wheel”, as well as round, rosette-like ornaments form border decoration in the corners outside of the stone’s frame. This type of decoration is reminiscent of the contemporaneous Catholic archetypes from the Iberian Peninsula and Protestant archetypes of northern Europe.

The tomb slabs are viewed as outstanding works of art, with many decorative and allegorical designs.



**Fig. 16: Tomb slabs at the Portuguese-Sephardic Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Regina Schwarzburg**



Fig. 17: Tomb slabs at the Portuguese-Sephardic Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Regina Schwarzburg

#### 2.a.1.a.2 Box Tombs



Fig. 18: Box tombs at the Portuguese-Sephardic Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Regina Schwarzburg

A special form of tomb slab is formed by the two preserved box tombs. These are brick-built and plastered plinths supporting the raised slabs.

### 2.a.1.a.3 Ohalim (“Tent Graves”)

Another special form, the so-called ohalim, can be seen in the 29 sarcophagus-like or tent-like graves (ohel, pl. ohalim = tent). These were predominantly used for rabbis, cantors, scholars or benefactors, and according to Sephardic tradition often lie together in groups of two, three, or four. They taper off towards the top, with two triangular narrow sides (Fig. 14-17). In one case, the “tent roof” is held by four angels posted at the corners.



Fig. 19: Tomb slab and ohel with angels of Abraham Cohen Lobatto, died 1703, photographer: Michael Doose

The entire area of the slab’s long sides is decorated with Hebrew text or Hebrew and Portuguese texts, occasionally with a family crest. The top edge is often decorated with a narrow ribbon with lines of text and/or floral elements. Sculptural, three-dimensional reliefs are mostly placed in the fields at the head or the foot; the crest however, is, with few exceptions, always in the centre. A richly decorative band of floral elements frames the elongated text fields. Next to these bands of vines, artistic decoration appears only in the triangular narrow sides. Here one finds artistic motives such as a tree, a sun, an open book, biblical scenes, general symbols of death such as a skull (with or without bones), the Tree of Life (in Hebrew, *ez haim*), floral patterns with branches and flowers, as well as family crests placed in cartouches or enclosed in symmetrically arranged bands.



Fig. 20: Ohalim at the Portuguese-Sephardic Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Regina Schwarzburg



Fig. 21: Ohalim at the Portuguese-Sephardic Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Regina Schwarzburg



Fig. 22: Ohalim at the Portuguese-Sephardic Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Regina Schwarzburg



Fig. 23: The ohalim of Abraham (died 1666) and Sara Senior Teixeira, photographer: Max Halberstadt

### 2.a.1.b Ornamentation and Decoration of Tombstones

The 17th and 18th century tombstones at the Portuguese-Sephardic Cemetery in Altona displayed an unusual decorative richness.

The elements most often found are rosettes, broad grapevines, pearl beading, palm branches or curtains used as frames. Parts of the surface contain inscriptions, symbolic motifs or biblical scenes, either cut into the stone or worked as figures raised from the rest of the stone surface. The sculptural, three-dimensional reliefs are mostly placed in the fields at the head or the foot; the crest is always in the centre, with few exceptions. The stone masons had a fondness for setting the tomb slabs' inscriptions in plaited garlands, floral bands or in Baroque cartouches with or without text fields, often held by semi-nude cupids, cherubs or angels. Here the inscriptions are more strongly integrated into the artistic design. The engraved text is, as a rule, in Hebrew at the head and in Portuguese at the foot. The Portuguese texts appear almost always in Latin capital letters (with or without cursive curls), less often in cursive writing.



Fig. 24: Examples of tomb slabs with diverse decorative designs at the Portuguese-Sephardic Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Jürgen Faust



Fig. 25: Examples of tomb slabs with diverse decorative designs at the Portuguese-Sephardic Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Jürgen Faust

### 2.a.1.c Symbols and Figurative Scenes used

In addition to the ornaments and decorations through which they are framed and partitioned, the 17th and 18th century tombstones in the Portuguese-Sephardic Cemetery in Hamburg-Altona display an abundance of motifs and a rich visual programme of figurative and biblical scenes.

The biblical scenes portrayed, as well as the representations of animals and objects, often refer to the name of the deceased. There are also displays of family crests and family trees, of books, hands, tools and a multitude of different angels and cherubs, but also symbols of vanity and death, symbols which are more Christian than Jewish, or have a general symbolic value.

There are also images of mothers with children at their breasts – borrowed from the Christian tradition of representing the loving mother in such a way – as seen for example on the tomb slabs of Hana Castro Mendoza and Ester Beneviste.



Fig. 26: Sections of the gravestones of Hana Castro Mendoza, died 1716 (l) and Ester Beneviste, died 1716 (r);

Along with examples of symbols found in the Christian cemeteries of their new homelands or Christian printed matter, the Jewish customers and their stonemasons based their artistic design of the Portuguese-Sephardic gravestones on Jewish 17th century prints, on the richly decorated marriage contracts (kettubot), as well as on illustrated Hebrew manuscripts and books from the 16th and 17th centuries.



Fig. 27: Examples of Jewish literature (l) and marriage contracts (r) from the 17th and 18th centuries

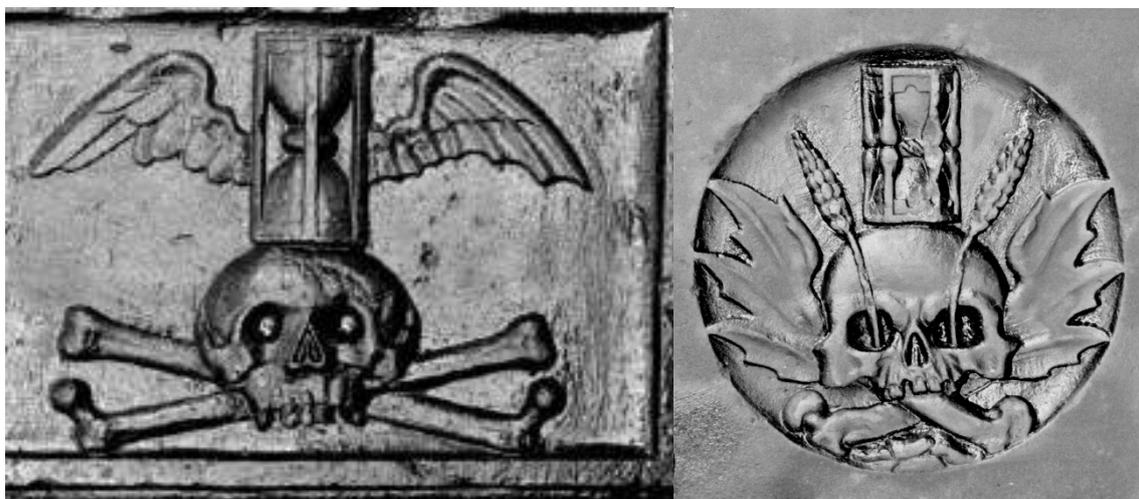
*2.a.1.c.1 Symbols of Vanity and Death*

Vanity and death symbols, popular in the 17th century, are widely found on the tombstones in the Portuguese-Sephardic Cemetery in Altona. The artists who fashioned these symbols referred to the corresponding Bible verses such as Isaiah 40:6, Psalms 102:15, and Job 14:1-2.



**Fig. 28: Angel with trumpet on an ohel in the Portuguese-Sephardic Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Jürgen Faust**

Symbols of the past include the angel with trumpet, announcing the death of the deceased; the hourglass as symbol for the passing of time; a skull with or without crossbones; and a skull with wheat growing from its empty eye sockets. Angel and devil wings on each side of a death's head refer to Heaven and Hell.



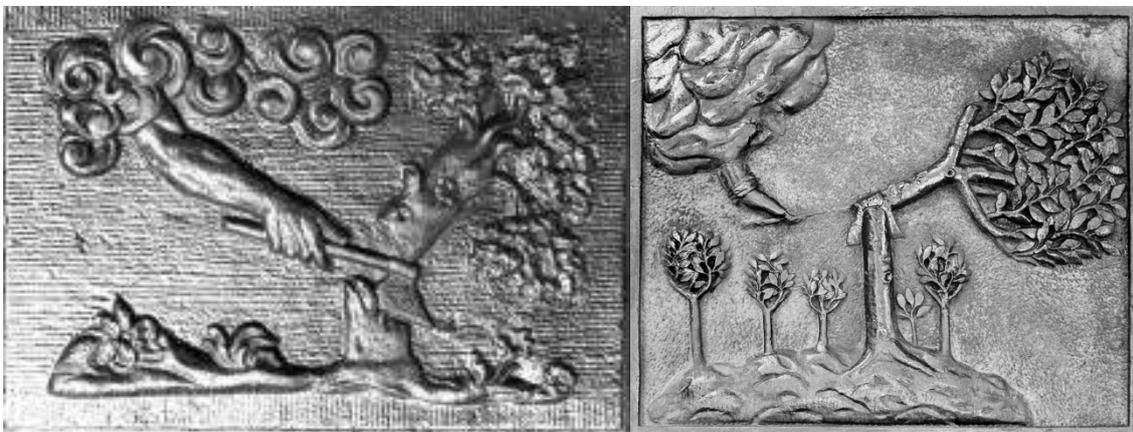
**Fig. 29: Vanity symbols on Portuguese-Sephardic gravestones at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Jürgen Faust**

Hands were especially important in this context: the hand of God, rescuing souls from the clutches of Death, a hand holding scales as a symbol of the weighing of the deceased's deeds.



**Fig. 30: The hand of God, saving souls from the clutches of Death, photographer: Jürgen Faust**

The image of a hand which comes out of the clouds and cuts down a flowering tree with an axe, or wheat with a sickle, is widely found on the Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona. It is a symbol of divine power and strength.



**Fig. 31: Tombstones with a hand coming from the clouds and felling a tree with an axe; found on Portuguese-Sephardic gravestones at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Jürgen Faust**

Usually the deceased had not reached the age of 50, and so an early death can also be construed as punishment for the “sins of his generation”, even if grave inscription and sepulchral art always refrain from making any negative comments. The hand then refers to the biblical term “kareth”, the punishment by the “judicial hands” of Heaven.

In some cases, the tree-felling hand belongs to an angel, understood to be either the Angel of Death of Jewish tradition (Malach Ha-Mavet) or the guardian angel of Christian tradition.



**Fig. 32: Angel catching the Tree of Life, which is cut down by the hand from the clouds; from the grave of Rahel Hana Mussaphia, died 1734, photographer: Jürgen Faust**

The premature death of children or young persons was often portrayed by a cut rose or a sickle mowing a sheaf of wheat. The rose with a broken stem had special meaning as symbol for an untimely death, mostly found on gravestones of those who died young, but also symbolising an unfulfilled promise. The image of the rose could also be understood, however, as a symbol of God's promise to the Jewish people: "I will be as the dew unto Israel: he shall grow as the lily" (Hosea 14:6). The Hebrew word for lily was colloquially used to mean "rose".



**Fig. 33: Hand with sickle cutting roses or stalks of wheat, from a Portuguese-Sephardic gravestone in the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Jürgen Faust**

Other popular symbols of death were the poppy capsule, a narcotic and sedative representing eternal sleep; the pine cone, which stood for fertility and life; ivy and laurel stood for eternal life, victory, peace and immortality; the horn of plenty represented wealth, abundance and living well; and kissing pigeons which symbolised intimate affection and love.

#### *2.a.1.c.2 Angels and Cherubs*

Scantly clad cupids, cherubs, angels, or weeping children with spread out cloths, which were often filled with inscriptions, mourn the dead. They are also found in connection with vanity symbols like the hourglass. They are less often found on single or double tablets, which may symbolise the "tablets of the covenant", i.e. the Ten Commandments.



**Fig. 34: Cherubs with hourglass mourn the death of a blessed and virtuous woman, from the gravestone of Debora Hana Mussaphia, photographer: Jürgen Faust**

Angels were often used as motifs as well. They came from medieval Jewish illuminations and served as intermediaries between the celestial and the terrestrial worlds. They mostly appeared in connection with illustrations of biblical themes, above all when the text used referred to angels, e.g. at the sacrifice of Isaac, when the angel halts Abraham's sword. (see Fig. 50-54)

Angels are a popular motif as intermediaries between the celestial and terrestrial worlds in Jewish illuminations from the Early Middle Ages, mostly in connection with illustrations of biblical themes, above all in Portuguese-Sephardic iconography. Portrayals of angels often accompany texts referring to a malakh (angel) or several malakhim (angels). They may also be present when angels are not mentioned in the inscription. Among others, the following motifs are illustrated:

*Angel of Death or Guardian Angel*



**Fig. 35: Angels holding banners, from the tombstone of Rahel Hana Mussaphia, died 1734, photographer: Alexandra Kruse**

The tombstone of Rahel Hana Mussaphia shows a banner with Hebrew writing (This is the grave of Rahel to this day) held by angels, and a hand from the clouds felling the Tree of Life, which is caught by an angel.

*Winged Angels*



**Fig. 36: Winged angels on the tombstone of Benjamin Haim de Casseres, died 1656, photographer: Regina Schwarzburg**

The tombstone of Benjamin Haim de Casseres, who died in 1656, is decorated with winged angels, probably an indication that Benjamin died while still a child. The inscriptions bears this out as well: "Tomb of dear and sweet son, favourite child Benjamin Haim, son of the honourable Selomo de Casseres, died on the 6th day of the 16th of the month of Tevet in the year 5416."

*Winged Angel with Torch*



**Fig. 37: Winged angel with torch on the tombstone of Rahel Hana de Jacob de Benjamin Mussaphia, photographer: Jürgen Faust**

*Angel Protecting the Lamb "Israel", Threatened by Wolves*



**Fig. 38: Angel protecting the lamb "Israel", which is threatened by wolves, on the gravestone of Rahel Israel, died 1715, photographer: Jürgen Faust**

*Angels Holding Banderoles*

The ohel of Benjamin Mussaphia, who died on the 14th of November, 1700, shows a border of small leaves on a vine on both long and short sides. The long sides are filled with inscriptions, flanked by angels holding banderoles which surround the inscriptions. The text band inscriptions are broken up in the middle by an hourglass (above) and a skull and bones (below). The short side visible in the photo shows the setting sun between two trees, with Hebrew text above and below it: We live in order to die, and we die in order to live.



**Fig. 39: Tombstone of Benjamin Mussaphia, died 1700, photographer unknown**

#### 2.a.1.d Books, Crowns and Priestly Blessings

In Judaism, an open book – with or without writing – stands for piety as well as (usually Jewish) scholarship and religious education. Representations of books are often found on the tombstones in the Portuguese-Sephardic Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona, acknowledging attributes of the deceased in this regard. An opened book under a “Keter Torah”, the “crown of learning”, often decorates the narrow sides of ohalim.

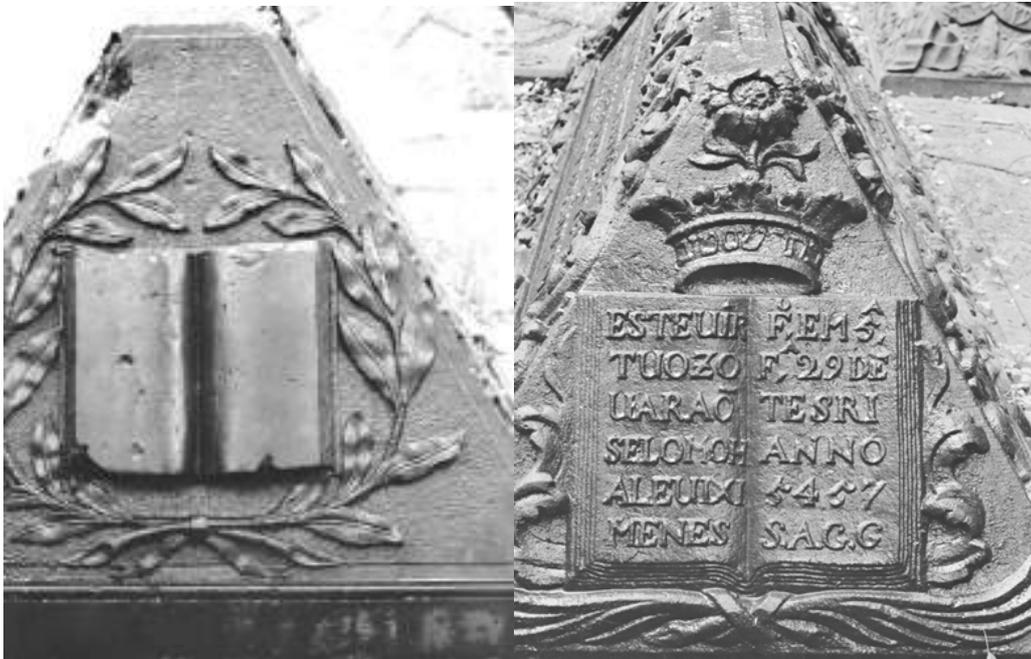


Fig. 40: Open book without inscription and one with inscription under the “Keter Torah”, from ohalim in the Portuguese-Sephardic Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Jürgen Faust

Tombstone which show hands in gestures of blessing, often on or over a book, indicate the deceased as being a man descended from the priestly tribes of Levi or Kohen.



Fig. 41: Open books and hands in gestures of blessing as signs of the deceased being descended from the priestly tribes of Levi or Kohen, on tombstones at the Portuguese-Sephardic Cemetery of Altona



Fig. 42: Hands in gestures of blessing as signs of the deceased being descended from the priestly tribes of Levi or Kohen, on tombstones at the Portuguese-Sephardic Cemetery of Altona, photographer: Jürgen Faust

#### 2.a.1.e Tools

Tools, signifying membership in a funeral brotherhood, on the long sides of the gravestone of Semuel Hizkiau Esteves. His tombstone, in the form of a chest (or coffin), shows on its sides a ladder, spade, ropes and cables.



Fig. 43: The tools of a gravedigger adorn the chest-like gravestone of Semuel Hizkiau Esteves, died 1704, photographer: Jürgen Faust

#### 2.a.1.f Family Trees and the Tree of Life

Portuguese who returned to the laws of Judaism made great efforts to establish Jewish lineage. It was in fashion among the great Portuguese-Sephardic families of Hamburg to compose, or have composed, genealogies and family chronicles. The portrayal of a family tree, on Portuguese-Sephardic graves in the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, can perhaps be interpreted as a new beginning after a return to Judaism, and as a promise of a new Jewish life. To the extent known, images of family trees are only found on Portuguese-Sephardic graves in the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona. **Six such images are found here.**

In the branches of a family tree on the gravestone of Gideon Abudiente (died 1660, Hamburg) hang, alongside birds and Hebrew letters, the names of his seven children, in Hebrew writing: Imanuel, Netanel, Pahdiel, Abraham, Simson, Ester and Mose.



Fig. 44: Family tree on the tombstone of Gideon Abudiente, died 1660, photographer: Jürgen Faust

Family trees are also found on the gravestones of Judit Cohen Lobatto (died 5446), Clara and Josua Palache (died 5467), Jael Beneviste (died 5478), and Hana Machorro (died 5475).



Fig. 45: Family tree on the tombstone of Judit Cohen Lobatto, died 1686, photographer: Jürgen Faust

The leaves of the family tree found on the gravestone of Judit Cohen Lobatto (died 1686) hold the names of her ten children: Ester, David, Netanel, Reuel, Jacob, Joseph, Ishak, Moseh, Simson and Rahel. On the middle leaf, which points upwards to an image of blessing hands – the sign of membership in the priestly tribe of Kohen – are the letters representing “from Cohen Lobatto”; beneath the leaves, on each side of the tree trunk, are the names Gidhon and Jeudit.



**Fig. 46: Family tree on the gravestone of Clara and Josua Palache, both died 1707, photographer Jürgen Faust**

In the family tree of Clara and Josua Palache (died 1707), the names of their children are noted on palm leaves: Graca, Simha, Graca, Joseph, Abigail, Lidisa, Rahel, Haim, Ester and Josua. The family tree is encircled by an inscription in Hebrew: “And these are the names of their children. Because the tree has hope, if it is felled, that it can bloom again and its shoots will not cease.”

A family tree can also be made out on the badly weather-beaten tombstone of Hana Machorro, who died in 1715. Due to its condition the names of the children are no longer legible.



**Fig. 47: Family tree on the weather-beaten tombstone of Hana Machorro, died 1715, photographer: Alexandra Kruse**



Fig. 48: Family tree on the tombstone of Jael Beneviste, died 1773, photographer: Jürgen Faust

In the family tree of Jael Beneviste (died 1773), the names of her ten children are noted on palm leaves: Abraham, Joseph, Mosseh, Ahron, Daniel, Sara, Ester, Rachel, Hana, Ribca.

#### 2.a.1.g Family Crests

Numerous Altona gravestones hold family crests which proudly herald the (real or fictitious) aristocratic Iberian past of their bearers. We find them on 17 graves. They were chosen to adorn above all especially richly designed marble stones. The coat of arms, crowned by helms in the upper part, is often without the shield, perhaps an indication that the Jews bearing it were not officially entitled to it.

The (now badly weathered) family crest of Teixeira de Sampayo, alias Senior Teixeira, shows a tree holding the gold and black checkerboard design of the Sampayos. On the gravestone of Jacob Hisquiau Senior Teixeira is a shield divided into four parts which are filled with two lions and two trees with foliage. And the crest of the family of Nunes Henriques consists of a shield divided in four parts, with two lions and two towers. A right-turning lion stands out on a marquess helm. The crest of the Oeb (Brandon) family holds a burning torch, surely an allusion to the Portuguese family name (“brandão” = “large church candle”). The graves of Ferro (Portuguese for iron or anchor) family members are often decorated with an anchor.

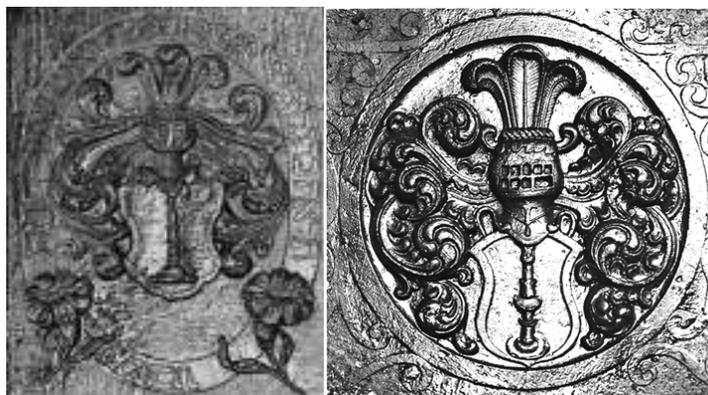


Fig. 49: Examples of crests on gravestones, see also Fig. 71

Crests are also found on the following gravestones: Eliau Aboab (died 5380), Batseba Abas (died 5386), David Namias alias Rodrigo de Castro (died 5487), Ester Debora Aboab (died 5389), Ester Hana Aboab (died 5393), David Aboab (died 5403), Josua Aboab (died 5404), Isaac Oeb (died 5411), Semuel Cohen Henriques (died 5425), Sara Hana Abas (died 5439), Ester Lopes de Queiros (died 5439), Daniel de Lemos (died 5451), Jacob Hisquiau Teixeira (died 5452), Isaac Nunes Henriques (died 5453), Isaac Israel Bravo (died 5458), Abgail de Lemos (died 5482), Abraham Jessurun Lobo (died 5482).

#### 2.a.1.h Personification of Biblical Legends

The uniqueness of the Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art in the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona is manifested above all in the presentations of human and animal shapes, in violation of the Second Commandment: “Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is on the earth beneath, or that is in the water and under the earth” (Exodus 20:4), which was later linked to the prohibition of image worship (Exodus 20:5). The Portuguese Sephardim often did not apply the Jewish ban on graven images or images of idols to their gravestone artwork. This, in light of the high artistic taste of their formerly Christian congregation members, was evidently accepted by tolerant rabbis. The Portuguese-Sephardic Cemetery in Altona therefore displays an impressive wealth of biblical scenes.

##### 2.a.1.h.1 Abraham and Isaac

The Aqedat Yitshak, or the Binding of Isaac, is as a symbol of Jewish martyrdom one of the most important stories of the Bible, and is a popular motif for Jewish artists (Haggadah, amulet, Torah shield, ketubah, circumcision book, belt buckle, etc.): “And the angel of the LORD called unto him out of heaven, and said: ‘Here am I.’ And he said, ‘Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou any thing unto him’” (Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, Genesis 22:9-12). We find this on six tombstones in Altona. The winged angel, on the gravestone of Isaac Villa Real, died 1698, wears a halo, a symbol clearly adopted from Christian tradition.



Fig. 50: Abraham and Isaac, on the tombstone of Isaak Villa Real, died 1698, photographer: Jürgen Faust

Abraham is also often portrayed as a Turk with a scimitar, as 17th and 18th century artists could only imagine Israelites to resemble Turks. Other examples found on the gravestones of Abraham Cohen Lobatto (died 5463), Abraham Sarfati de Pinna (died 5463), Abraham Fidanque (died 5468), Abraham Hisquiau Lopes Lusena (died 5484) and Isaac Ferro (died 5487).



**Fig. 51: Biblical scene of Abraham and Isaac, on the ohel of Abraham Cohen Labatto, died 1703, photographer: Alexandra Kruse**



**Fig. 52: Abraham and Isaac, on the tombstone of Abraham Fidanque, died 1708, photographer: Alexandra Kruse**



Fig. 53: Abraham and Isaac, on the ohel of Abraham Sarfati de Pina, died 1703, photographer: Max Halberstatt



Fig. 54: Abraham and Isaac on the tombstones of Abraham Hizkiau Lopes Lusena (l), died 1723, and Isaac Ferro (r), died 1727, photos by Jürgen Faust

*2.a.1.h.2 Daniel in the Lions' Den*

The depiction of Daniel in the lions' den (Daniel 6:17-25) is a popular motif of Hebrew manuscripts from the Middle Ages. On the gravestone of Daniel Jessurun, King Darius looks into the pit where Daniel, lying upon a lion, is guarded by two other lions.



**Fig. 55: Scene of Daniel in the lions' den, on the tombstone of Daniel Jessurun, died 1722, photographer: Jürgen Faust**

In the Jewish tradition, Daniel is primarily portrayed with two lions; in Christian art from the Middle Ages, there are from four to seven lions. Further example: The tombstone of Daniel Haim da Fonseca. Here, too, King Darius looks into the pit where Daniel lies.



**Fig. 56: Daniel in the lions' den, on the gravestone of Daniel Haim da Fonseca, died 1692, photographer: Regina Schwarzburg**

### *2.a.1.h.3 David with a Harp*

The ancient Jews have David to thank – a shepherd called by God to the highest ranks – for the consolidation of their kingdom, the founding of Jerusalem as its capital, and the plan to build a temple there. In Haggadahs and in Jewish illuminations, David is depicted with connection with Goliath and as harp-playing shepherd or a king. Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa said, “The ram that was created in the twilight of the sixth day was fully used; none of it was wasted. From the ashes of the ram the foundation of the inner alter was made. The sinews of the ram became the ten strings of David’s harp” (Pirke De-Rabbi Eliezer).

On the ohel of David Namias de Castro, the heavenly Jerusalem is seen at the feet of David as he plays the harp.



**Fig. 57: David with harp, on the ohel of David Namias de Castro, died 1702, photographer: Regina Schwarzburg**

### *2.a.1.h.4 Isaac in the Field, Praying to God*

The gravestone of Isaac Hizkiau da Fonseca shows a sun with rays on the narrow side of the ohel, and underneath a praying figure in a field, hand raised to Heaven, with the Hebrew text: “And Isaac went out to meditate in the field” (Genesis 24:63). This scene is also found on the gravestone of Isaac Machorro (died 5491).



**Fig. 58: Isaac praying to God in the field, on the ohel of Isaac Hizkiau da Fonseca, died 1712, photographer: Michael Studemund-Halévy**

*2.a.1.h.5 Jacob's dream of the Ladder to heaven*

In the Jewish tradition, Jacob embodies wisdom and piety. His dream of the ladder reaching to Heaven, on which angels climb and descend, is the subject of numerous Jewish and Christian serial depictions of Bible stories (Genesis 28:12). Jacob is dreaming of the ladder acting as a link between the earth and the heavens. We find this popular motif six times in Altona, on the graves of: Jacob Machorro (died 1713), Jacob Hizkiau Coronel (died 1684), Jacob Mussaphia (died 1701), Jacob Benveniste (died 1702), Jacob Haim Jessurun (died 1714) and Jacob Semuel Lumbrozo de Mattos (died 1714).



**Fig. 59: Jacob's dream of the ladder to heaven, on the ohel of Jacob Hizkiau Coronel, died 1684, photographer: Max Halberstadt**



Fig. 60: Jacob's dream of the ladder to heaven on the ohel of Jacob Beneviste, died 1702, photographer: Max Halberstadt



Fig. 61: Jacob's dream of the ladder to heaven on the gravestone of Jacob Semuel Lumbrozo de Mattos, died 1714, photo: Department for Heritage Preservation Hamburg, Picture library

*2.a.1.h.6 Jacob with a Flock of Sheep*

On one narrow side of the ohel of Jacob Benveniste (died 1702), under an open book, Jacob is depicted with sheep in reference to the bible verse “And it came to pass, when Jacob saw Rachel the daughter of Laban his mother’s brother, and the sheep of Laban his mother’s brother” (Genesis 29:9-10).



**Fig. 62: Jacob with sheep, on the tombstone of Jacob Beneviste, died 1702, photographer: Agnes Seemann**

*2.a.1.h.7 Joseph in the Well*

The story of Joseph in the well (Genesis 37:18-24) is one of the most favourite motifs in Jewish and Christian illuminations. In Christian iconology, the scene represents innocence. This Bible story is vividly depicted on the gravestone of Joseph Haim de Lemos as well as that of Joseph Haim da Fonseca (died 5497).



**Fig. 63: Joseph in the well, on the gravestone of Joseph Haim de Lemos, died 1695, photographer: Jürgen Faust**



Fig. 64: Joseph in the well on the gravestone of Joseph Haim da Fonseca, died 1737, photographer: Alexandra Kruse

*2.a.1.h.8 Joseph Asleep*

On the gravestone of Joseph Mussaphia, two pedestals support two Solomonic columns adorned with grapevines, which in turn support an arch. Inside this arch, the figure of Joseph is portrayed sleeping.



Fig. 65: Joseph sleeping, on the gravestone of Joseph Mussaphia, died 1715, photographer: Regina Schwarzburg

*2.a.1.h.9 Rachel with a Flock of Sheep*

This scene is found in the Altona cemetery three times. The gravestone of Rahel Fidanque depicts this Bible scene: “And it came to pass, when Jacob saw Rachel the daughter of Laban his mother’s brother, and the sheep of Laban his mother’s brother” (Genesis 29:9-10). The image shows Rachel with a shepherd’s crook and flock in front of a well into which water is flowing. Other examples: Graves of Rahel Sarfati de Pinna and Rahel de Fonseca.



Fig. 66: Rachel at the well with the sheep, on the tombstone of Rahel Fidanque, died 1702, photographer: Jürgen Faust



Fig. 67: Rachel with the sheep, on the tombstone of Rahel Sarfati de Pinna, died 1716, photographer: Jürgen Faust



**Fig. 68: Rachel with the sheep, on the gravestone of Rahel de Fonseca, died 1692, photographer: Regina Schwarzburg**

*2.a.1.h.10 King Solomon*

King Solomon's wisdom surpassed that of all other mortals. His "heart filled with reason" could distinguish good from evil. He understood the language of the birds and four-legged animals, of demons and spirits, all of whom were his subjects.



**Fig. 69: Gravestone of Selomo Haim Senior, died 1716, photographer: Jürgen Faust**

The gravestone of Selomo Haim Senior includes an image of King Solomon as judge of the world. Above the scene is the Hebrew saying: "Then Solomon sat on the throne of the LORD as king" (Chronicles 1 29:23).

### 2.a.1.i Depictions of Animals

The joy of storytelling through images is also revealed in the use of symbolic animals.

Animal representations are associated with the name of the deceased and refer back to the blessing of Jacob. There it is said, for example, on the tribe of Jehuda: “Yehuda, my son, thou art gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion and lioness” (Genesis 49:9). Aside from representations of birds and birds of prey, the Portuguese cemetery holds only two known animal figures which originally represented the verbal symbols of first names, and later became parts of the crests or house marks of certain families – a wolf (in Portuguese: lobo) on the gravestone of Abraham Jessurum Lobo who died in 1721 and a leaping stag (in Hebrew: naphtali), compared to Jacob’s son Naphtali (Genesis 49:21), on the gravestone of Naftali Hirz Wessely who died in 1805.

We also find depictions of animals which figuratively translate the first and last names of the deceased: Lion, lamb, hart, wolf, scorpion, pelican, phoenix, butterfly, horse and bird.

#### 2.a.1.i.1 Phoenix

The phoenix, which, according to Jewish tradition refused to eat from the tree of knowledge in Paradise, and which did not burden Noah as it ate no food, symbolises for the Portuguese Sephardim the martyrdom of the Marranos and the rebirth of Judaism, but also eternal life. Job extolled its love for its children (Job 29:13-17), and for the rabbis and church fathers, the phoenix stands for the resurrection of the dead.



Fig. 70: Phoenix in a burning nest, on the gravestone of Semuel Hizkiau Esteves, died 1704; photographer: Michael Doose

The gravestone of Samuel Hisquiau Esteves shows a phoenix rising reborn from a burning nest. A Portuguese saying is written around the medallion: “Nacemos para morrer, morremos para viver” (We are born in order to die, and we die in order to live, Mishna Avot 4:22). In both Jewish and Christian art, the phoenix symbolises the martyrdom of the faithful.

#### *2.a.1.i.2 Pelican*

The pelican is viewed by the authors of the Psalms as an expression of the mourning Zion and is therefore a religious symbol in this context: “I am like a pelican of the wilderness: I am like an owl of the desert. I watch, and am as a sparrow alone upon the house top.” Psalms 102:7-8. In the Jewish grave symbolism of eastern Europe, the pelican is a lonely, watchful bird and the mourning Zion, symbol of prematurely ended life. Job, for example, praised the filial love of the pelican: “The ostrich has atoned for her lust: is then her pinion that of the stork and the pelican?”, Job 39: 13. On the gravestones of women, the pelican takes on an additional symbolism which does not come from Jewish-religious sources, but from the Physiologus. The pelican, or the female pelican, is described here as a sacrificing mother, which rips open its own breast with its beak in order to feed its young with its own blood. The pelican, shown in the earliest Christian images with three or sometimes four offspring in its nest, opening its breast with its beak so that its young can drink its blood, symbolises caring, willingness for sacrifice, and mother love. With the ex-Marranos the pelican took on a new meaning as “symbol for Jewish motherhood”, as seen for example on the stone of Ester Hana Aboab.



**Fig. 71: Pelican on the tombstone of Ester Hana Aboab, died 1639, photographer: Jürgen Faust**

### 2.a.1.i.3 Butterfly

The butterfly is a symbol of the soul for Jews and Christians alike (“companion of the spirit”), and occurs also in Hebrew illuminations as symbol of the changing stages of life. It is found in Hamburg only on the gravestone of Jacob Mussaphia Fidalgo.



Fig. 72: Butterfly on the tombstone of Jacob Mussaphia Fidalgo, photographer: Jürgen Faust

### 2.a.1.j The Combination of Different Motifs on a Tombstone

The richness of the Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones in the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, which reached its high point in the Baroque Era, is seen not only in the numerous religious and secular symbols and in the splendid realisation of biblical themes in gripping scenes, but also in the choice of stone material and texts. The great wealth of symbols in Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art in the Portuguese-Sephardic Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona is not only expressed in the variety of individual motifs, but also in their combinations, particularly in the artistic combination of symbols, biblical scenes, biblical and post-biblical quotes, as well as the languages. The linking of several motifs on a gravestone into one symbolic composite is characteristic of the 18th century. The combination of several vanity symbols is very widespread.

Some examples are given below.



**Fig. 73: Tomb slab of Debora Hana Mussaphia, died 1699, photographer: Jürgen Faust**

The marble tomb of Debora Hana Mussaphia, died 1699, is very elaborately wrought. Columns wrapped with leafy vines rest on pedestals with capitals, which support an arch decorated with leaves. Flowers appear in the spandrels above the arch. The area framed by the columns and arches is filled out by the area of the inscription in the centre and figurative scenes above and below the inscription. Above the inscription, in the arch area, cherubs mourn the deceased on either side of an hourglass; on one side a mourning cherub with handkerchief, on the other a hopeful cherub with shofar. A skull and bones is found underneath the inscription in a semi-circular enclosed niche.

The inscription, in both Hebrew and Portuguese, is as follows: Tomb of the blessed and virtuous Debora Hana Mussaphia, who was called to her people on the 10th of Kislev in the year 5460. May her soul be bound up in the bond of life.

We find another example of the combination of several single motifs on the tomb slab of Isaak Nunes Henriques, which shows four individual motifs, bordered by a frame of leaves: at the top is the family crest, below are cherubs holding a curtain with an inscription, under this the hand from the clouds felling a tree with an axe and at the bottom a further symbol of vanity consisting of a skull with bones and a winged hourglass.

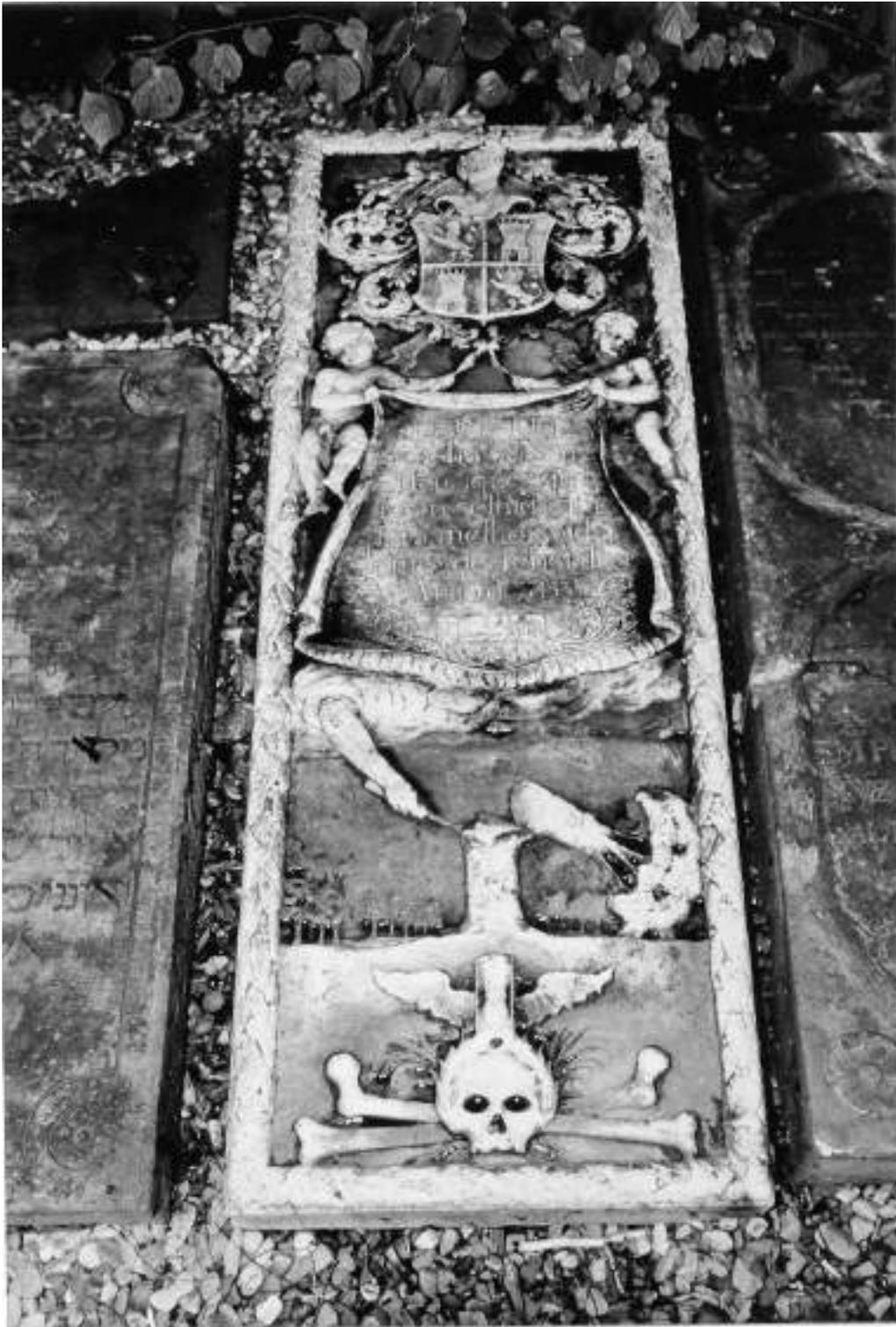


Fig. 74: Tomb slab of Isaak Nunes Henriques, died 1692, photographer: Herbert Böllner 1991

The gravestone of Daniel Jessurum, died 1722, contains a combination of biblical scenes, found on the lower area of the tomb slab underneath the text area, illustrating the first name of the deceased (Daniel in the lions' den) and symbols of vanity (skull and crossbones under a winged hourglass).



**Fig. 75: Tombstone of Daniel Jessurum, died 1722, photographer: Regina Schwarzburg**

The tomb slab of Jael Beneviste, died 1773, contains rosettes in its corners and leaf motifs between the two raised fields. The field above shows a family tree. The names of her children are written on the palm leaves: Abraham, Joseph, Mosseh, Ahron, Daniel, Sara, Ester, Rachel, Hana, Ribca. Below is an inscription area, and below that a skull and crossbones. One can see the winged hourglass above the skull.



Fig. 76: Tombstone of Jael Beneviste, died 1773, photographer: Alexandra Kruse

The tomb slab of Abraham Fidanque who died in 1708, shows rosettes in the two upper corners; under these are two medallion-like inscription fields bordered with leafy vines, and under these, two scenes arranged next to one another: on the left, the biblical scene of Abraham and Isaac, and on the right the hand from the clouds felling a tree with an axe.



Fig. 77: Tombstone of Abraham Fidanque, died 1708, photographer: Alexandra Kruse

The splendid marble tomb slab of Judit Hana Soares, died 1689, shows a border of leafy vines. The area within this frame is divided in three parts: Above, a skull with bones and winged hourglass. Below these is an oval medallion bordered by vines, with an inscription in Portuguese. In the lower third are decorative flowers and banderoles.

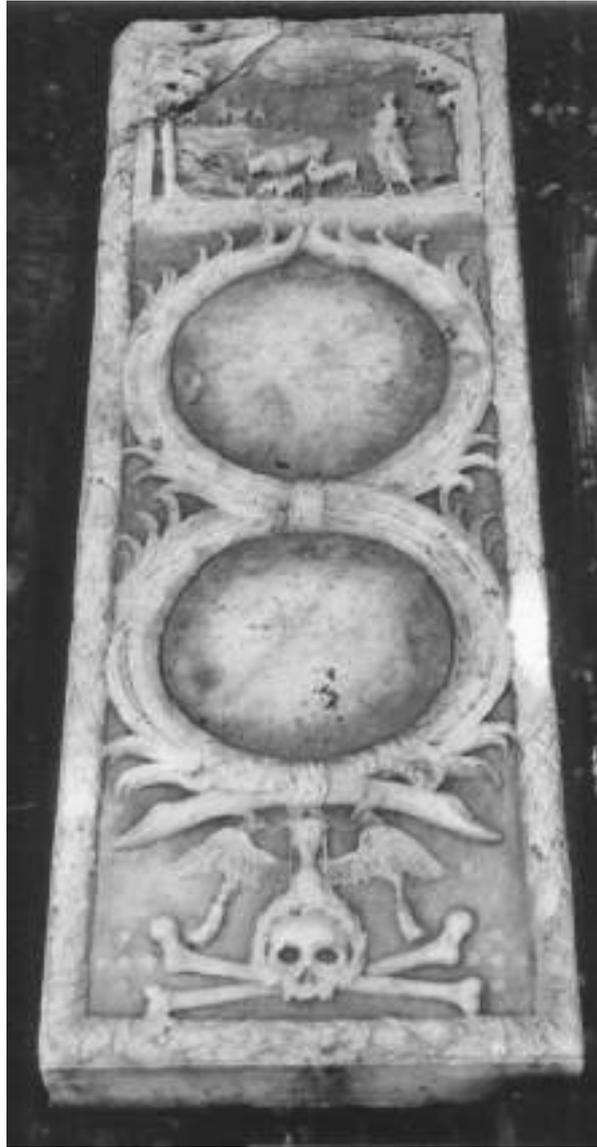


Fig. 78: Tombstone of Judit Hana Soares, died 1689, photographer: Jürgen Faust



**Fig. 79: Tombstone of Jacob Hizkiau Senior Teixeira, died 1692, photographer: Jürgen Faust**

The marble tomb slab of Jacob Hizkiau Senior Teixeira who died in 1692 is no less magnificent. It too has a leaf-tendrill border. Here the inner area is divided into four sections: At the top, a shield encircled by a vine, with four sections containing 2 lions and two trees with foliage, and crowned with a heraldic helm. Under this a cloth with Hebrew text (weathered), held by two angels. Under this a medallion in a floral wreath with a Portuguese inscription, and in the fourth and bottom section is a skull and crossbones, crowned by a winged hourglass.



**Fig. 80: Tombstone of Rahel de Fonseca, died 1692, photographer: Regina Schwarzburg**

Symbols of vanity and biblical legends are combined with one another on the tombstone of Rahel de Fonseca (died 1692). The marble stone slab is divided into four sections, all inside a frame of leaves: at the top is a relief, two text fields lie below it and below them another relief. The top relief shows the biblical scene of Rachel with the sheep, in reference to the first name of the deceased. The bottom relief holds a winged hourglass above a skull and crossbones. The two round inscription fields in between – the upper text in Hebrew, the lower in Portuguese – are enclosed by an opulent wreath of leaves.

The Hebrew inscription reads: Tomb of the worthy and virtuous woman Rahel, wife of patron and very honourable Daniel Haim da Fonseca, may his memory be blessed. She died on the 28th day of the month of Iyar in the year 5452. May her soul be bound up in the bond of life.

The Portuguese inscription reads: Tomb of the wise and virtuous Lady Rahel, wife of the (deceased) Mr Daniel Haim de Fonseca. Died on the 4th day, the 28th of Iyar in the year 5452. May her soul rest in peace.

### 2.a.1.k Gravestone Languages

Along with the decorations, the tomb inscriptions are also of great interest, as they reveal much about the background of the deceased.

As Portuguese was spoken regularly in Hamburg for a long time, one finds not only Hebrew texts but also many Portuguese or Spanish texts on the tombstones in the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Altona. But other languages are found on the gravestones as well.

The inscriptions on the Portuguese-Sephardic gravestones in Altona are often bilingual – in Hebrew or Portuguese, more rarely in Spanish, occasionally in French or English, after 1810 also in German. The following chart shows the languages found on the tomb slabs and their combinations.

<b>Monolingual and multilingual grave inscriptions</b>	<b>894 bilingual inscriptions, of which</b>	<b>651 are monolingual inscriptions, of which</b>
1,433 are Portuguese epitaphs	865 in Portuguese and Hebrew	560 in Portuguese
949 Hebrew	17 in Hebrew and German	66 in Hebrew
39 German	6 in Hebrew and Spanish	15 in German
11 Spanish	4 in Portuguese and German	8 in Spanish
1 inscription each in French and English	1 inscription in Hebrew and English.	1 each in French and English.

**Fig. 81: Overview of the variety of languages found on Sephardic tomb slabs**

The inscriptions are either exclusively in Hebrew, in another language, or in two languages. Even if the Portuguese inscription is often simply a translation of the Hebrew inscription, the content of the Hebrew texts vs. the Portuguese texts differs considerably. The Hebrew epitaphs are more religious and literary as a rule, meaning, they more often include quotations from the Torah or Talmud.

Where two languages are found, the Hebrew text is always located on the upper third part of the stone, while the Portuguese or Spanish is always on the lower third part. Hebrew words are often inserted into the Portuguese or Spanish texts (mostly functional designations like hakham, hazan, etc.).

The richness of the Portuguese-Sephardic gravestones is seen not only in the numerous religious and secular symbols and in the splendid realisation of biblical themes in gripping scenes, but also in the choices of stone materials, texts, as well as the artistic combination of symbols, images and languages.

#### 2.a.1.l Grave Inscriptions

The epitaphs, eulogies and odes found on the tombstones in the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Altona, composed in Hebrew, Spanish and Portuguese, are an integral element of modern Hebrew literature as well as Spanish and Portuguese Baroque literature. These are often not original texts, but rather translations (Hebrew to Portuguese, Portuguese to Hebrew). Very little is known about the authors. These texts are often taken from books produced for such purposes, but there are also inscriptions which can be attributed to a

specific author. Numerous inscriptions for members of the Abudiente family were penned by the famous rabbi, poet, and scholar, Mose Abudiente.

The Amsterdam rabbi Selomoh de Oliveyra composed the inscription for the renowned Hamburg rabbi and scholar David Cohen de Lara:

a) Hebrew inscription:

(The) sun was rising. When the sun shines like the brightness of the morning. The soul shall abide in eternal happiness. And David was happy in all his endeavours. Driven by his heart to God, his name shall be Israel, for he was a priest to the highest God.

b) Portuguese inscription:

Resting place of the renowned and learned Ribí David Cohen de Lara. Died on the 20th of Tishri in the year 5435. May his soul be bound up in the bond of life. (Inscriptions: Michael Studemund-Halévy, 1999)

The symbol of blessing hands on a book is found between the two inscriptions



**Fig. 82: Tombstone of Rabbi David Cohen de Lara, died 1674, photographer: Max Halberstadt**

Writing gravestone inscriptions was primarily the work of rabbis with poetic talent, who, with their Hebrew epitaphs, supplied from the Tora and Talmud, provided an honourable, lasting and beautiful remembrance of the deceased. Although the primary intent was to portray the deceased as a God-fearing person, these decorative, image-laden gravestones also revealed the pride of the deceased and of the mourning family. They always, however, show the pride of, if not having been born as a Jew, of at least dying as a Jew. The grave inscriptions were intended as literary creations and are therefore today viewed as a legitimate element of the Hebrew, Portuguese and Spanish literature of their time. One may find possible references to the poetic and artistic originals in the great Sephardic rabbinical libraries of the 17th century, which contain, along with Talmudica and Hebraica, numerous poems, novels, and stage works in Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and French. The Ets Haim and Rosenthaliana libraries in Amsterdam also have numerous collections of poems by Hamburg rabbis. Many gravestone inscriptions furthermore suggest that the Portuguese Sephardim in Hamburg were not only familiar with Iberian Baroque literature and its intellectual and political ideas and societal values, but also with Judeo-Spanish or Judeo-Arabic literature.

### 2.a.1.1.1 *The Development of Grave Inscriptions*

Grave inscriptions were from the beginning composed according to an established basic scheme, which applied universally to Jewish grave inscriptions. The basic elements included an introductory header text, with the name and biographical information and a more or less comprehensive eulogy, the name of the deceased and that of the deceased's father or husband. Even after their reconversion to Judaism, many Hamburg Portuguese families kept their Christian surnames, which they had been given after compulsory baptism and adoption by Christian nobles in the 16th century. Many families therefore bore two, three, or even four names for a long time.

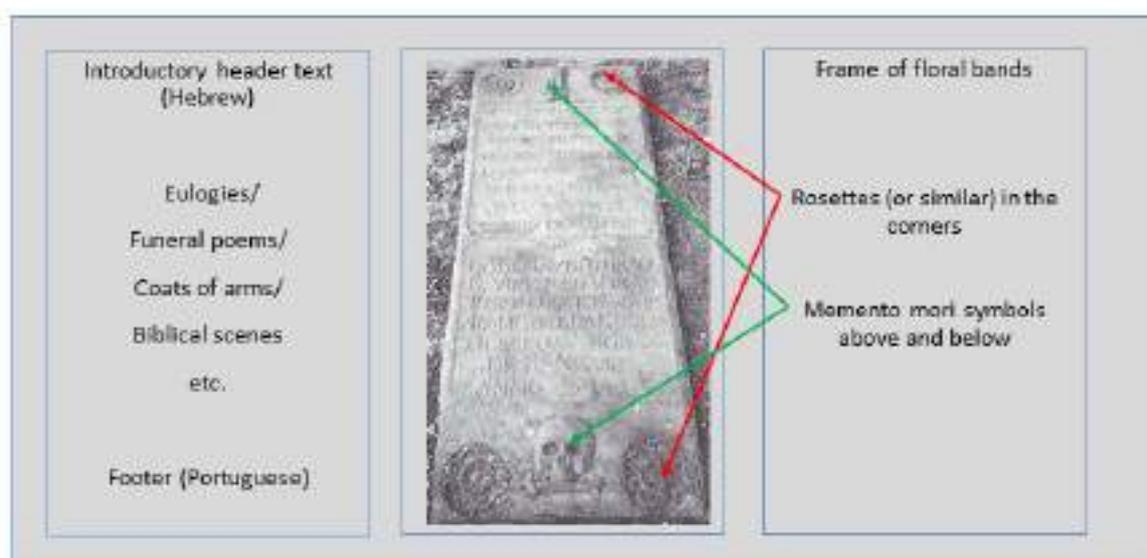


Fig. 83: Composition of gravestone inscriptions

### 2.a.1.1.2 *The Record of the Age*

Although the gravestones contained the date of death, the inclusion of the date of birth was very rare. The date of death was usually entered according to the Jewish calendar, but sometimes also with the date according to the Julian or Gregorian calendar. Sometimes information is supplied on the hour of death, the burial date, the astrological sign under which the deceased was born or died, a Jewish holiday that fell on the date of death, or the exact age (in years, months, weeks, days and hours). Instead of the customary entry of the year through letters which in Hebrew serve as numerals, the date was often expressed through chronograms, which in verse are referred to as *chronisticha*. This means either a breakdown of the numerals of a word such as  $\text{שלום}$  (peace) = 376 or a very long sentence which contains an allusion on the name of the deceased, or his or her personal or temporal circumstances.

### 2.a.1.1.3 *Biblical Names and Quotations*

The Portuguese-Sephardic tomb inscription often began with a Bible quotation which includes the first name of the deceased, as seen on the gravestone of Sara Miriam Senior Coronel who died in 1635:

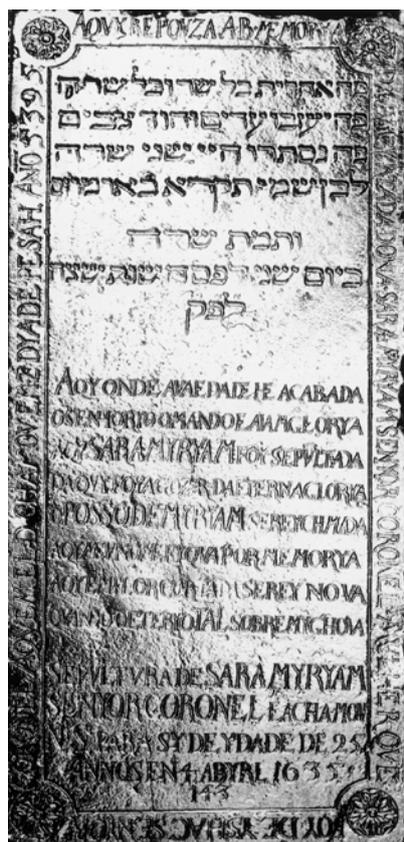


Fig. 84: Gravestone of Sara Miriam Senior Coronel, died 1635, photographer: Jürgen Faust

The inscription on the tombstone of Sara Miriam Senior Coronel evokes the name Sara as well as Miriam, the sister of Moses, who provided water to the Israelites while walking through the desert.

#### 2.a.1.1.4 Epithets and Tituli

The mention of virtues and good works was always present. In the language of Sephardic burial, the naming of titles and positively emphasised nouns were very important. The most commonly used epithets are: “the pious”, “the cherished”, “the worthy”, “the illustrious”, “the learned” and “the aged”. Particularly emphasised in the inscriptions were also the functions and honorary posts, which applied especially to the men of the congregation, here above all the members of the ma’amad (council of elders), parnas regente (director), rabbis, cantors, teachers, treasurers, official scribes, etc. Civic professions were only rarely named, with the exception of physicians among the congregation, who were apparently especially proud of their profession and their abilities.

#### 2.a.1.1.5 Euphemisms

Other matters such as dying, death and afterlife were more likely to be paraphrased in euphemisms. These were mostly carried out in reference to the name of the deceased and made reference to the afterlife, e.g. “His rock and saviour shall protect him”, “the forsaking of this world was the entry into another world, “God summoned him” etc.

#### *2.a.1.1.6 Acrostics*

These rhetorical figures, with words or sentences in gravestone inscriptions formed from the opening lines of a text, mostly with the name of the deceased written vertically, was another literary novelty found in Hebrew gravestone inscriptions. The acrostic was, however, seldom found in Sephardic gravestone design. An example of this is found on the gravestone of Gracia Sara Rodrigues Mendes, where the first letter of each line vertically spells the name G R A S I A.

#### *2.a.1.1.7 Eulogies*

This means, literally, “good word”. In the larger sense, “blessing”, “statement of praise about someone who is dead”. There was no sparing of praise for the deceased, especially in the eulogies, which was part of the decoration of the gravestone. These are praising statements of different lengths, a more or less clever combination of biblical and Talmudic quotes, often in connection with the deceased’s first or last name. Eulogies should capture the memory of the deceased, share the sorrow of the loss, as well as praise the deceased. Eulogies were made for the public, whereby the praising description of the individual generally becomes a valid ideal for the congregation. Eulogies for women held very little personal information, while eulogies for men revealed more. Prototypes for a eulogy for a woman are the “virtuous woman” (Proverbs 31:10-31), the “mistress of the house” and the “crown to her husband”. The chastity or celibacy of the deceased was often emphasised, along with virtue.

#### *2.a.1.1.8 Forms of Conclusion*

Like nearly all Jewish tombstone inscriptions, the inscriptions on Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones almost always end with a form of conclusion and blessing, which in the Hebrew or Portuguese-Spanish inscriptions were mostly rendered in abbreviation, such as: S.A.G.D.[E.]G.A.= Sua Alma Goza da [Eterna] Gloria. Amen (May his/her soul rest in [eternal] peace).

#### *2.a.1.m Tombstones of Important Personalities in the Portuguese-Sephardic Section of the Cemetery*

Particular to the cemetery is also the richness on the graves of important representatives of the Sephardic world. Their stories and deeds reflect the importance of Hamburg’s congregation in the Sephardic world. The inscriptions and symbols, like the designs of the tombs, are often the only testimonials to the histories and biographies of these individuals. To introduce the reader to a few of them:

##### *Dr. Rodrigo de Castro alias David Na(h)mias de Castro*

The noted physician and founder of a famous dynasty of physicians studied medicine in Coimbra, Evora, and Salamanca. Around 1592 he left Portugal and settled in Hamburg, where he gained prominence as a gynaecologist and plague physician. He was personal physician to the King of Denmark, to the Landgrave of Hessen, and to the Dukes of Holstein and Mecklenburg.



**Fig. 85: Gravestone for Dr. Rodrigo de Castro, alias David Na(h)mias de Castro, died 1627; grid quadrant: a10; photographer: Max Halberstadt 1920, Department for Heritage Preservation**

His tomb slab displays rosettes in each corner with grapevines between them to form a frame around the text and image area within. In the centre of this field is a coat of arms with a castle in a cornucopia, with Hebrew text above it and Portuguese below it.

*David Abenatar Melo alias Fernão Alvares Melo*

Fernão Alvares Melo, who probably came from a Gentile family, was born in Fronteira, moved to Amsterdam after 1613, and shortly later purchased Hebrew and Latin typesetting letters in order to be able to print liturgical books. In 1624 he moved to Glückstadt, and later to Hamburg. His translations of the Psalms appeared in Frankfurt or Hamburg in 1626. His tomb slab contains rosettes in the corners and a Hebrew inscription.



**Fig. 86: David Abenatar Melo alias Fernão Alvares Melo, died 1632, grid quadrant: h9; photographer: Jürgen Faust**

### *Paulo de Pina*

Paulo de Pina, from Lisbon, fled the Inquisition to Brazil, then resettled in Amsterdam in 1604 where he found his way back to Judaism. In 1624 he wrote the scenic dialogue *DIALOGO DOS MONTES*; his future son-in-law, the rabbi Moses Abudiente, also took part in the performance. He settled in Hamburg just a few years before his death.

His relatively simple tomb slab, made of sandstone, is decorated with rosettes in the corners and bears two inscriptions, one in Hebrew and one in Portuguese.



**Fig. 87: Paulo de Pina alias Reuel Jessurun, died 1634; Königstraße; grid quadrant: h9; photographer: Jürgen Faust**

### *Isaac de Abraham Jessurun*

Isaac de Jessurun, chief rabbi (haham geral) from Venice, died the 13th of Nisan 5425 (the 9th of March, 1665), published his book "*Livro da Providencia*" in Hamburg.

His grave (area a8) is covered with a tomb slab on which an ohel rests, its long sides framed with vines. On one long side (see Fig. 32) a Portuguese inscription reads "Grave of the virtuous and learned Haham Ribí Jessurum, summoned to God on the 13th of Nisan in the year 5425. May his soul rest in peace"; on the other long side is the Hebrew inscription "This is the inheritance and resting place, it is the grave. Gravestone of the haham, our honourable teacher and master, Isaak Jessurun. May his soul be bound up in the bond of life, and rise to your fate at the end of all days."



Fig. 88: Ohalim of Isaac Jessurun, died 1665, grid quadrant a8, photographer: Michael Studemund-Halévy

- a) narrow side: small tree with small daisies and a Hebrew inscription: The righteous shall flourish like the palm tree.
- b) narrow side: Hebrew inscription: The fruit of the righteous is a tree of life.

*Abraham Senior Teixeira (died 1666)*

The merchant Abraham Senior Teixeira, alias Diogo Teixeira de Sampayo, emigrated to Brazil, and from 1613 conducted his business in Antwerpen as Marrano. In 1646, after a short residence in Cologne, he moved to Hamburg. The German emperor confirmed his aristocratic title. The Teixeiras were among the most prominent Sephardic merchant families of the 17th century. They were financiers to the Danish crown and the court of Holstein-Gottorp. He was named envoy to the Portuguese crown in 1655.



Fig. 89: Ohalim for Abraham (died 1666) and Sara Senior Teixeira (died 1693), grid quadrant b13; photographer: M. Halberstadt

### *Jehuda Karmi*

Jehuda Karmi, possibly from Italy, published the book “De Charitate et Benevolentia” in Amsterdam in 1648. On his ohel we find, on the narrow side, a hand clasping a bush and underneath this the Hebrew inscription: “The righteous shall flourish like the palm tree.” On the other narrow side is a tree of life, underneath it a Hebrew inscription (no longer legible). The long sides bear inscriptions framed by grapevines



Fig. 90: Ohel of Jehuda Kami, died 1672, grid quadrant a11; photographer: Michael Studemund-Halévy

### *Joseph Francês*

The celebrated poet Joseph Francês, called the “Sephardic” Camões, wrote numerous sonnets and odes for members of the Portuguese congregations of Hamburg and Amsterdam.



Fig. 91: Joseph Francês, died 1681; grid quadrant: c11; photo: Michael Studemund-Halévy

His tomb slab is adorned with rosettes in the corners, flanking vanity symbols on the upper and lower edges; above is an hourglass and below a skull and one bone. Between them there are two inscriptions, one in Hebrew and one in Portuguese.

*Baruch/Benedictus Na(h)mias de Castro*

Baruch de Castro, son of Rodrigo de Castro, was personal physician and counsellor to the Queen of Sweden. He was repeatedly attacked by Christian physicians on account of his great successes.



**Fig. 92: Gravestone for Baruch/Benedictus Na(h)mias de Castro, died 1684; grid quadrant: a10; photographer: Michael Studemund-Halévy**

*Semuel de Isaac Abas*

Semuel de Isaac Abas was probably born in Hamburg and after studying in Amsterdam returned there, where he was continually re-elected to high positions in the congregation. He translated Hebrew books into Portuguese and owned the possibly largest Sephardic rabbinical library of the 17th century, which sold at auction in 1693.

An opened book beneath a Keter Torah, the “crown of learning”, on one narrow side of his ohel makes reference to his high standing as a scholar.



Fig. 93: Ohel of Semuel Abas, died 1691; grid quadrant: e14; photographer: Jürgen Faust

*Abraham Cohen Pimentel*

The ohel of Abraham Cohen Pimentel who died in 1697, is adorned with inscriptions on the long sides, on the top and partly on the narrow sides as well. One narrow side depicts an opened book (with text), blessing hands and a crown; the other narrow side portrays held by hands, and vines.



Fig. 94: Abraham Cohen Pimentel, died 1697, grid quadrant d10, photographer: Jürgen Faust

### **The inscriptions:**

a) Hebrew inscription on the upper side: "But the crown of a good name surpasses all" (Pirke Avot 4:17)

b) Hebrew inscription on the crown and Portuguese inscription on the book on the narrow side: "Crown of the priesthood. Resting place of the outstanding Haham asalem Ribí Abraham Cohen Pimentel. Died on the 5th day, the 28th day of Adar in the year 5457.

c) Hebrew inscription on the plaques on the narrow side: Crown of learning. Tomb of the aged and wise man, our honourable teacher, the lord Abraham Cohen Pimentel. Died on the 5th day, the 28th day of Adar in the year 5457. May his soul be bound up in the bond of life.

d) Hebrew inscription on one long side:

right: Grave of the distinguished (noble) man, his name is more exquisite than pearls and his fragrance is like that of roses (lilies), and his deeds like those of Abraham.

left: With wisdom and fulfilment, he brought freedom to his people in the midst of the wasteland. He brought light to the darkness and taught the law as did Abraham.

e) Hebrew inscription on the second long side:

right: He is a priest of the highest order, and strived to do good. He also led those who strayed, as did Abraham.

left: And his angels come to meet him and testify to his righteousness. His peace be an inner light in the Garden of Eden, as was Abraham's.

### *Jacob Rafael Belinfante*

Born in Amsterdam in 1708, the Hamburg cantor and rabbi was commissioned by the congregation to author a "minhag" book illustrated with scenes from the life of Jacob, which is kept in Jerusalem today.

His tomb slab contains rosettes in the corners and blessing hands in the centre of the upper edge, which show him to be a rabbi.



*Jacob de Abraham Bassan*

Rabbi Jacob de Abraham Bassan, born in Amsterdam, gave a sermon on the occasion of the 1755 Lisbon Earthquake which was printed in Hebrew and Portuguese in the same year. His tomb slab shows decorative rosettes in the corners, and, in between in the upper area a “crown of learning”, a sign of his rabbinate. The Portuguese inscription was placed in a raised text field with curved points above and below.



Fig. 96: Gravestone for the rabbi Jacob Bassan, died 1769; grid quadrant: e13; photographer: Michael Studemund-Halévy

*Binjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo*

Binjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo, born in Hamburg and resident in Altona as a book collector and author, was the owner of an important collection of Sephardic manuscripts which were bought by the former Hamburg City Library in 1858. His work as an author is indicated by an opened book without inscription on the narrow side of his ohel.

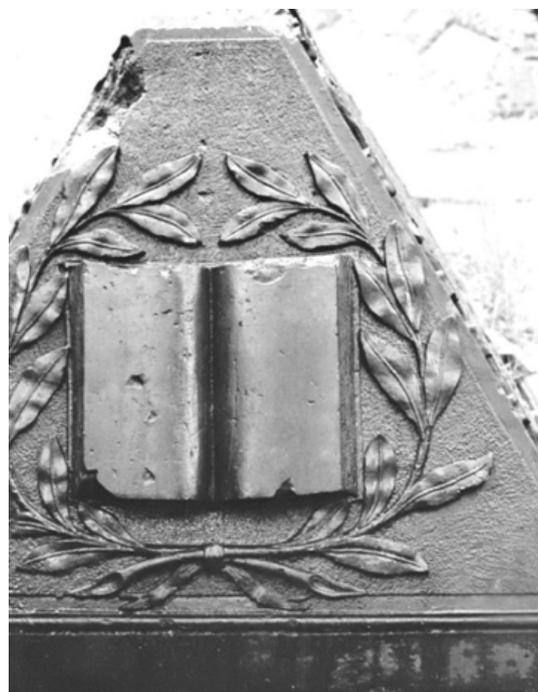
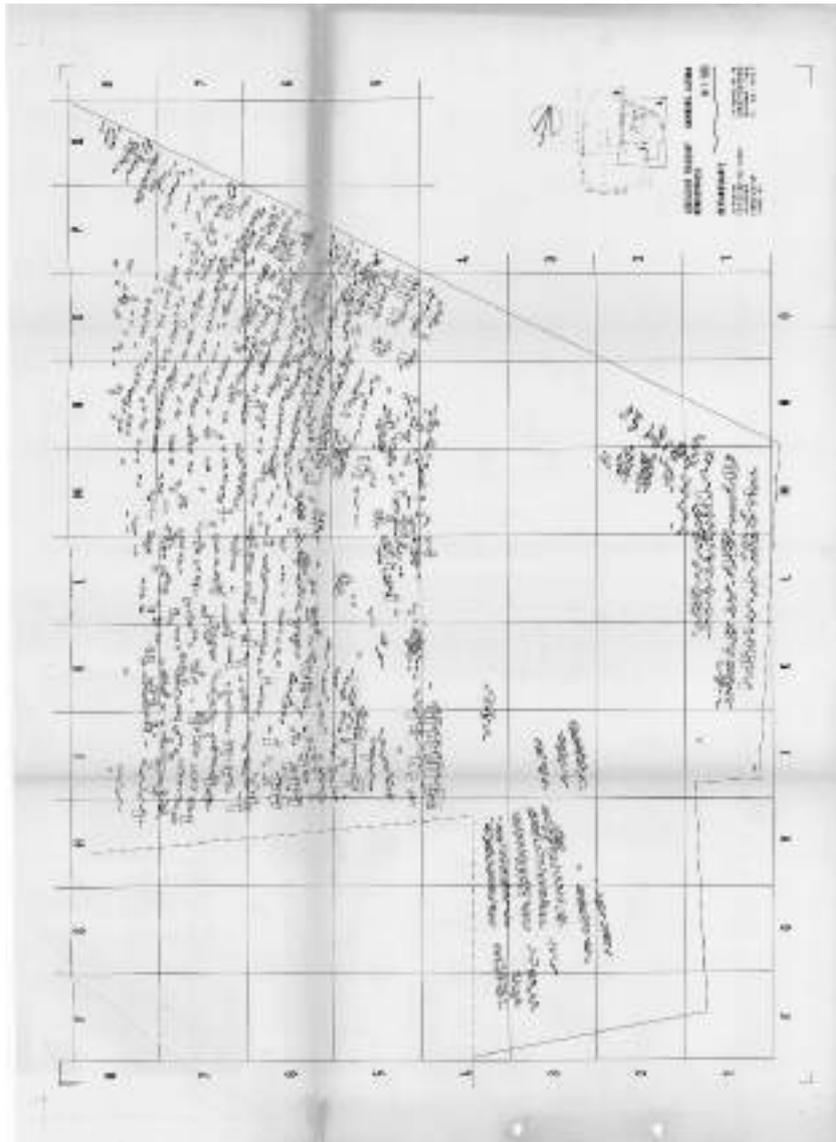


Fig. 97: Ohel for the merchant and book collector Binjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo, died 1801; grid quadrant: d9, photos by Jürgen Faust

## 2.a.2 *The Ashkenazi Section of the Cemetery and its Tombstones*

The Ashkenazi section of the Königstraße Jewish Cemetery in Hamburg-Altona, with an area of 1.43 hectares, was originally an independent, separate cemetery adjoining the Sephardic section to the north and east. Almost 6,700 of its over 7,000 tombstones still exist today, either as intact monuments or as fragments. Nearly half of the existing gravestones are from the 18th century, a prosperous time for the congregation, 250 are from the 17th century and the remaining gravestones are from the 19th century.



**Fig. 98: 1984 map of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona by Elke Buchholz, with mapping of the Ashkenazi part**

The gravestones are of various materials: Until the end of the 18th century they were overwhelmingly made from robust, bound as silicates, Obernkirchen sandstone, from the beginning of the 19th century mostly from softer, more fragile Cotta Elbe sandstone and after the mid-19th century, isolated limestone and hard granite stones also appear. Marble was used sporadically.

The burials were arranged principally in chronological order in rows, divided by gender. However, in Altona it was already possible, even in the cemetery's early years, to reserve grave plots so that married couples could be buried next to each other. This interrupted the chronological order within the rows.

Furthermore, there are areas within individual sections of the cemetery for certain groups of people. Women who died in or after childbirth were buried in a separate area, because they were deemed ritually unclean, and there are areas for children and for unmarried men and women separated according to their gender. These special areas are found in two parts of the cemetery. Prominent individuals such as scholars, above all rabbis, were buried in three specially reserved rows.



**Fig. 99: The oldest Ashkenazi gravestone, Schmu'el ben Jehuda, 17/08/1621, grid quadrant GQ, hha-3361, photographer: Bert Sommer**

The numbers behind Ashkenazi graves are their numbers in the Epidat database, which contains a complete documentation of the stones.

## 2.a.2.a The Cemetery Grounds and its Areas

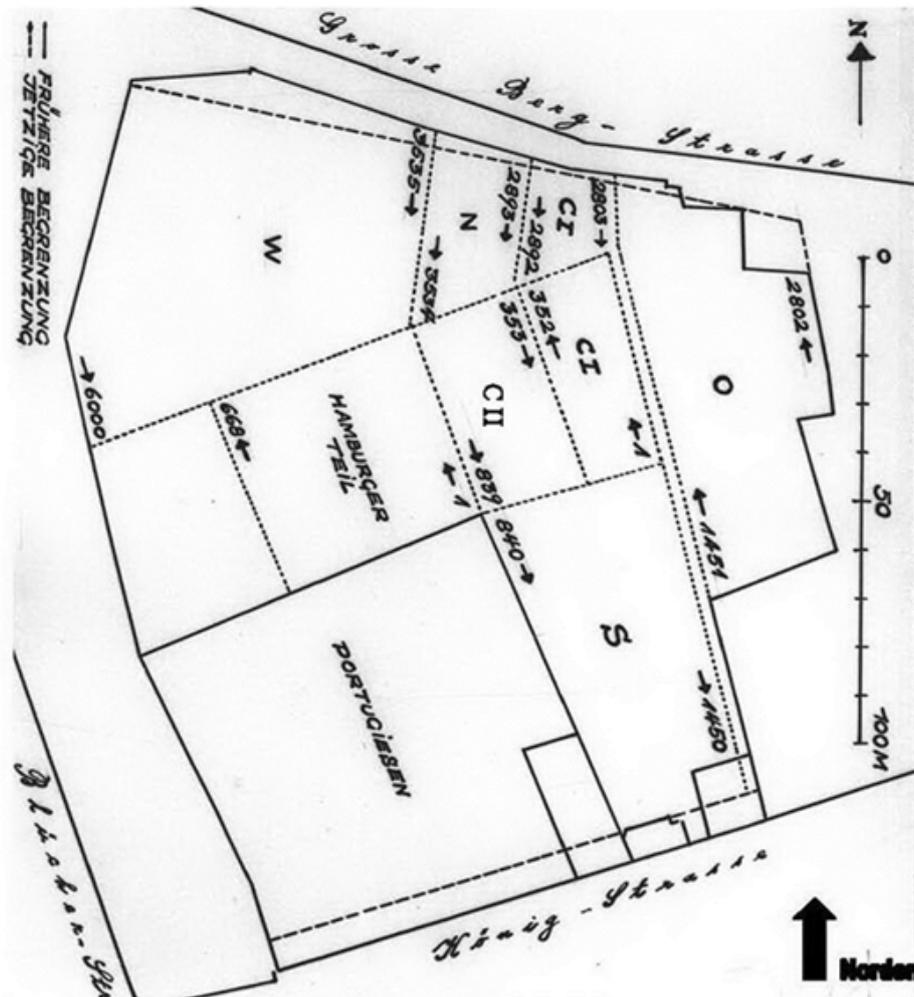


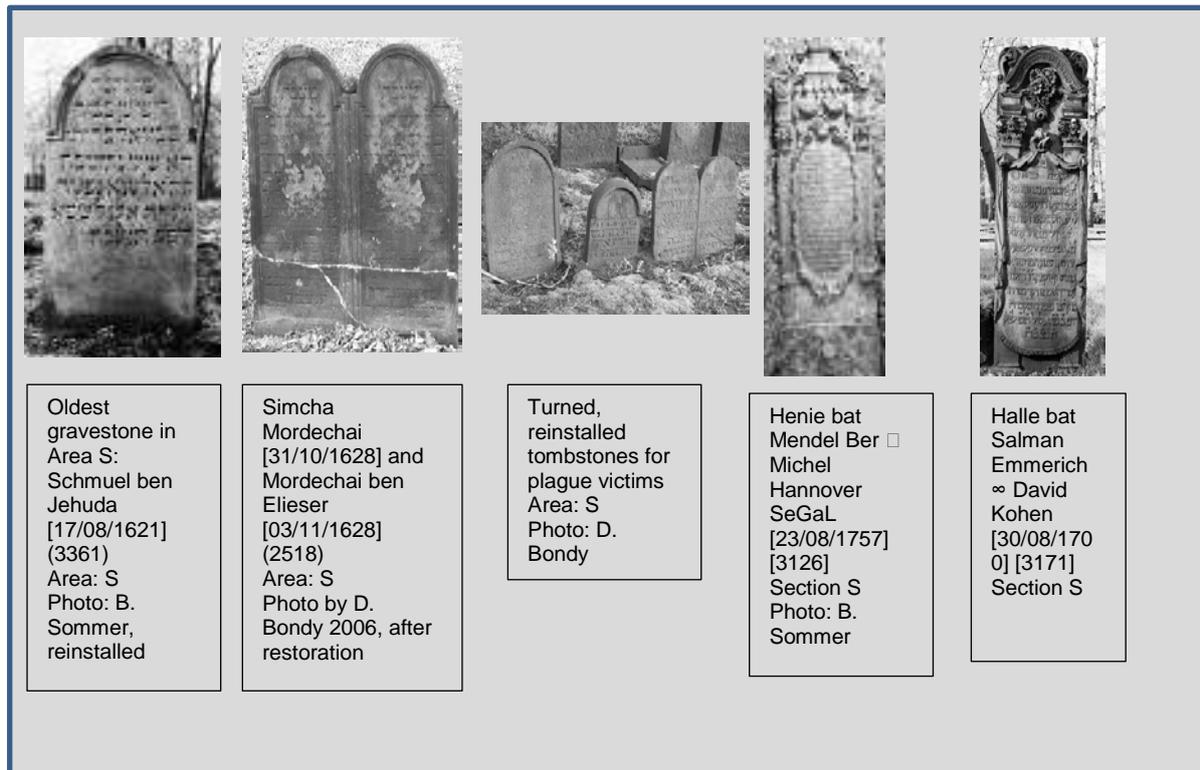
Fig. 100: Late 19th century map of the cemetery with its individual burial areas

In 1874, shortly after its closure, the cemetery was divided into geographical areas (S, N, O, W, C I and C II) to help with orientation, which also correspond somewhat to the course of its use. Although these areas are virtually separate from each other, but when walking the grounds, they lead seamlessly into one another. The gravestones within the separate areas differ in size, material and characteristics, in this way reflecting the zeitgeist.

The **southern area (S)** was in use from 1616 to 1741, making it the oldest Ashkenazi area. It was again put to use again after the beginning of the 19th century when space was scarce in the other areas of the cemetery, and another row was established for rabbis. From the 616 tombstones counted and documented in 1874, 514 still exist today. Intensive restorations were carried out in this area due to its historical significance, and many broken tombstones were repaired and placed again in position. An example is the oldest existing tombstone (No. 3361), of Schmuel bar Jehuda who died in 1621, found very close to the visitors' centre. The small, modest stone is topped with a double-profiled arch. The well-preserved seven lines of inscription, with carved letters justified right, names the aged man as founder of the congregation. His family later took the name "Altona". To the southeast stand three

tombstones (Nos. 2518, 2542, 2540) for victims of the plagues in the years 1628, 1638, and 1639, which are placed turned around, according to custom. The text here is on the western, instead of the customary eastern, side.

In the **northwest part of the southern area** and next to the area CII lie approximately 150 tombstones from the eastern area (O), which was cleared in 1943. These were reinstalled after the end of the war, not chronologically but according to their size. They are from the 2nd half of the 18th century, the majority with inscriptions of up to 10 lines, some with raised lettering, some with engraved lettering, among them several splendid Rococo tombstones (Nos. 3126-3132) from the 1750s and 1760s.



**Fig. 101:** These gravestones from the southern area also provide an overview on the development of grave steles over the course of time

In the **northern area (N)** burials were conducted from 1734 until the end of the 18th century, and then again from 1840 until 1852. 509 of the original 642 tombstones are still in existence, as well as dozens of fragments. This area contains special “rows of honour” with the graves of prominent rabbis, academics and other leading persons in the congregation. The first row of honour comprises 22 steles, of which today 17 still stand in their original places, due to ceded strips on the outside (see History chapter). It was started in 1748 with the interment of Ester, wife of Chief Rabbi Jecheskel Katzenellenbogen (No. 1722), running south to north, and ended with the death of the hermit Mordechai Hirz Levi (No. 0018) in 1796, when the north wall was reached. A second row of honour comprises 18 graves, beginning with the burial of the scholar Samuel Heilbut (No. 1827) in 1764, likewise running south to north and ending with the death of Bendit Scheuer Segal (No. 0831) in 1798.



**Fig. 102: Steles in the northern graveyard**

In two further rows are 29 religious and secular persons of note who had influence beyond the congregation (No. 1674 to No. 0806, from 1759 to 1798 and No. 1744 to No. 1620, from 1743 to 1780). The 60 tombstones in all consist of Rococo steles which unite their visual and textual content in an outstanding way, in that they integrate the individual elements of the inscriptions into the ornamentation and symbolism.

Of special note are the two tombs of the Warburg family, Mirjam Sara bat Awraham Rofe and Schmuel ben Elijahu Warburg, which together are a lovely example of the transition from the ornamented baroque and Rococo style of the 18th century to the clearly structured classicism of the 19th. Each stone, both of which are topped with arches, has an oval text field which takes up approximately two thirds of the stele. While the text field on the stone of Schmuel Warburg is framed with a pearl moulding, the eulogy on his wife's tombstone is bordered by lines which run circularly around the header text, the name and biographical information, and a concluding blessing.



**Fig. 103: Tombstone of Mirjam Sara bat Awraham Rofe, died 1811, photographer: Bert Sommer**



Fig. 104: Tombstone of Schmuel ben Elijah Warburg, died 1826, (Epidat: hha-3536), photographer: Bert Sommer

Near the northern wall, in the northeast part of area N, lie around 80 tombstones which had been removed from the eastern part (O) area in 1943, and laid randomly there after the end of the war. Several dozen tombstones were partly reassembled and reset in this area during restoration work.

The **Centre II (C II)** area lies between the southern (S) and northern (N) areas, and also between the main path to the east and the free area of the Hamburg part in the west. It was used often over the course of time. Of the once 486 tombstones, 420 stones and several dozen fragments have survived. Only a few fragments remain of the approximately 20 tombstones which were erected here after 1846. After the end of the war, about 50 tombstones which had been removed from the eastern area (O) in 1943 were reintroduced here along the path leading from east to west.

To the north and bordering it to the east, is the **Centre I (C I)** area, which in turn consists of two smaller areas. Burials were conducted on one of them from 1741 to 1758, and 1795/96. Here, there is little loss of substance. Out of originally 91 tombstones, 83 have survived. This area was, however, cleared in 1943 (see Chapter 2.b, History). Some of the surviving tombstones were brought back to this place in recent times and laid here.

In the second smaller area of **C I**, which is located on a small man-made hill, burials were conducted from 1848 until the closing of the cemetery. Of the 442 tombstones which stood there in 1874, 228 and several dozen fragments have survived. In recent years, several

dozen stones were brought together and reinstalled in this newest area of the cemetery, while others lie not far from their original locations, often next to their bases.

In the **eastern area (O)**, where burials were conducted from 1758 to 1796 and then again after 1850, there were once 1,358 steles. In 1943 this area was completely cleared, but a great many of the tombstones were stacked in observance of the original rows and after the end of the war, according to their size, laid either there or in others



Fig. 105: Ashkenasi tombstones from the late 18th century

Areas of the cemetery set aside. Today in the area O lie around 660 tombstones in two places, of which around 50 are from area C I. The remaining approximately 300 gravestones and several dozen fragments, which were not stacked in area O, were placed in other areas of the cemetery.

The **western area (W)** is the newest and largest part of the cemetery; here burials took place from 1745 to 1847. Of the original 2,500 tombstones, 1,550 have survived, as well as over 200 fragments. Specific, selected tombstones were restored and reset here, for example that of Fromet Mendelssohn in 2009.

The **“Hamburg part”** is a special, separate area. It was for members of the Altona congregation who lived in Hamburg. It is situated between the Sephardic and the western area of the Ashkenazi cemetery, and is nearly perfectly square. Between 1812 and 1835, members of the Altona congregation living in Hamburg had to bury their dead separately within this area, by order of the authorities. The 668 tombstones erected here were almost completely removed in 1943. Many of the tombstones were shattered when this was done. 30 re-erected stones remain today, among them the tombstone of the father of Heinrich Heine – Samson Heine, which was rediscovered in 2014 – as well as several hundred fragments. The surviving and re-erected tombstones are partially weather-beaten or damaged. As their survival was coincidental, they can only provide a conditionally representative impression of this area. The majority are round or arched at the top, some with a triangular gable sitting above, and they are restrained in their symbols and

ornamentation. Of special note is a tombstone from 1819 (No. 0055), which shows a skull on bones, perhaps an influence of the adjoining Portuguese section of the cemetery.



**Fig. 106: Death's head on the back side of the tombstone of Schneor ben Hirsch Oppenheimer (Süsskind Oppenheimer), died 1819, photographer: Dan Bondy**

The text is predominantly in Hebrew. Some of the inscriptions on the backs of the stones are in German. One exception is the well-preserved tombstone of Samson Heine (see above), died 1828, which is engraved only in German, and had already been renovated towards the end of the 19th century.



**Fig. 107: All stones were relocated from the so-called Hamburg Area, due to construction plans in 1943.**

Around 300 fragments, bases and some intact stones remain in the otherwise cleared field. There are additionally around 780 intact stones, both engraved and plain fragments of various sizes, which were stored in a drainage area from 2004 onwards and which were laid on a free part on the western wall between the Hamburg area and the Portuguese cemetery, and distributed in 2x2 metre squares.

### 2.a.2.b The Grave Steles: Form, Material, Size

The basic form for tombstones in the Ashkenazi part is an upright rectangular stele, whereby a large variety is present in the design of the individual tombstones. Closer observation reveals that in the course of three centuries of use, the cemetery on one hand retained continuity, on the other hand there were changes, renovations, an adaptation to changing artistic tastes and fashions. Tombstones which correspond to the purported typical Jewish form – simple, stones characterised by artistic restraint, often without bordering, with engraved writing and with one of many variants of the round arches at the top – can be seen through the entire time period of the cemetery’s use.

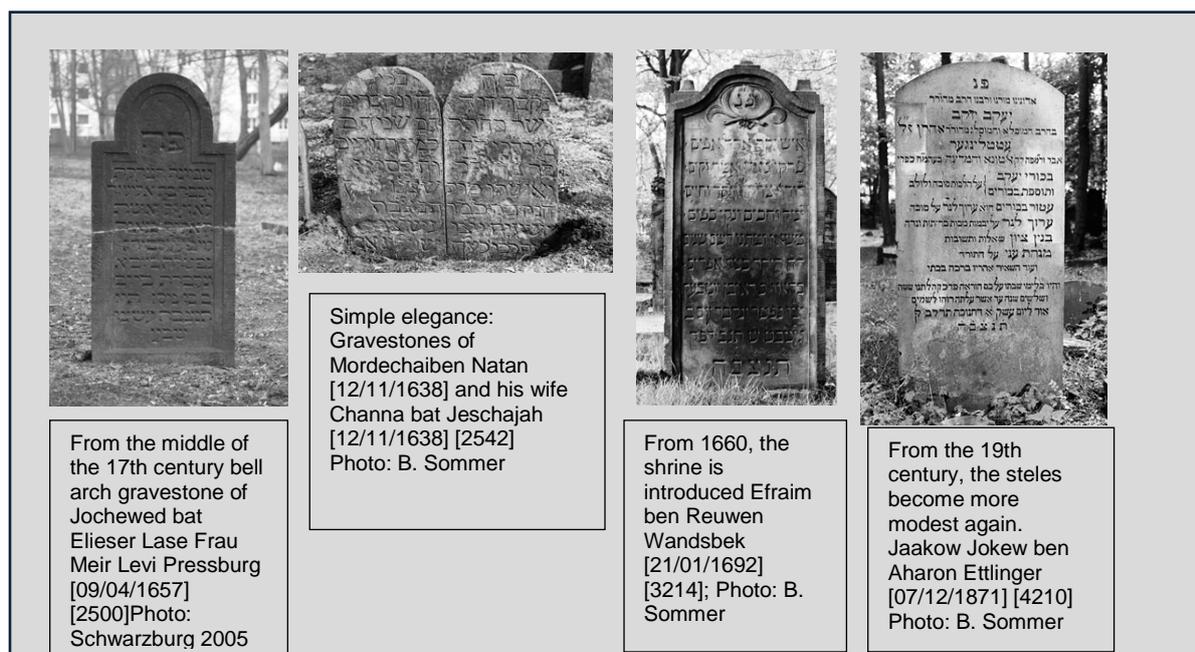


Fig. 108: Ashkenazi tombstone designs in the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona

The “typical” tombstone design, characterised by a simple elegance, is predominant in the cemetery’s first decades of use. The rounded arch or basket arch is found on single stones as well as on the double stones of married couples. The text field can be borderless, the top framed or enclosed by a single or multiple profiled edge. The bell arch dominated the text field design after the mid-17th century. The arch creates a separate area which raises the header, often with the use of larger letters.

With the establishment of the congregation and perhaps also with the wealth it attained, new types of tombstones began to appear after the 1660s, namely monumental grave steles shaped like shrines, resembling monuments from antiquity. These, paired with the influences of the Baroque Era with its playful forms and rich ornaments, led to a substantial

accumulation of artistically magnificent tombstones. Here the gable is specially rich in variety and adornment; the text field below it often bears opulent decorations, symbols and ornaments. But the decoration of the sides has also become increasingly opulent. The text area has become more integrated into the design, the first inscriptions appeared with well-crafted, costly raised lettering. This clearly more expensive inscription work is common throughout the Königstraße cemetery and can be found on well over half of the tombstones. In the early 18th century the inscriptions become more often enclosed in open royal robes; this has been named the "Hamburg style". After the mid-18th century the simpler forms regain prominence, the tombstones are becoming smaller, and by the end of the century the Baroque style is no longer in use in the cemetery.

At the eve of the 19th century two main forms of simpler gravestones appear; the first an unframed stele with a smooth surface and engraved writing, the other an often flat, framed stele with raised lettering on a rough surface. The 19th century, however, brings with it a series of innovations which, along with increasing acculturation, stem from within the Jewish community. Thus a variety of forms arise. Obelisks and columns on pedestals or bases are popular, but also tombstones in the form of neo-Gothic blind windows.

The inscriptions now tend more to have raised lettering than engraving, and contain often no more than ten lines. The lettering styles begin to change in the 1790s, in accordance with the new style of simpler tombstones with rough backgrounds. The lettering is blockier, the letters themselves weightier and rounder. From 1810, inscriptions are seen that begin with a Bible verse with direct association to the deceased (e.g. No. 5595 from 1843 and No. 4583 from 1826). Some stones from the 1820s and 1830s have very long Hebrew inscriptions (No. 4596 from 1826 and No. 4594 from 1834).

Tombstones for adults mostly have raised text framed by a border, while stones for children have unbordered, engraved text.

The new forms gained acceptance over time. Thus next to tombstones with the old familiar forms one also finds several obelisks with square footprints ending in pyramidal points, as well as stones in the form of neo-Gothic blind windows with equilateral or excessively pointed arches and stylised tracery. There is also an increasing placement of text on both sides of tombstones, the inscription on the back being mainly in German (see Languages further below).

The double-side tombstones hold Hebrew or German inscriptions on the reverse side. Here the use of Hebrew, never more than one or two lines, serves as orientation in the largest part of the cemetery; the use of German, which increased over the years, shows the degree of increasing acculturation, as for example the (later refurbished) gravestone of Abraham Isaac (No. 4890), died 1820, with its German inscription of 14 lines.

The gravestones which were renovated decades later show entirely different forms, like the four-sided rectangular upright stone posted on a square base, with segment pediment (No. 5030), which replaced an older tombstone. The same applies to the tombstone of Fromet Mendelssohn (No. 5040), renovated by her grandson Alexander Mendelssohn, with gable and corner acroteria, which was restored and reset in 2009, after having been destroyed.



Fig. 109: Late-period Ashkenazi steles with completely different design characteristics

### 2.a.2.c Design and Development of Grave Steles

In the first decades the main characteristic lies in the design of the Ashkenazi gravestones on the inscriptions, however, symbols and ornaments are also found, mostly in restrained form, as well as gables which depart from those described as authentically Jewish, and introduce other forms like the broken pediment (No. 1180) and the implied pilaster.

The gravestones became increasingly larger and in the Baroque period achieve a height of over two metres; their width can reach over one metre, and their depth remains at around 20 centimetres, rarely exceeding 25 centimetres. They are increasingly plain in their execution, like the barely two-metre-high, doubly profiled, curved arch gravestone of Chaim Hameln (No. 3269), who died in 1689 – the prematurely deceased husband of the famous Glückel von Hameln – the only decorative element on the gravestone is the Levi pitcher, referring to his background. It has, however, a complex inscription, partially written in Aramaic, as a sign of his scholarship; his name, Chajim (in Hebrew, life), engraved multiple times in artistic texts. The inscriptions are the primary focus of many tombstones from the late 17th century. In a few sentences they characterise the deceased, like the “enterprising” Bella Hildesheim (No. 1363), died 1708, or the “war hero” Jizchak ben Jaakow Reuwen (No. 1472), died 1700, and convey a sense of the individuals of the congregation, rather than only the religious or secular elite class.

Other tombstones, however, are designed much more opulently: The tombstone of Elijahu Model from Vienna, who died in 1713, a rabbinical educated head of the congregation (No. 1358), is topped with a multiple profiled flat bell arch flanked by two balls; the gable holds a hand from a cloud pouring water from a Levi pitcher into a round bowl. This is framed by the

first line of the inscription which consists of a Bible verse describing the ascent of the prophet Elijah to Heaven. The raised inscription, which characterises the learnedness of the eponymous deceased, is flanked by two Solomonic half-columns.



**Fig. 110: Tombstone of Halle bat Salman Emmerich, died 1700, photographer: Bert Sommer (hha-3171)**

It generally applies that the tombstones of women are no less opulent, as for example the stone of Halle bat Salman Emmerich (died 1700), (No. 3171) (see Abb. 95: and Fig. 104), an upright rectangular stele flanked by spirals of acanthus leaves connoting the shape of an aedicule. The text area is culminated by a curved arch, which rests on pilasters as an archivolt in the form of a band with a single line of text, with flower garlands underneath. The text area is superimposed inside an open robe which falls to both sides from a knot and flows into two other knots attached to pilasters. The side drapery frames the text field, the bottom part of the cloth flows down into a train flanked by implied pilaster bases. The eulogy artistically integrates a direct addressing of the deceased, above all lamenting her

childlessness. The surviving husband praises her feminine virtues: beauty, industriousness, marital love. The name of the deceased appears additionally as an acrostic, and in the eulogy in verse form in the closing rhyme. Some researchers maintain that the robe was a reminder of the Danish royal robe and is found only here in Altona. Others point out, however, that it refers to the Torah mantel. This can also be found in other cemeteries, for example in Ouderkerk.

A further example is the tombstone of Rösle who died in 1699 (No. 3186), second wife of Ber Kohen, who died after just one and a half years of marriage and left behind a six-month old son. Her upright rectangular stele, one of those which has been restored and reseeded, suggests an aedicule with a text field flanked by pilasters which support a gable with words denoting struggle. The text field is below a multiple profiled arch, and above a flower arrangement. The first line of the inscription, in semi-circular form, names the deceased in the context of a Bible verse (*Shoshana*, Hebrew for Rose). The eulogy consists of tripartite sentences, composed from word pairs. It laments her early death and conveys impressions of Rösle's personality, whose name also appears vertically as an acrostic. Her noble background and her marriage into an equally noble family are especially emphasised.



Fig. 111: Tombstone of Rösle bat David Tewle Schiff Hakohen, died 1699, (hha-3186)

The tombstone of Naftali Hirz Elb from 1770 (No. 1598), a magnificent upright rectangular Baroque stele with richly decorated gable area and two-part text field. Name, common name and year of death are artistically depicted in the gable area, the name and year appear as chronogram in a two-line banderol, his common name “Herz” is symbolised by a depiction of a heart. Underneath in a profiled frame is a superimposed tablet with 20-line inscription enumerating his outstanding qualities and deeds, and bitterly lamenting his death. His name is emphasised twice; as acrostic, emphasised through larger letters on the right edge at the beginning of each line, and as so-called concrete poetry, as “optical rhyme” at the left edge in the upper area of the text field.



Fig. 112: Tombstone of Naftali Hirz Elb, died 1770 (No. 1598), photographer: Bert Sommer

The tombstone of Jacob Hakohen, died 1800 (No. 1601), example of an important Rococo stele, with its crown of the Torah, priestly honour and the deceased good name, included in writing and in pictures, also shows blessing hands together with the symbol of ancestry above and in the gable area. The text field depicts a robe spread open, falling from an opulent lace canopy and held by two large knots on the sides.



**Fig. 113: Tombstone of Jacob Hakohen, died 1800 (No. 1601), photographer: Bert Sommer**

Through noble abstention of ornaments, other tombstones offer a larger space for longer, complex texts, as for example the inscription on the large stele of the famous private scholar and book printer, Jakob Emden (No. 1586), died 1776.



Fig. 114: Tombstone of Jakob Emden, died 1776, photographer: Bert Sommer

Yet other steles represent a “hybrid form”, in which symbols appear discreetly in the gable, as with that of Jecheskel Katzenellenbogen (No. 1721), the prominent scholar, who was Chief Rabbi in Altona from 1714 to 1749.



Fig. 115: Tombstone of Jecheskel Katzenellenbogen, died 1749, photographer: Bert Sommer

The creative period of Elkana ben Pessach, the author of 138 funerary poems found in the Ashkenazi part of the cemetery, falls between 1692 and 1721. His artworks of four to eight lines (depending on the length of the name utilised) characterises the deceased, concisely and accurately, sometimes seriously and sometimes humorously, in a way unusual for grave inscriptions.

Of special note at the Altona cemetery are the many masonry symbols, especially from the 18th century, which were carved in the top and bottom ends of the tombstones.



**Fig. 116: Tombstone of Mordechai Gumpel Schnaber, died 1797 (No. 0809), photographer: Bert Sommer**

A text field clearly partitioned into smaller areas also serves as a decorative element and lends a visual impression, such as the tombstone of the noted physician Mordechai Gumpel Schnaber (No. 0809), who died in 1797, which is divided, in both content and visually, into five parts: An introduction and an ancestry symbol, two fields for the rhyming eulogy, depicting both the deceased's Hebrew and common name with two acrostics, followed by the naming of his works as well as the formal part with name and dates.

#### 2.a.2.d Symbols and Depictions Used

Just under 10% of the tombstones bear symbols. The symbols used the most, much like at other Ashkenazi cemeteries, are the hands raised in priestly blessing (133 times) and the Levi pitcher (191 times). Administrative symbols such as the shofar (ram's horn) and quill for a sofer (Torah scribe) are found nine times, symbols for names like Gans, Herz or Hirsch are found 49 times, as well as crowns (49 times) which are used for different meanings. Alongside these Jewish symbols we also find general vanity symbols like the death's head, the hourglass with or without wings, and, although only from the first third of the 19th century onwards, extinguished torches. These are prevalent in the so-called "Hamburg part", possibly influenced by the adjoining Sephardic section.

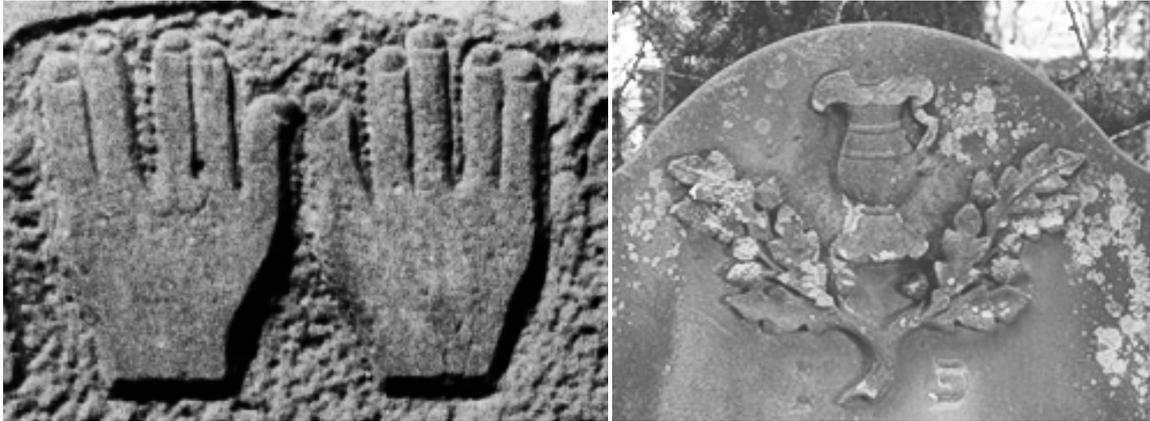


Fig. 117: Blessing hands and Levi pitchers on Ashkenazi tombstones at the Jewish Cemetery of Hamburg Altona, photos by Bert Sommer



Fig. 118: Ram's horn and quill on Ashkenazi tombstones at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, photos by Bert Sommer



Fig. 119: A hart (German = "Hirsch") on the tombstone of Zwi Hirsch, died 1807, photographer: Bert Sommer



Fig. 120: Winged hourglass on the tombstone of Jakob Heilbutt, died 1843, photographer: Bert Sommer



Fig. 121: Felled tree on the tombstone of Mosche Renner, died 1787, photographer: Bert Sommer



Fig. 122: Hourglass and extinguished torch on the tombstone of Chajim Zell, died 1833, photographer: Bert Sommer

The large, opulently designed tombstones of Berend Kohen (No. 1238 from 1728) and his son Jehuda Seligman (No. 1231 from 1741), show a crown (representing the deceased's good name) in the centre of the gable area, below it a cartouche with blessing hands carved in relief as a symbol of ancestry, flanked or held by two magnificent lions. This refers to the name Jehuda, which in the Book of Genesis is associated with a lion.



**Fig. 123: Crown, blessing hands and lions on the tombstone of Issachar Ber ben Jehuda Seligman, died 1728; photographer: Bert Sommer**

#### 2.a.2.e Symbols and Depictions Used

The inscriptions on the Ashkenazi tombstones of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona are, from the beginning, composed in Hebrew and placed on the front side of the stone. From 1754 onwards, the reverse sides of the stones were occasionally engraved as well, at first only in Hebrew and only the names, intended to help in the search for individual graves. In the last decade of the 18th century, the inscriptions began to be in two languages: the first German inscription appeared in 1791, on the reverse side of a child's tombstone. As is so often the case, here, too, children's graves prepare the way for innovation. In subsequent years until 1805, the number of stones with engravings on the rear numbered less than ten percent. By 1821 this number climbed to about a third. By the 1830s and 1840s half of the gravestones have inscriptions on both sides, and from 1850 onwards even 75-90 percent. In all, 450 tombstones have inscriptions on both sides; this is about 15 percent of all gravestones from the time between 1754 and 1869.

Two thirds of these reverse side inscriptions are in German; the rest are in Hebrew. There are 322 bilingual gravestones, amongst them are four in English from 1822 to 1855.

In the first decades of double-sided tombstone inscriptions, the text on the rear, whether in Hebrew or German, contained only the name of the interred. In 1820 the first longer German inscription is seen on the back of a stone, in the years following, the rear side gradually gains in importance, in the late 1830s the German inscriptions on the back begin to include biographical information, in the 1850s the inscriptions become longer, a heading and a

conclusion are added and, more increasingly, a eulogy. Texts on the reverse side written in Hebrew remain frugal, often limited to the name alone. In all it can be said that since the back of the gravestone began to be used as a text area, a steady increase in its use can be observed, and along with the increase in the occurrence of their use comes an increase in the amount of (German) text as well. The closer one approaches the end of the cemetery's "active" period, the more one finds graves with inscriptions on both sides, and the longer those inscriptions become.

#### 2.a.2.f Grave Inscriptions

In the cemetery's early years, the inscriptions were frugal, imparting names and dates, therefore the necessary information about the deceased. Around the mid-17th century, the inscriptions begin to become longer and more complex, which needs more room, leading to the tombstones becoming larger. An interplay rich in variety between form and content, formula and freedom, begins to develop. Thus the plain tombstones at the threshold of the 18th century harbour artistically composed inscriptions which have unusual style elements and also fulfil the highest linguistic expectations. The use of Aramaic often serves as a sign of a thorough religious education and as a special honour and distinction for the person interred there. With other grave steles the main focus is on its design. Richly ornamented Baroque and Rococo steles contain short texts which communicate only the more basic information of names and dates. Some stones, however, unite both of these aspects: The middle of the stone, richly decorated with sculpted symbols and ornaments, above all botanical decor, sports an elaborate inscription in verse metre and a visually recognisable rhyme.

At the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century, the inscriptions on many tombstones are optically divided into information, eulogy as well as introductory line and concluding blessings. Aesthetic is the desired aspect; the writing itself is decoration and ornament. A magnificent example is the tombstone of the Rabbi Noah Chajim Zwi Berlin (No. 1252), died 1802, which tells of his works in the uppermost section (see Fig. 124).

#### 2.a.2.g Graves of Notable Persons

The initial idea to establish a "row of honour" and a "row of rabbis" in the Jewish cemetery did not come up until the 18th century. The following rabbis, hermits, rabbinical assessors, dayanim (judges), presidents and scholars found their final resting places in rows of honour. Some gravestones are placed together.

The inscriptions of the Rabbis in the Ashkenazi part document the matter-of-fact awareness and the pride of a centuries-old scholarly tradition, the knowledge and mastery of its literary canon, the Bible, Talmud, Midrasch and liturgies, from whose sophisticated verses texts were composed with literary originality, skilful in praising and making reference to the deceased, trusting that the readers share a similar knowledge of the canon which will allow them to understand the allusions and hints.



Fig. 124: Rows of honour in the Ashkenazi part of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona



Fig. 125: Tombstones of prominent rabbis in the Ashkenazi part of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona

### *Jakob Emden*

Adorned with numerous Bible quotations, the stele of Jakob Emden (No. 1586) honours him with the titles and attributes of an incumbent rabbi, although he did not belong to the official rabbinical leadership of the community. It attests to his great knowledge of the canon, of the Kabbalah, but also in many secular sciences. His tombstone is adorned with an inscription consisting of 19 lines of verse. The acrostic, emphasised by the enlarged letters at the beginning of the lines, spells Emden's Hebrew name: Jakob Israel.

### *Jehonatan Eibeschutz*

The inscription on the gravestone of his great adversary, Jehonatan Eibeschutz (No. 1593), died 1764, gives the name, date, title and an urgent appeal to return to the faith, to good deeds and humility, written by the deceased himself.

These tombstones from more recent times show a marked visual contrast to the older monuments: Their surface is rough, their lettering bulkier and rounder, with some the text field is divided into several areas, an artistic design which goes far beyond the texts themselves and acts as support for the creative energy which emanates from the artistic representation.

### *Noach Chajim Zwi Berlin*

An outstanding example of this is the tombstone of Chief Rabbi Noach Chajim Zwi Berlin (No. 1252). The text field of Noach Chajim Berlin's upright rectangular stele has five parts of different sizes: At the top is a flat gable field with a fan shaped border which artistically introduces the works of the Chief Rabbi. Centred beneath the gable is the salutation in a mandola-shaped wreath which flows into the inscription. The formal part with names, offices, and dates follows, and underneath is the longest section with 13 lines, containing many Bible verses full of praise and lamentation for the great scholar. In a formal structure with a long name acrostic and a visual rhyme, doubly emphasised in "concrete poetry" form, a visual play with the text exists which reminds of the calligram from Antiquity, which had recently been revisited in the German poetry of the Baroque.

### *Jecheskel Katzenellenbogen*

The rectangular stele of Rabbi Jecheskel Katzenellenbogen (No. 1721) is adorned with palmettos which flank its arch on both sides and decorated with a banderol, which makes reference to the underlying text, naming works by him, their titles in opulent lettering written into open books. The inscription itself is kept brief and, on express order of the great scholar himself, conveys only names, offices and day of death.

## 2.b History and Development

The Jewish Cemetery in Hamburg-Altona is more than just a final resting place. It is a reflection of the history of Ashkenazi and Sephardic Judaism and, in the configuration in Hamburg, a unique testament to the 17th and 18th centuries: of the Sephardic Diaspora, but also of the places which have taken in these Jews. There is a reason why the cemetery is called “House of Life” in Judaism; a place of eternal rest for the dead, a place of memory for the living. The cemetery plays an especially important role in Portuguese-Sephardic history as the prototype of the cemeteries for the Sephardim who emigrated (fled) from Spain and Portugal and found a new home here.

To understand the meaning and the history of this cemetery for the two communities as well as their differences, their histories shall be explained here, and that of the ensemble itself in the 2nd part.

### 2.b.1 *Sephardim and Ashkenazim*

Judaism is comprised of two main branches which have developed separately since ancient times: the Sephardim and the Ashkenazim. Both communities appeal to the Torah and the Talmud as their basis of life. The differences relate to language, traditions, rituals and liturgy, as well as the concrete interpretation of individual biblical rules, which usually are more strictly observed by the Ashkenazim. One of the most important points of cultural identity is the pronunciation of Hebrew. The two communities lead parallel existences even today. At the top, two Chief Rabbis preside in Jerusalem, one Ashkenazi and one Sephardi.

#### 2.b.1.a History of the Sephardim

The name Sephardim has its origins in the Middle Ages from the biblical place name Sepharad (Obadiah 1:20) and referred to the Jews who lived in Islamic al-Andalus, and later to all Jews living in Spain.

Iberian (Sephardic) Judaism flourished after the Muslim conquering of the Iberian Peninsula in 711. Under their Arabic – and later Christian – rulers, their rabbis, poets, scholars, and above all their doctors helped to shape what is known as the Sephardic “golden era”, which ended with the forced expulsions and forced baptisms of all Jews from Spain in 1492. Those who did not wish to be baptised emigrated to Portugal or Northern Africa, where numerous Sephardic Jews were already living, who had to flee from the pogroms in the Spanish realms in the 14th century. Any unbaptised Jew found in Spain after 01 August 1492 was executed immediately.

The expellees spread out to all directions. Many found refuge in the south, in the sultanates of the North African Maghreb, in cities like Fez, Tetuan, Oran and Tunis. Some fled to Italy, where they were taken in by the Papal States and by northern Italian principalities such as Livorno, Ancona, Venice, Ferrara, and Mantua. The majority fled to the Ottoman Empire, particularly Istanbul and Thessaloniki, to Izmir in Asia Minor as well as to Damascus, Cairo, Jerusalem and Safed.

There are contradictions in the numbers of Sephardic Jews who fled Spain. Contemporary sources speak of up to 300,000. Today this number is considered outdated. New estimates assume the number of refugees to have been between 90,000 and 122,000.



Fig. 126: Paths of escape for Spanish Jews after the Decree of 1492 (Alhambra Decree)

Jews who fled in 1492 to Portugal were compulsorily baptised there in 1497. These baptised “new Christians” (also called marranos, conversos, and cristãos-novos) afterwards integrated into the rest of the population. They practised every kind of vocation, from farming to physician to university professor. Some married into old Christian aristocratic families, or even climbed to highest levels of the church hierarchy. Among them were many business people who were also scholars and intellectuals; heirs and ambassadors of great Judaeo-Arabic knowledge in the fields of mathematics, astrology, nautical science, geography, cartography, biology and medicine, and who thereby played a very important role in the opening up of the world.

In spite of their integration, however, many forcibly baptised Jews were shortly thereafter victims of the Portuguese Inquisition which was established already in 1536, and targeted not the Jewish faith but rather people of Jewish origin. After the annexation of Portugal to Spain in 1580, roughly 10,000 to 15,000 “new Christians” — as well as some old Christians — emigrated to France (Bayonne, Bordeaux, Bastide, Peyrehorade and Saint-Esprit), Italy (Venice, Livorno) and the northern European port cities, with which many already had commercial ties, particularly to Amsterdam and Hamburg. There they founded new Jewish communities, or competed with the existing ones.

From Amsterdam and Hamburg – and later from London as well – the ex-“new Christians”, having now reverted to Judaism, departed for the New World, here above all to the Caribbean (Surinam, Curaçao, Jamaica, Barbados, Nevis, etc.). There they met both Jews

and “new Christians”, who had settled in the Caribbean and in New York after the Portuguese conquered Recife in 1654.



Fig. 127: Overseas ties of the Sephardim in Hamburg (17th century)

The Hamburg Sephardim – they almost always referred to themselves as Portuguese, which is why they are hereafter called “Portuguese-Sephardic” – established an international economic, religious, cultural and linguistic network. They were 17th century global players in the trade of sugar, spices, diamonds and slaves, and were among the pioneers of modern global capitalism. They can be credited for the decisive impulses behind the establishment and development of the stock exchange. They helped to shape a modern ethos based on rationality, which was formative for the economic development of cities like Hamburg, Amsterdam, London, and New York.

The Sephardic community of Hamburg declined in its significance over the course of the 18th century, however it remained in existence until the years of the Third Reich.

### 2.b.1.b History of the Ashkenazim

Ashkenaz is originally the medieval Hebrew name for Central Europe, and particularly for the German-speaking areas as well as northern France. With the eastward migrations from the 14th century onwards, the designation came to include Poland, Lithuania, White Russia and the Ukraine. Ashkenazi Jews is therefore the term for central, northern and eastern European Jews, in particular those who lived and are living in the German speaking area as well as present-day Poland, Lithuania, Belarus and the Ukraine.

The first mention of a Jewish community in the German-speaking area dates back to the year 321 in Cologne. The next mention of individual Jews living in Ashkenaz is not until the ninth

century. In the 10th century, Jewish presence in Ashkenaz results from immigration primarily from Provence and northern Italy. The foundation of the three “SchUM” communities of Mainz (from 917), Worms and Speyer (from 980), represents the beginning of Ashkenazi Judaism. In the 10th century, their Talmud schools became the centre of rabbinical learning, and their scholars were the authority in Jewish jurisprudence in Ashkenaz. The 1096 pogroms in the wake of the First Crusade claimed thousands of victims and led to the destruction of many communities, especially those along the Rhine. In a few decades, however, these communities recovered from this serious blow. The old houses of learning thrived once more in the 12th century. Around this time, Yiddish emerged, a so-called “fusion language” written with Hebrew characters. According to general opinion, this is a western Germanic language that arose from Middle High German and was enhanced by Hebrew, Aramaic, Latin, Slavic and other linguistic elements.

Pogroms, already occurring in the middle of the 13th century and heightened during the plague epidemics in French and German speaking areas, returned in 1348/49 against Ashkenazi; at least 300 communities were destroyed. Many of the survivors flee mainly to Poland and Lithuania, where they were welcome and where they participated in the development of the economy. Yiddish spread with them, first to eastern Europe, where it took on Slavic elements. Yiddish spread with the waves of migrations in the modern era, especially to the New World. It became the primary language of the Ashkenazi Jews until the Holocaust.

As the tax burdens became increasingly more pressing in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries, Jews began to be expelled from German cities, which ended in 1519 with their expulsion from Regensburg. Ashkenazi Jews once again fled in great numbers, first to northern Italy and later again to Poland and Lithuania. Those who remained were driven into the countryside, where hundreds of small – and tiny – settlements were formed.

The situation for Ashkenazi Jews improved by the beginning of the 17th century; they were allowed once again into the cities, and new communities were established. Around the mid-17th century, many Ashkenazi Jews joined, who had fled from eastern Europe to western and central Europe, following increased pogroms. Thus it was Jews from Holstein-Schauenburg, like the community founder Samuel Altona, who died in 1621, and Natan Spanier, who died in 1646, leader of the Landjudenschaft Schauenburg (an administrative body), and Jews from eastern Europe, such as Sara (died 1651), daughter of the physician Schmuel from Lublin, and Rabbi Simcha Lotzker from Vilnius, who died in 1656, whom the Altona Ashkenazi community has to thank for its establishment in the 17th century.

## **2.b.2 *Sephardic and Ashkenazi Burial Rituals***

In Judaism, the soul – the divine part of humans – is the foundation of life for the body, and the bearer of all functions of life. Upon death (or within thirty days) it leaves the body, rises up to God and effects the termination of life.

Since the late Middle Ages and into the 17th and 18th centuries, the so-called funerary brotherhoods (hevrot or chewra kaddisha) were responsible for the Sephardic and Ashkenazi burial culture, which was also the case in Altona. The first Sephardic hevra existed in Altona

in 1629 at the earliest; the first Ashkenazi hevra from 1685 at the latest. The hevra tended to the ritual washing of the deceased (tahara), the dressing of the body and the prescribed burial. Membership in a hevra was an honourable and distinguished post. The hevra not only watched over the orderly preparation and execution of the burial, they also ensured that the rules were upheld at the burial grounds. The maximum allowed size of the gravestone, for example, was determined by the Sephardic hevra. A reason for this instruction may have been the attempt to place narrow limits on the excessive lavishness of especially wealthy congregation members, at least in the one place where all are supposed to be equal. Congregation members could, however, exert influence in individual matters, like the organisation of the funeral, the arrangements for the mourning period or the design of the gravestone, including the text of its inscription.

A burial was normally carried out within six hours, but at least within 24 hours – with the exception of the Shabbat and High Holy Days – following the command (Mishna, Sanhedrin 46b – 47a with reference to Deuteronomy 21:25) to bury the body as quickly as possible, in order to preserve the dignity of the person, who was made in God's image. In order to carry out the necessary ritual cleansing, the members of the Ashkenazi chevra kaddisha brought the body into Altona's ohel (Hebrew for tent). This was a building or a room, after the 19th century often found on the cemetery grounds, in which the body was laid out.

The Sephardim washed their deceased in his or her home. After the ritual washing by eight persons, the deceased was wrapped in a plain white shroud, usually made of linen, and covered with a cloth. The uniformly decreed clothing removed all class differences and at the same time symbolised purity and simplicity. In the Sephardic ritual the deceased were accompanied to the cemetery by the mourners, who along the way would recite the 91st Psalm for a deceased man, and the 16th Psalm for a deceased woman. When the corpse was taken from the coffin and lowered into the ground, or placed in the ground with the coffin, the mourners recited the verse "here is the place, here is the resting place, here is rest, here is the heritage". This first line is also found in Sephardic funereal texts.

In Altona, the Ashkenazi dead were buried in simple coffins, usually made by members of the hevra, sometimes made by local carpenters. The Sephardic dead were placed in coffins after the ritual washing and brought to the cemetery, where they were laid out.

The Ashkenazi and probably also the Sephardic hevrot had special tools for grave digging: six shovels, two wheel hoes and iron picks. These tools can be seen on the gravestone of Samuel Hizkiau Esteves, died 1704, member of the fraternal burial society (see Fig. 42 Chapter 2.a), in the Portuguese-Sephardic Cemetery in Altona.

The grave could only be dug when the corpse was already present in the cemetery, the leader on duty having determined the place, and given the order to dig the grave. After the corpse or coffin was laid in the grave, sweet-smelling herbs were added to it, along with a small bag of sand from the Holy Land which was placed under the head. Earth was then shovelled into the grave and a grave mound was created, onto which a wooden marker was placed. While still in the cemetery, the leader of the hevra had to enter the name of the deceased, the names of his father and mother, of his family and their city of origin, the grave plot and the neighbouring graves, as well as the exact date of death into the grave book.

The gravestone or memorial stone was usually erected after one year, on the first anniversary of the deceased's death. Principally, according to Jewish tradition a gravestone

should be erected for everyone who dies, to identify the place as such and prevent a second burial in the same plot – a grave site must be “virginal” – as well as to ensure that the grave can be located at any time, so that the traditional prayers can be recited there. In the Altona community the fees for erecting a gravestone were estimated according to the tax revenue of the deceased; the community coffer bore the expenses for its poor.

### **2.b.3 *Sephardic and Ashkenazi Sepulchral Culture***

Planned for eternity, Jewish cemeteries and their tombstones are in many places the only surviving material resources of Jewish history, for both the Ashkenazi and the Sephardi Jews. Apart from crosses and sculptures, one may also assume that Jewish gravestones were similar, and often identical in their outer design, to the tombstones in the Gentile surroundings.

Another prominent aspect of these cemeteries is that all artistic styles, from Romanesque and Gothic to Baroque, Renaissance and Neo-Classical, to modern influences from Art nouveau and Art Déco, find their way onto Jewish gravestones, even if often somewhat later than in the culture surrounding them. The two cemeteries in Altona are no exception.

Outside of the fact that Jewish gravestones document that Jews lived and died in a certain place at a certain time, in their format, they also pass on a piece of the history of the Jews and their surroundings, meaning that the history of their migration and integration can be traced through their gravestones.

This applies in particular to the sepulchral art of the Portuguese-Sephardim, where - along with their Sephardic burial traditions - influences are found from both Muslim and Christian Spain as well as from Protestant northern Europe.

#### **2.b.3.a *Excursus: Influences of Muslim and Christian Burial Culture***

##### ***2.b.3.a.1 Muslim Burial Culture on the Iberian Peninsula***

Like the Sephardic cemeteries, the grave sites of Muslims in Spain were destroyed after the Reconquista. In Spain today, only very few tombs or tomb fragments have survived to provide information on Islamic burial art and its influence on the Sephardim. Most of the surviving objects come from the south of Spain, where the Islamic realms endured longer. Along with those tomb structures in the form of small square “houses”, the so-called “qubbas”, experts divide the Islamic gravestones into four categories:

- 1) rectangular standing steles of stone or marble, used in pairs at the head and foot of a grave, often with arches but also very modest
- 2) horizontal flat-lying tombs fashioned from stone or marble on a plinth, of a prismatic shape, called “mqabriyas”;
- 3) cylindrical grave steles
- 4) steles made from painted ceramic

The Islamic form “mqabriya” refers to a horizontally lying tombstone in a prismatic shape which covers the surface of the grave. In the Middle Ages, this type of gravestone was often used in the Eastern countries, throughout Northern Africa and on the Iberian Peninsula. The surviving Islamic examples in Spain, predominantly found in Almeria but also in Cartagena, Murcia, Vinaroz and Palma de Mallorca, date back to the 11th to the 13th centuries. They were also known in Northern Africa.

Another example is found in France, near the Iberian border, in the church of the former St. André de Sorède Abbey. Fragments of a Muslim marble gravestone dating back to the turn from the 11th to the 12th century are exhibited in a separate chapel there. It is prism-shaped and decorated with bas-reliefs and Arabic inscriptions from the Koran. It measures 60 x 23.5 centimetres. It is said that such relics can also be found in Languedoc-Roussillon.



Fig. 128: Example of a mqabriya, St. André de Sorède

What all Muslim tombstones have in common is a simple design. Their only decorative elements are arches as well as calligraphic and floral ornaments.

Comparable opulent decorative elements, in the forms of death heads or depictions of humans or animals such as those found on Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones in northern Europe and in the New World, are neither found on Muslim tombstones in Spain, nor have examples from the 17th or 18th centuries so far been found in other countries. A direct comparison of Muslim and Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones is therefore not possible. An influence of 11th to 13th century Muslim burial art on the tombstone forms of the Sephardim living on the Iberian Peninsula at that time cannot be ruled out, but neither can it be proven.

#### *2.b.3.a.2 Christian Burial Culture from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period*

Christian burial culture differs significantly from that found in Judaism. In contrast to Jewish cemeteries, which are established for eternity, multiple interments are typical in Christian cemeteries. This still applies to Christian tombs both in churches and outside in churchyards, which were created around the churches, as well as for those in cemeteries outside of the cities. The consequence of this is that even older Christian churchyards or cemeteries today have very few tombstones from earlier centuries, so that comparisons are therefore only possible in a few cases. This also applies to Christian cemeteries from the Middle-Ages on the Iberian Peninsula.

The Christian tombstones found there show, however, that the Iberian kingdoms of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period created such an extraordinary abundance of single tombs of aristocrats and clergy, of collective royal tombs and monumental funeral chapels, as are rarely found in any other European land.

Many phenomena in the artistic design of the memorials are similarly found in other European countries; this applies first and foremost to the Middle Ages, which exhibits fundamentals of a common sepulchral culture throughout all of Catholic Christendom, which fundamentally differed from the modern handling of the dead. As far back as the Middle Ages, however, the Iberian Peninsula formed a cultural region which showed clearer geographical boundaries than most other European cultural areas. The unified front by the significant different Christian kingdoms of Aragón, Castile and Portugal against Islam characterised these realms in a scale unimaginable for the rest of Europe.

With the rise of the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal to global colonial powers, at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries, the cultural autonomy of the Iberian Peninsula strengthened over other parts of Catholic and Protestant Europa – here too, specific artistic and architectural solutions of memorials can be traced and analysed.

The high artistic quality of many grave monuments on the Iberian Peninsula is often as little known as their complex artistic agenda.

In the periods of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period, hardly any other artistic field was so closely tied to the lives of people as the design of memorials. Thus, the importance of the portrayal of the deceased on a tombstone goes far beyond simple memorial: It is crucial that the observer is also inspired by the portrait, inscription and potentially any visual depictions of glorious deeds, to include the deceased in his intercessory prayers. According to the general view, the dead depend on the prayers of the living to help them through Purgatory, and vice versa, these prayers count as good deeds for the living themselves. At the same time the memorials are also an important societal activity, as the erecting of a tombstone for the benefit of a deceased family member provides the descendants the best guarantee of being commemorated in the same way after death and, through the tombstone, to remain part of such an important community of prayer with the living.

On the other hand, it must not be overlooked that the subjective realisation of private memorials in turn sets narrow limits by adhering to the pressure of conventions, manifested in visual traditions and inscription forms. In this respect precisely, the Iberian countries provide many examples of surprisingly unconventional images.

Thus a relief scene on the tomb of Bishop Martin Rodriguez in the cathedral in Leon (around 1260/70) presents, in a most lively manner, the giving of alms to the poor and needy as an exemplary charitable act of the deceased.

If one wishes to formulate a specific feature of grave design in the Iberian countries not found to the same extent in other European regions, it may be the tendency to visualise important elements of the life lived, in the face of death – surely connected to the endeavour to protect the life of the deceased from being forgotten by descendants.

This endeavour can also be found in the pictures of the Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones in Amsterdam and Altona, even if in a completely different form. Here, if not the deceased himself or herself, at least his or her name is represented with the help of pictorial scenes. It is at least plausible that the Sephardim, forcibly baptised and having fled from the Iberian Peninsula, took up these Catholic Christian traditions in Spain and Portugal and allowed them to influence their own ideas of tombstone design.

A further influence of Catholic funereal art from the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period may be found in the widespread presentation of crest on Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones from the 17th and 18th centuries. Jews were forbidden to hold a coat of arms in the Middle Ages. After they had fled from Spain into neighbouring Portugal and were compelled there to be baptised, many were elevated to aristocracy through marriage – and with this came the permission to hold a coat of arms.

Rich, pseudo-Christian (Sephardic) merchants, who now had to flee also from Portugal and the Inquisition at the end of the 16th century in spite of their compulsory baptisms, naturally took this “coat of arms right” along to their new, predominantly Protestant homeland, where the holding of a coat of arms their depiction on gravestones was likewise very widespread, although as part of an entirely different tomb heritage.

The Reformation, which took place predominantly in northern European countries, had led to a decisive turning point there, on matters regarding cemeteries and burials. The veneration of relics, intercession for the dead and the role of the saints as intermediaries for salvation were rejected by the Reformationists. In the Protestant view, burial places took on a different religious meaning: It was no longer the dead who were the main focus but rather the surviving relatives, for whom the graveyard should be a place of consolation with thoughts of resurrection. The concept of resurrection was now also included in the design of tombstones.

Due to the Christian tradition of using graves multiple times, naturally there are no longer many surviving examples of tombstones from the Early Modern Period, where one can trace how the concept of resurrection found its expression on gravestones. Fortunately, in northern Germany especially some examples of this survived, for example in Lunden, in Dithmarschen, and in Hamburg-Kirchwerder.

The 66 surviving 15th and 16th-century tomb slabs and steles from the “Geschlechterfriedhof” (noble family cemetery) in Lunden are often lavishly decorated with banderoles, coats of arms, depictions of angels, crucifixion or resurrection scenes, or symbols of the Evangelists.



**Fig. 129: Nannen family tombstone in the Cemetery in Lunden (left: copy, right: original stone),  
photographer: Agnes Seemann**

The 1588 stele of the Nannen family, depicted above, is the grandest of three gravestones for this family in the Lunden cemetery. A depiction of the Last Judgment is found on the front side. A blessing Christ towers over the clouds on a rainbow, surrounded by praying, redeemed souls. Two angels playing trombones float upon the clouds; underneath, devils drive the damned into Hell, which is symbolised by wide open jaws. The infernal fires flicker in the background. The names of the deceased are listed on the reverse side of the stele.

Similarly wrought gravestones can also be found in the cemetery at Hamburg-Kirchwerder, for example the Harden tomb from the early 17th century: This, too, shows a resurrection scene, accompanied by symbols of the four Evangelists in its corners.



Fig. 130: Harden gravestone, 1611, 1621, 1674, 1676, photo: Department for Heritage Preservation Hamburg, Picture library



Fig. 131: Eggers tombstone 1623, 1635, photo: Department for Heritage Preservation Hamburg, Picture library

The Eggers tombstone, in contrast, likewise from the early 17th century, shows a crucifixion scene (in front of an impression of the heavenly Jerusalem), also with symbolic portrayals of the Evangelists in each corner. One also finds representations of angels and memento mori motifs on this gravestone.

It may be assumed that the “new Christians” who fled Portugal for Hamburg, who slowly began to again take up their Jewish faith and their Jewish traditions in their new home, learned about this form of tombstone design – or at least the stonemasons of these magnificent gravestones – in Hamburg. As these “new Christians” were not members of the guilds and therefore were not allowed to practise stonemasonry, they had to rely on local Christian masons to fashion their gravestones, at least in the beginning.

### 2.b.3.b Sephardic Art of Tombstones

Medieval Sephardic gravestones from the time before the expulsion of the Sephardim from Spain in 1492 are scarce. As a rule, they were not artistically made, meaning they bore neither symbols nor decorative ornaments, but were carved only with inscriptions.

Several of such stones are found especially in Toledo, wrought as flat-lying tombstones and which resemble sarcophagus lids. Fortunately, a few examples of these tombstones are completely intact and compiled in the Museum of Sephardic history (Museo Sefardi) in Toledo.



**Fig. 132: Collection of Sephardic gravestones from the Middle Ages in the Sephardic Museum, Toledo, photographer: Bernd Paulowitz**

These gravestones are predominantly from the 14th century, and all are over 2 metres long. Long lines of Hebrew texts are found on the upper surface and on the oblique long sides; shorter texts are found on the narrow sides. The stones are otherwise very modest. Comparable tomb slabs or fragments have been found near Toledo in Barcelona, Gerona and Segunta; some of them date back to the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries.

It can generally be determined that Sephardic gravestones and fragments from the Middle Ages hardly show any decorative elements. Even with gravestones where the outer shape was more intricately fashioned, the surface was divided only with Hebrew inscriptions. Decorative elements, symbols or crests were rare.

From the late 16th century onwards, two different threads of development can be observed in regard to Sephardic sepulchral art: A Sephardic sepulchral art with richer decor began to develop in certain regions. This was true first and foremost of the Sephardim who first fled to Portugal, were made to undergo baptism just a few years later, and who in the late 16th century emigrated to the northern European port cities and later to the New World.

In contrast, the sepulchral art of the Sephardim who emigrated to Northern Africa and the Ottoman Empire retained the more modest traditional designs of the Middle Ages.

We differentiate therefore between “traditional Sephardic” and “Portuguese-Sephardic” sepulchral art, and shall illustrate below that the sepulchral art of the Sephardim who

emigrated from Portugal documents a development and history different from that of the Sephardim who emigrated to Northern Africa and the Ottoman Empire.

#### *2.b.3.b.1 Traditional Sephardic Sepulchral Art*

The Sephardim who fled Spain from 1492 onwards for Northern Africa and the Ottoman Empire and joined the Jewish communities established there, continued to practise their traditions, i.e., they used flat-lying tombstones with monolingual inscriptions in Hebrew only with little to no carved decoration. The few ornamental elements were limited to typical Jewish formats such as floral elements, blessing hands, Levi pitchers and a few rare decorations referring to the vocation of the deceased, such as a mohel's circumcision knife, or an Asclepius staff for a physician.

Unfortunately, there no longer many examples of this traditional Sephardic sepulchral art from the 16th to 18th centuries which supports this and which can illustrate the differences between the two Sephardic developments. Some surviving examples from various countries are described below.

#### *Northern Africa*

#### **Marrakesh**



**Fig. 133: The Miaara Jewish Cemetery in Marrakesh with plain tombstones from around 1700 or 1800; (photo: Wikimedia Commons)**

Since the time of the Inquisition, a Jewish community existed in Marrakesh, who in all likelihood established a cemetery on the site of the present Miaara Jewish Cemetery. However, this original cemetery has been completely covered over by a second burial layer from around 1700 or 1800.

The gravestones found today in the Miaara cemetery – primarily horizontal slabs – come from three different periods and can be classified by their age, shape and size, material used,

presentation and language of inscription as well as presence of imbedded “plaques” (see figure below).

- A. The oldest stones from the time around 1700 to 1800 are low, compact and modest, about 4 metres long, 1 or 2 metres wide, 1 or 2 metres high, many of them tapered lengthwise with a pointed tip and without decoration or inscriptions. They are made from reddish-brown flat stones, covered with a thick, lumpy stucco-like coating made from a mixture of limestone, sand, and water, and whitewashed.
- B. The stones from the middle period between 1800 and 1850 are coffin shaped, about 6 metres long, 2 metres wide, 2 or 3 metres high, with flat topsides. Some are stone, either bare or coated with limestone. Others are decorated with “mosaics”, meaning that they are made from white cement which has been mixed with tiny shards of multi-coloured graphite, with a smooth uncoated surface. Many of these “middle period” graves have relief inscriptions; some have embedded “plaques” instead. These are flat, irregularly formed, glazed ceramic pieces or stones which were embedded into the top or side surfaces. Such an embedded object can be plain or decorated (for example with a floral design), engraved with text, or exhibit any other colour or structure. Its purpose: surviving family, who could not read, could identify the graves of their loved ones in this way.
- C. The most recent stones are from the period after 1850. They are coffin shaped like the gravestones of the “middle period”, but somewhat larger and mostly made of marble with engraved inscriptions.

Judging from the description, earlier tombstones from the 16th and 17th centuries, which were likely once present, have not survived. The existing tombstones from the time around 1700 or 1800 make it clear, however, that the tombstones of the Sephardim who fled Spain for Morocco were very modest, mostly made without decorations or inscriptions and therefore more likely following the traditions of the Middle Ages. These are horizontal tombstones coated with a thick, stucco-like mixture of limestone, sand and water, and whitewashed. This plain design also applies to the later tombstones from the period between 1800 and 1850, which, however, obviously adopted the sarcophagus shape which may be traced back to Toledo. Opulent grave ornamentation, or depictions of human or animal figures, are not found here.

### *Greece*

There were many cemeteries in Greece where descendants of the Sephardim expelled from Spain in the late 15th century are buried. Many of these have since been destroyed. The formerly largest of them, the approximately 300,000 square metre Sephardic cemetery in Thessaloniki, no longer exists today. A university was built on the premises, using the gravestones. Only a few dozen of the roughly 500,000 gravestones were saved from this cemetery, which was destroyed in 1942/43, and taken to the new Jewish cemetery in the suburb of Stavroupolis.

Even though these are only a few stones, they can nevertheless illustrate that the sepulchral art of these stones does not bear any resemblance to those in Altona, as they merely display characters and simple ornamental elements.



Fig. 134: Photos of gravestones from the old Sephardic cemetery in Thessaloniki, in the new Jewish cemetery, photographer: Eberhard Rondholz

## Chios



Fig. 135: Sephardic ohel from the island of Chios ,photographs from the Central Archive for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem



Fig. 136: Sephardic tomb slab from the island of Chios ,photographs from the Central Archive for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem

The two photos of historic Sephardic tombstones from the Greek island of Chios verify this, even if one sees that they are more richly ornamented with floral bands, rosettes and plants.

### *Turkey*

The situation in Turkey is similar to that in Greece. Very few historical Sephardic cemeteries have survived, as both the growth of the cities as well as the enormous population increase have led to such cemeteries either having been destroyed by road and building construction (as for example in Istanbul, see below), or, where this has not happened, the old gravestones were often lost through reuse of the graves, or they were put to other uses.

The tombstones in the few surviving Sephardic cemeteries in Turkey, however, make it clear that the traditional Sephardic sepulchral art here differs greatly from that of the Portuguese–Sephardim, as the tombstones in these cemeteries are as a rule very plain, and exhibit hardly any decorative elements. They were heavily influenced by Ottoman art in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. These are usually horizontal tombstones, very often in prism shapes, ornamented essentially with artistic inscriptions and vine motifs.

## Istanbul / Hasköy Jewish Cemetery



Fig. 137: Gravestone of Izhak Bassan (1759) at the Hasköy Jewish Cemetery / Istanbul



Fig. 138: Gravestone of Sultanah Benvenist (1685) at the Hasköy Jewish Cemetery / Istanbul

Hasköy is one of the oldest districts in Istanbul in which Jews lived. One of the city's oldest Jewish cemeteries, established in 1582, can still be found here today. Over time, the cemetery became significantly smaller (from formerly 244,322 m<sup>2</sup> to 148,137 m<sup>2</sup>), as a result of massive earthquakes and also due to building measures. Hundreds of gravestones were moved, primarily for the construction of the motorway bridge (Golden Horn Bridge) in 1972. As a result, the stones were stacked on one another, in order to prevent further damage. After the bridge construction, the local population began to take shortcuts through the cemetery, as its boundary walls were too low to prevent this. Numerous stones were also damaged by vandalism, fire, rubbish dumping and grave robbers, destroyed, or taken to be used elsewhere.

As photos can attest, the gravestones here exhibit no similarities to the gravestones in Portuguese-Sephardic cemeteries. In the Hasköy cemetery we find horizontal gravestones, but with prism shapes which are adorned with vines and lettering. No scenic depictions can be found at all.

## **Sarajevo**

The Sephardic cemetery in Sarajevo, established in 1630, holds numerous traditional Sephardic tombstones (tomb slabs, stepped sarcophagi). The oldest surviving tombstone dates back to the mid-17th century. The inscriptions are in Hebrew, later in Bosnian. Judaeo-Spanish inscriptions are written with Latin characters, not in Aljamiado (Judaeo-Spanish with Hebrew characters). None of the tombstones bear opulent decorative elements comparable to those found on Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones from that time.



**Fig. 139: Tombstones in the Sephardic cemetery in Sarajevo, photographer Michael Studemund-Halévy**

## **Split**



**Fig. 140: Gravestones from the Sephardic cemetery in Split**

Established or opened in 1573, the Sephardic cemetery is located on the eastern slope of Marjan Hill. The cemetery today holds 750 stones, tomb slabs and pyramid-shaped tombstones from the 18th to the 20th centuries. The last burial took place in 1945. The oldest surviving gravestone is a pyramid-shaped stone from 1717.



**Fig. 141: Pyramid-shaped stones in the Sephardic cemetery in Split**

The surviving historical gravestones do contain isolated visual representations, but only in the form of crowns or the “Magen David” (“Shield of David”). In addition, two 17th century gravestones, which were brought over to this cemetery from the islands of Hvar and Brac, display a dove with an olive branch, and an angel ascending to Heaven.

The stone inscriptions are in Hebrew, German, Italian and Croatian. However, these inscriptions are not comparable to those found in Portuguese-Sephardic cemeteries. In Split we find the rare abbreviation  $\chi\eta\eta$  (sign for the burial place), which is known from pre-1492 Spain, and the preamble “Baruch gozer” (Blessed is he who decrees and fulfils) which is common in the Balkan lands and in present-day Turkey.

### **Karnobat (Bulgaria)**

The Jewish cemetery in Karnobat lies 1 kilometre south of the city in southeast Bulgaria. This Jewish cemetery, the largest from pre-20th century Bulgaria, dates back to the period from the 17th to the 19th century. The oldest part shows horizontal, sometimes very beautifully decorated gravestones, spread over an open hilltop. However, these gravestones shaped as slabs, prisms or “rolls” bear only inscriptions and hardly any decorations. There are no visual representations.



Fig. 142: Jewish cemetery in Karnobat (photo: Anthony Georgieff, Wikimedia Commons)



Fig. 143: Gravestone in Karnobat/Bulgaria, photographer Michael Studemund-Halévy

### *Summary*

The examples presented here have shown that the traditional Sephardic sepulchral art, as it was found in Spain before 1492 and which accompanied Jews fleeing from the Inquisition to Northern Africa and the former Ottoman Empire, had undergone its own development. The tombstones do display horizontal but often prismatic forms, which are not found among the Portuguese Sephardim. Their decorative elements include first and foremost artistically designed inscriptions and very few traditional Jewish ornamental elements, such as, for example, mohel knives or also decorations which appear to be floral or Arabic.

The cemeteries and the traditional sepulchral art of the Sephardim who fled Spain to the south and east as early as in the late 15th century, document therefore the history and culture of “traditional” Sephardim, but not the history of the Portuguese Sephardim. Traditional Sephardic cemeteries therefore shall not be considered in the comparative analysis in Chapter 3.

### *2.b.3.b.2 Portuguese-Sephardic Sepulchral Art*

The Sephardim who fled to Portugal after their expulsion from Spain in 1492, who underwent compulsory baptism there and about 100 years later were forced out of Portugal, moving primarily to northern European port cities, whom we refer to as “Portuguese Sephardim”, developed a very specific (“Neo-Jewish”) Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art due to their history; this in contrast to the Jews who had fled from Spain to Northern Africa and the Ottoman Empire, and joined existing Jewish communities there.

This particular (“Neo-Jewish”) Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art is unique in regard to ornamentation, iconography, language, epigraphy, and choice of material.

Here too the intention was to present the deceased as a God-fearing person; however, the decorative, scenically abundant gravestones of the Portuguese Sephardim also show their changing history in a vivid way, and attest to the pride of the deceased and of his mourning family of, if not having been born a Jew, at least to have died a Jew.

#### *Shape, Ornament and Motif in Portuguese-Sephardic Sepulchral Art*

The large majority of Portuguese-Sephardic gravestones are in the form of tomb slabs. They cover the entire grave and are excellently fashioned works of art, with decorative and allegorical illustrations.

The tomb slabs predominantly fit horizontally over the graves. In many cases rosettes, often in the geometrical embellishment of the “eternal wheel”, as well as round, rosette-like ornaments are carved in the corners of the stone, as found on Jewish coffins from ancient times.

This decor is reminiscent of Protestant models in northern Europe. Rosettes are also found on the historical gravestones in Hamburg-Kirchwerder and in Lunden (Dithmarschen).

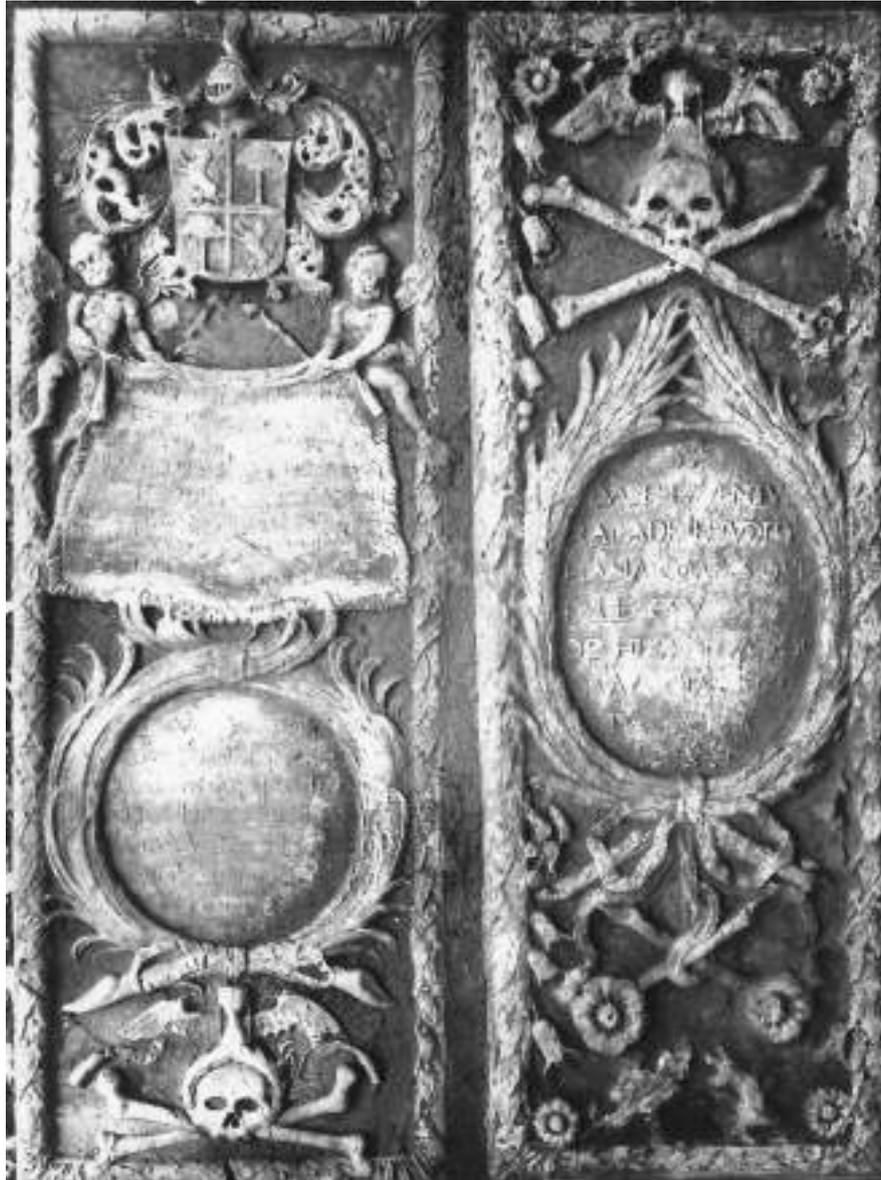


**Fig. 144: Rosettes on the Rode tomb, Christlicher Geschlechterfriedhof Lunden, photographer: Agnes Seemann**



Fig. 145: Tomb slab in the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Alexandra Kruse

Alongside rosettes, the elements most often found on Portuguese-Sephardic tomb slabs are broad grapevines, pearl beading, palm branches and curtains acting as frames. There are also sculptured, realistic reliefs, mostly found in the head or foot areas, as well as coats of arms. The stonemasons preferred to set the slab inscriptions in plaited wreaths, floral bands or in Baroque cartouches. Scantly clad cupids, cherubs, angels; weeping children with spread out cloths, which were often filled with inscriptions, mourn the dead.



**Fig. 146: Portuguese-Sephardic tomb slabs of the family of Jacob Sr Teixeira, died 5452, at the Jewish cemetery in Altona, with reliefs, coat of arms, cherubs and decorated cartouches with text, photographer: Jürgen Faust**

The flat-lying, sometimes built in tomb slabs are adorned with Hebrew or Portuguese-Spanish texts, which either run around the slab or are arranged in lines under one another in a more or less artistic way. The engraved text is, as a rule, in Hebrew at the head and in Portuguese at the foot. The Portuguese texts appear almost always in capitalised Latin characters (with or without cursive curls), less often in cursive writing. They also contain finely incised letter characters and engraved floral and geometric ornaments. Most of the bilingual texts are generally ornamentally or architectonically framed, often in round or oval medallions, plaited wreaths, or energetically integrated in Baroque cartouches or botanical borders. They are less often found on single or double tablets, which may symbolise the “Tablets of the Law”, i.e. the Ten Commandments.

Another tomb shape is the ohel, reminiscent of a sarcophagus, which has a pointed top and triangular narrow sides.



**Fig. 147: Long side of an ohel in the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, with floral banner and inscription, photographer: Regina Schwarzburg**

The entire area of the slab's long sides is decorated with Hebrew text or Hebrew and /or Portuguese texts, sometimes interrupted only by a family crest. A richly decorative band of floral ornaments frames the elongated text fields. A small band with lines of text and/or floral elements is often placed on the upper edge, while the two narrow sides hold artistic motifs such as a tree, sun, a biblical scene, an open book, floral elements and emblems.



**Fig. 148: Narrow side of an ohel with crown, hands and book in the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Jürgen Faust**

In the 17th and 18th centuries, both forms (tomb slab and ohel) developed an abundance of motifs and a wide range of figural scenes which, at first sight, is not characteristic of Jewish art, but which bears great similarity to contemporary Christian art and can be only be satisfactorily explained as having Christian influence. The uniqueness of Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art is revealed above all in the representation of human and animal figures, which violates the Second Commandment: *“Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth”* (Exodus 20:4), which was later linked to the prohibition of image worship.

## Image Scenes

The gravestones of the Portuguese Sephardim were often adorned with familiar biblical scenes, featuring protagonists who bear the names of the deceased. Noted here is for example the binding of Isaac, on the graves of men named Abraham or Isaac (Genesis 22:9-12), Daniel in the lions' den (Daniel 6:17-25), David playing the harp, Isaac praying to God in the field (Genesis 24:63), Jacob's dream of the Celestial Ladder (Genesis 28:12), Joseph in the well (Genesis 37:18-24) or Rachel at the fountain as shepherdess with her sheep (Genesis 37:18-24).



**Fig. 149: Scenes on Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones in the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Jürgen Faust**

We recognise these image scenes on the one hand from the Jewish art as we are familiar with it from the Hebrew illuminations, but particularly from artistically illustrated marriage contracts (kettubot). On the other hand, they verify how the New Christians returning to normative Judaism still lived under the influence of the Christian world of images and shapes for a long time. As shown above, depictions of the crucifixion and resurrection stories began to be applied to gravestones in north German Protestant cemeteries at around the same time.

## Depictions of Animals

The joy of storytelling through images is also revealed in the use of symbolic animals such as the phoenix or the pelican. In both Jewish and Christian art, the phoenix symbolises the martyrdom of the faithful. Thus the phoenix stood for the martyrdom of the Marrano and the rebirth of Judaism, in that, according to Jewish tradition, it refused to eat from the tree of

knowledge, and was no burden to Noah, as it ate nothing. It also stood for the love of children, eternal life, and the resurrection of the dead.

It is a traditional Jewish motif, wrought on gravestones as rising from the flames. The pelican is a symbol for the mourning Zion, of a life cut short. In the Jewish tradition it was also a symbol for the Jewish mother as, according to legend, it ripped open its own breast in order to feed its young.



**Fig. 150: Portuguese-Sephardic gravestone with an image of a pelican feeding its young, in the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Jürgen Faust**

## Angels

Angels were often used as motifs as well. They came from medieval Jewish illuminations and served as intermediaries between the celestial and the terrestrial worlds. They mostly appeared in connection with illustrations of biblical themes, above all when the text used referred to angels, e.g. at the sacrifice of Isaac, when the angel halts Abraham's sword.



**Fig. 151: Image scene of the binding of Isaac, on a Portuguese-Sephardic gravestone in the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Jürgen Faust**

## Symbols of Vanity and Death

The Christian influences mentioned above are revealed mostly in symbols of vanity, which are found primarily in Christian sepulchral art, but which also possess a universal symbolic value. The artists of these symbols of transience or of vanity, popular in the 17th century, invoked corresponding Bible verses, such as Isaiah 40:6, Psalms 102:15, and Job 14:1-2. Symbols of transience also found in north German Portuguese-Sephardic cemeteries include the angel with trumpet announcing the death of the deceased, and the hourglass or sandglass as symbol for the passing of time. Angel and devil wings on each side of a death's head refer to Heaven and Hell. There are skulls with and without crossbones, and skulls with wheat stalks growing from their empty eye sockets.

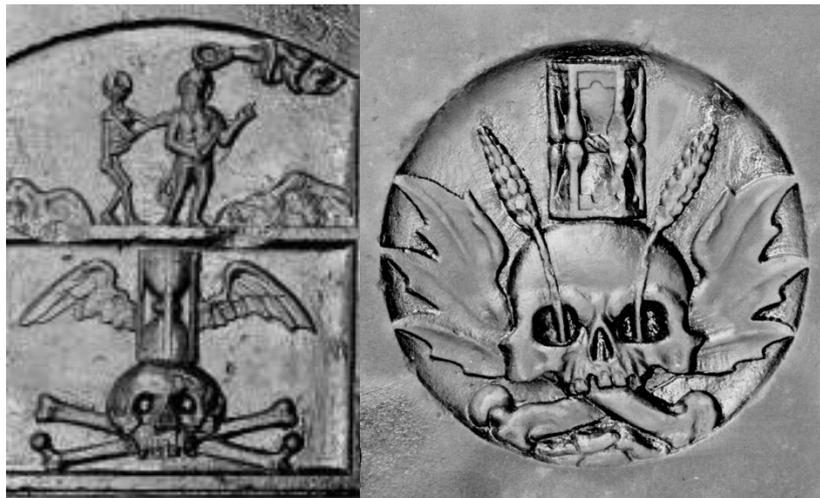


Fig. 152: Vanity symbol on a Portuguese-Sephardic gravestone in the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, photos by Jürgen Faust

Hands above all were important in this context: the Hand of God, which rescues souls from Death, a hand with scales as a sign of the evaluation of the deceased's deeds; or the hand which comes out of the clouds and, with an axe, fells a flowering tree, symbolise God's power over human life and were popular motifs in Jewish illumination since the 13th century.



Fig. 153: Hand from the clouds holding an axe felling a tree, right with angel, on a Portuguese-Sephardic gravestone in the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, photos by Jürgen Faust

In some cases, the tree-felling hand belongs to an angel, understood to be either the Angel of Death of Jewish tradition (Malach Ha-Mavet) or the guardian angel of Christian tradition. The deceased had often not reached fifty years of age, an early death can also be seen as punishment for one's sins and refers to the biblical "kareth" (cutting off), the punishment from the hands of heaven. The premature death of children or young persons was often portrayed

by a cut rose or a sickle mowing a sheaf of wheat. The rose with a broken stem had special meaning as symbol for an untimely death, mostly found on gravestones of those who died young, but also symbolising an unfulfilled promise. The image of the rose could also be understood, however, as a symbol of God's promise to the Jewish people: "I will be as the dew unto Israel: he shall grow as the lily" (Hosea 14:6). The Hebrew word for lily was colloquially used to mean "rose".



**Fig. 154: Hand with sickle cutting roses, from a Portuguese-Sephardic tombstone in the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Jürgen Faust**

Other popular symbols of death were the poppy capsule, a narcotic and sedative representing eternal sleep; the pine cone, which stood for fertility and life; ivy and laurel stood for eternal life, victory, peace and immortality; the horn of plenty represented wealth, abundance and living well; and kissing pigeons which symbolised intimate affection and love.

### **Family Crests**

Numerous Altona gravestones hold family crests which proudly herald the (real or fictitious) aristocratic Iberian past of their bearers. They were chosen to adorn above all especially richly designed marble stones. The coat of arms, crowned by helms in the upper part, is often without the shield, perhaps an indication that the Jews bearing it were not officially entitled to it.



**Fig. 155: Coat of arms on a Portuguese-Sephardic tombstone in the Jewish-Sephardic Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Jürgen Faust**

## Family Trees and the Tree of Life

Portuguese who returned to the laws of Judaism made great efforts to establish Jewish lineage. It became fashion among the great Portuguese-Sephardic families of Hamburg (and Amsterdam) to compose, or have composed, genealogies and family chronicles.

The family tree perhaps represented a new beginning after the return to Judaism, and the promise of a new Jewish life. As far as it is known, family trees are only found on gravestones in Hamburg.



Fig. 156: The Tree of Life, on a Portuguese-Sephardic tombstone in the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Jürgen Faust

## Messianic Symbols

Olive trees and crowns served as messianic symbols, found on the gravestones in different combinations and each with different meanings. So for example two olive trees, as Tree of Life and Tree of Knowledge, symbolise Paradise, while a withered olive tree illustrates death.



Fig. 157: Olive trees on a Portuguese-Sephardic tombstone in the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Jürgen Faust

## Priestly Blessings of the Aaronites

The hands of the kohanim in a gesture of blessing were most often used to represent the priesthood; in this gesture the hands were always pointing up, with middle and ring fingers spread apart. This documents the ancestry of the deceased's family, often named Kohen, as descendants of Aaron. This symbol was rarely used on the gravestones of women, as Kohen ancestry was passed on only through the male line.



Fig. 158: Hands depicted on a Portuguese-Sephardic tombstone in the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Jürgen Faust

## Books with Inscription and with Priestly Blessings

An open book – with or without writing – generally stood for piety as well as (usually Jewish) scholarship and religious education. If a man was descended from a priestly lineage (Kohen), the hands lay on a book in a blessing gesture. An opened book under a Keter Torah, or “crown of learning”, often decorates the narrow ends of ohalim.



Fig. 159: Books found on Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones in the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, photos by Jürgen Faust

### *Summary*

As has been demonstrated, in contrast to traditional Sephardic tombstones, the Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones are characterised by opulent stonemasonry and exuberant richness of ornaments with a variety of symbols and imageries, particularly through the depiction of human and animal figures as well as biblical scenes. Together with the multilingualism of their epitaph with long, complex or sophisticated funereal poems, these tombstones indicate an intensive cultural exchange between assimilated Jews (who had been baptised against their will) and Catholic Christians on the Iberian Peninsula, as well as between Jews who had only recently reverted to Judaism and Protestant Christians (Calvinists and Lutherans) in northern Europe.

Even after their repeated exodus from Portugal for the northern European port- and trading cities, it was not so easy for the Sephardim, who were accepted into their new homelands as presumed Christians, to once again begin to live out their Jewish faith and take up Jewish traditions. The Jewish rites could be reconstructed through written testimonies and consultation of Sephardic scholars from other parts of the Mediterranean region, but their knowledge of their own traditions concerning grave design was partly lost. The passing on of their religious knowledge had long been possible only in secret, and in Portugal, burials could, on no account be carried out according to Jewish rites, but only according to Catholic rites . Therefore, over time many things which were connected to the Sephardic-Iberian tradition – including the sepulchral culture and its accompanying artisanal techniques – fell into oblivion or became mixed with Catholic-Christian style elements.

After the Sephardic migrants from Portugal settled in the northern European port cities and a return to the Sephardic traditions became a possibility, they very quickly developed an extremely individual and unique, artistically highly sophisticated Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral style which evolved from Sephardic, Catholic-Iberian, and northern European-Protestant style elements. The sepulchral art of the surviving Portuguese-Sephardic cemeteries documents the changing history of the Portuguese Sephardim in a unique way

With its sepulchral art, the Portuguese-Sephardic part of the Jewish cemetery in Hamburg-Altona is the prototype and model for other Portuguese-Sephardic cemeteries and their tombstone designs, and hence documents in the changing history of the Portuguese Sephardim in a unique way.

#### 2.b.3.c Ashkenazi Sepulchral Art

As illustrated in Chapter 2.b.1, due to their different areas of settlement since the Middle Ages, the Ashkenazim and the Sephardim experienced different historical and cultural developments. These different developments are also expressed in the sepulchral art of their cemeteries.

As with the Portuguese-Sephardim, Ashkenazi tombstone design similarly offers a wide spectrum of variety: On one hand, over the entire period of the 17th and 18th centuries, there have been plain Ashkenazi stones characterised by artistic restraint, often without bordering, with engraved writing and topped with one of the many variants of the round arch, which preserved the continuity of traditional Ashkenazi tombstone designs in the course of the two centuries.



**Fig. 160: Tombstone of Schmuel ben Jehuda [17/08/1621]**

On the other hand, Ashkenazi gravestone styles also underwent changes, modernisations and adaptation to the respective artistic prevailing taste and fashion.

Thus from the 1660s onwards, with the establishment of the Ashkenazi communities, perhaps also with their acquired wealth, new, monumental grave steles also appear, in the form of aediculae, resembling those from ancient times, along with the plain traditional Ashkenazi tombstone types. These new styles, paired with the influences of the Baroque period with its playful forms and richly ornamented decoration, led to a considerable collection of artistically outstanding tombstones, which in their glory and richness of decoration compare favourably with the Portuguese-Sephardic gravestones of the same period. The top of the tombstone is particularly embellished and rich in variety. The text field below bears mostly opulent decoration, symbols and ornaments. But the decoration of the sides has also become increasingly opulent. The text area becomes more integrated into the design; these are the earliest inscriptions with well-crafted, costly, raised lettering.



**Fig. 161: Baroque gravestones in the Ashkenazi part of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona**

From the mid-18th century onwards there is a resurgence in plainer forms, and smaller Ashkenazi tombstones begin to be used.



**Fig. 162: Tombstone of Meir ben Ber SeGaL (05/01/1808) with Levi pitcher**

In the Ashkenazi cemeteries during the 17th and 18th centuries, along with the architectonic elements described above which frame the stone, decorative elements are found on the gravestones, in particular crowns (Keter Torah, Keter Shem Tov, Keter Kehunna), ram's horns (shofars), quills, circumcision knives (mohel knives), Shabbat candles and lineage signs, for example the "Levi pitcher" and the "blessing hands" for the priestly line of Levi and Kohen.



**Fig. 163: Ashkenazi tombstone with crown and blessing hands, 1800, in the Ashkenazi part of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona - [1601] Jokew ben Mosche Hakohen [12 January 1800], photographer: Bert Sommer**

Symbols for names, such as goose (Gans), heart (Herz) or hart (Hirsch) are also found.



**Fig. 164: Hart and bird on Ashkenazi tombstones of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona: right: gravestone of Vogel bat Josef Popert (photo: B. Sommer); left: gravestone of Chief Rabbi Zwi Hirsch Zamoscz, photos by Dan Bondy**

A distinction must be drawn between vanity symbols of Jewish origin and those which are more universal, most of which have their origins in ancient times. Some of the ornaments and symbols popular with the Portuguese Sephardim can also be found on Ashkenazi tombstones. These also include, along with plinth-supported columns with twisted shafts entwined with grapevines and grapes, Jewish ancestry symbols like the blessing hands of priests and Levi pitchers; vocational symbols like the mohel knife, the shofar and the quill, as well as crowns (most referring to the well-known quotation from the Ethics of the Fathers [Av 4:13] as the crown of good name, of priesthood and of learning). A Hamburg speciality is the depiction of the biblical verse “The crown is fallen” (Lamentations 5:16) in the form of a crown falling from a pedestal. There are also name symbols, particularly the lion and deer for the first names Yehuda and Naphtali (according to the Blessing of Jacob, Genesis 49:1-28) and manifold representations of flowers (for the names Blümchen, Rose, Veilchen etc.). Grapes (Trauben) and a goose (Gans) stand for family names, a gravestone for David Hammerschlag bears a Star of David and two small hammers.

Even if Baroque Ashkenazi tombstones partly exhibit opulent ornamentation and a number of decorative elements and visual representations, they differ significantly from tombstones in Portuguese-Sephardic cemeteries. Biblical scenes, or depictions of human and animal figures, which are often found on Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones of the 17th and 18th centuries, appear in Ashkenazi cemeteries only in rare exceptional cases. In addition, the tombstones of the Portuguese-Sephardic cemeteries are not only distinguished through the use of a variety of single motifs, but also particularly through the use of unusual and multiple combinations of these single motifs, and their connection to other motifs, which relate to the personality of the deceased. Even the linking of several motifs into a complex of symbols on the tombstones of the Portuguese Sephardim is characteristic for the 18th century.

The inscriptions on Ashkenazi tombstones also differ from those in Portuguese-Sephardic cemeteries. Ashkenazi tombstones are, as a rule, monolingual (Hebrew), in later years complemented by the local language (German). Multilingual inscriptions, such as those found on Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones, are rare in the Ashkenazi cemeteries.

More than half of the gravestones from the 17th and 18th centuries bear raised lettering with craftsmanship of high quality. But one cannot tell from the design of the letters that they were wrought by non-Jewish stonemason workshops, as the numerous mason’s marks engraved on the upper and lower edges reveal.

### *Summary*

Due to the described differences between Ashkenazi and Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art, it is clear that the gravestones in the cemeteries of these two different Jewish communities are not comparable, but rather that their differences document just these different historical and cultural developments of the Ashkenazi and the Sephardim. Ashkenazi cemeteries are important testimonies to Ashkenazi history and the Altona cemetery forms an interesting historical addition to the Sephardic part, but it is, however, different in arrangement, effect, and historical context.

Important historical Ashkenazi cemeteries with their specific sepulchral art are found in abundance in central Europa, and in many cases their value has already been recognised; however, they do not provide documentation of Sephardic sepulchral art and history. Ashkenazi cemeteries shall therefore not be factored in the comparative analysis in Chapter 3.b.

#### **2.b.4 *Sephardim and Ashkenazim in Hamburg and Altona***

The history of the Jews in present-day Hamburg covers not only the Jewish communities within the city's historic city boundaries, but also those in the formerly independent towns of Altona, Wandsbek and Harburg, which were only annexed in 1938. Both the Ashkenazi and Sephardic communities saw the beginning of their history in the Hamburg area at the end of the 16th century.

Sephardic Jews began to arrive in Hamburg at the end of the late 16th century, after having been expelled from the Iberian Peninsula or persecuted there as conversos. The Hamburg Sephardim came predominantly from Portugal and mostly worked in long-distance trade. They profited from their connections with other Sephardic groups in Europe and America. While the cemetery on Königstraße in Altona was established and occupied by the Portuguese Sephardim domiciled in Hamburg as early as 1611, a Sephardic community was also established in Altona around 1704 - 1722, after previous unsuccessful attempts.

It can be verified that Ashkenazi Jews, condescendingly called "tudeskos" by the Sephardim, were present in Hamburg and the surrounding towns since the end of the 16th century. The Altona Jewish community began in the 16th century when the local lords (the Counts of Holstein-Schauenburg until 1640, thereafter the Danish Crown until 1842) gave permission for Jews to settle there with the issue of concessions called "Partikulargeleiten", later "Generalgeleiten". These granted rights of residence, the practicing of religion, employment, and sovereign protection in exchange for protection money and the commitment to good conduct. From the start of their settlement in Altona until 1842, the Ashkenazi in Altona were Jews under special protection. Four Jewish families were admitted to Altona in 1611, with many more joining in the subsequent years. The first Danish concession was granted in 1641 by Christian IV. There was no upper limit to the number of households to be allowed, and no provisions of any kind regarding the acquisition of land. The right to religious freedom included the right to practice religion in public, including the building of a synagogue – and a protection guarantee from the protector.

##### **2.b.4.a *History of the Sephardim in Hamburg***

During the last third of the 16th century, Hamburg was not only much in demand as a popular trading location among English and Dutch merchants, but also as a place of refuge for the above mentioned forcibly baptised Sephardim from Portugal, called "new Christians", "marranos", "conversos", "Portuguese" and, here within the context of this dossier, "Portuguese Sephardim". These Portuguese Sephardim who settled in Hamburg from the late 16th century onwards, brought much with them, in every sense of the word, from which Hamburg could only profit.

The right of residence they sought was therefore happily granted to them as owners and crew of Portuguese ships in Hamburg's port at the end of the 16th century. The fact that these were supposedly Catholics did not concern the Lutherans of Hamburg. Business took precedence. And when the Jewish origins of the "Portuguese" were discovered some twenty years later, only the church leaders and some civic leaders protested. The Senate itself deemed it appropriate in 1612 to conclude a contract with the "natio lusitana", the "Portuguese nation". This contract had to be renewed every five years and guaranteed the

Portuguese Sephardim the right of residence and complete freedom to practise their professions, but placed tight restrictions in religious matters.

The first Portuguese Sephardim to be granted permanent residence in the Protestant port city included Emanuel Alvers, a merchant of Brazilian goods, broker Adrian Gonsalves, sugar importer Diego Gomes, and Dr. Rodrigo de Castro, alias David Namias, a doctor from Lisbon. In 1595 there were probably seven Portuguese families residing in Hamburg; by 1609, 98 persons were recorded living there. After the armistice between Spain and the Netherlands expired in 1621, more Portuguese Jews moved from Amsterdam to Hamburg and Glückstadt. As a result, more than 1200 "Portuguese" lived in Hamburg around 1650, more than 2 percent of the population.

They were predominantly bankers, wholesalers, traders, marine insurers, trade brokers, gem dealers and doctors, who made Hamburg the western flagship of Sephardic Judaism in the 17th century. They also included pharmacists, stonecutters, livestock traders, stockbrokers, tobacco dealers, tobacco spinners, and sugar manufacturers as well as rabbis, cantors, teachers, sextons and kosher butchers. The Portuguese settlers' economic rise and their swift success in the establishment of Jewish community life prepared the foundation for continual settlement of Jews in Hamburg, and ultimately paved the way for the founding of an Ashkenazi community.

The Sephardim brought with them from Portugal a love for the beautiful things in life, an attitude which did not please everyone in Hamburg. There were complaints lodged against the Portuguese and the display of their riches, such as their grand clothing, magnificent crests and carriages, escorted by servants in uniform. On the other hand, the rich Portuguese strived to gain recognition and maintain established friendships with the distribution of sweet gifts (sugar, confectioneries). The greatest "gift" ever made were the copper plates donated by Manuel Teixeira to cover the tower of St. Michael's church, Hamburg's landmark. The wealth of the Sephardim from Portugal is reflected in the rich sepulchral art in the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona.

A speedy establishment of functioning community structures and a swift demographic growth occurred in the first decades of the 17th century. The Hamburg Portuguese-Sephardic community was also joined by Portuguese Sephardim coming from the Netherlands, France, Italy, the Levantine and later even from India and Brazil, who were attracted by its economic success. On 3 September 1652, three Portuguese-Sephardic congregations, Talmud Torah, Keter Torah and Neve Shalom, merged to form Kahal Kadosh Beth Israel (Holy Community of the House of Israel).

The rapprochement of the Portuguese Sephardim to normative Judaism brought renewed religious tensions, as many of them had lived as Christians in several countries, and had absorbed very different cultural, social and economic influences. Many of them wanted to live as Jews, but not be subjected to a "rabbinical Inquisition".

The Portuguese were familiar with Christian teachings, they understood Latin and could debate philosophical and theological matters with Christian Hebraists. The libraries of the Sephardic rabbis and scholars in Hamburg and Amsterdam are an impressive testament, with their Christian theological writings, sermons as well as classical literature from the 16th and 17th centuries in Spanish, Portuguese, Italian and French.

By the late 17th century, the Portuguese Sephardim's golden era in Hamburg was already approaching the end. The number of the "Portuguese" continued to decrease due to the resumption of Dutch trade in Iberia, anti-Semitic sentiment in the population, and the Hamburg city council's restrictive policies for Jews. This led to emigration to Amsterdam or the New World. It was not until the mid-19th century, when the Portuguese from Amsterdam and Sephardim from the Ottoman Empire began to settle in Hamburg. In the 20th century, their descendants – approximately 200 individuals at the beginning of the Nazi era – met the same fate as the descendants of the Ashkenazim: whoever was unable to flee was killed in the course of the extermination policy of the Nazis.

#### *2.b.4.a.1 Prominent public figures in Hamburg's Portuguese-Sephardic community*

The importance of Hamburg's Jewish community and its cemetery is reflected in the numerous prominent representatives of the Sephardic world who are buried there. Hamburg in particular provided a safe haven to many notable thinkers in the first half of the 17th century. Just a few of them are introduced here below:

##### *Dr Rodrigo de Castro alias David Na(h)mias de Castro; died 1627*

The famed physician and founder of a famous dynasty of doctors studied medicine in Coimbra, Evora, and Salamanca. Around 1592 he left Portugal and settled in Hamburg, where he gained prominence as a gynaecologist and plague physician. He was personal physician to the King of Denmark, to the Landgraves of Hessen and to the Dukes of Holstein and Mecklenburg.

##### *David Abenatar Melo alias Fernão Alvares Melo, died 1632*

Fernão Alvares Melo was born in Fronteira, probably to a non-Jewish family. He settled in Amsterdam sometime after 1613. Shortly afterwards he acquired Hebrew and Latin characters in order to print liturgical books. In 1624 he moved to Glückstadt, then later he settled in Hamburg. His translation of the Psalms was published in 1626 in Frankfurt or in Hamburg.

##### *Paulo de Pina, alias Reuel Jessurun, died 1634*

Paulo de Pina, from Lisbon, fled the Inquisition to Brazil, then resettled in Amsterdam in 1604 where he found his way back to Judaism. In 1624 he wrote the scenic dialogue "Dialogo dos Montes". His future son-in-law, the rabbi Moses Abudiente, also took part in the performance. De Pina settled in Hamburg just a few years before his death.

##### *Isaac de Abraham Jessurun (Rabbi), died 9 March 1665*

Born in Venice, the Chief Rabbi (haham geral) Isaac de Abraham Jessurun published the book "Livro da Providencia" in Hamburg.

##### *Abraham Senior Teixeira (died 1666)*

The merchant Abraham Senior Teixeira, alias Diogo Teixeira de Sampayo, emigrated to Brazil, and from 1613 conducted his business in Antwerpen as Marrano. In 1646, after a short residence in Cologne, he moved to Hamburg. The German emperor confirmed his aristocratic title. The Teixeiras were among the most prominent Sephardic merchant families of the 17th century. They were financiers to the Danish crown and the court of Holstein-Gottorp. He was named envoy to the Portuguese crown in 1655.

*Jehuda Leon Karmi (Rabbi), died 22 October 1672*

Jehuda Karmi, possibly from Italy, published the book “De Charitate et Benevolentia” in Amsterdam in 1648.

*Joseph Francês, died 1681*

The celebrated poet Joseph Francês, called the “Sephardic” Camões, wrote numerous sonnets and odes for members of the Portuguese congregations of Hamburg and Amsterdam.

*Baruch/Benedictus Na(h)mias de Castro, died 1684*

Baruch de Castro, son of Rodrigo de Castro, was personal physician and counsellor to the Queen of Sweden. He was repeatedly attacked by Christian physicians on account of his great successes.

*Semuel de Isaac Abas, died 1691*

Semuel de Isaac Abas was probably born in Hamburg and after studying in Amsterdam returned there, where he was continually re-elected to high positions in the congregation. He translated Hebrew books into Portuguese and owned the possibly largest Sephardic rabbinical library of the 17th century, which sold at auction in 1693.

*Jacob Rafael Belinfante, died 1761*

Born in Amsterdam in 1708, the Hamburg cantor and rabbi was commissioned by the congregation to author a “minhag” book illustrated with scenes from the life of Jacob, which is kept in Jerusalem today.

*Binjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo, died 1801*

Binjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo, born in Hamburg and resident in Altona as a book collector and author, sold his important collection of Sephardic manuscripts to the Hamburg City Library.

*Naftali Hirz Wessely, died 1805*

Born in 1726 in Hamburg to an Ashkenazi family, the teacher and Hebraist Wessely identified himself as a Sephardi for his entire life. He is one of the few Ashkenazi Jews buried in the Portuguese cemetery.

#### 2.b.4.b History of the Ashkenazim in Hamburg, Altona and Wandsbek

The end of the 16th century and beginning of the 17th century saw remigrations of Jews to the cities. The (Ashkenazi) Jews coming to the Hamburg area belonged to the more wealthy, who were able to deal in pearls, jewels, silver, and gold, and could secure better development opportunities for themselves in Hamburg.

While the Portuguese already obtained the right of residency back in 1612, the “German” Jews were only allowed to establish communities in the surrounding areas of Hamburg. Joining the few Ashkenazi Jews residing in Hamburg since 1606 were at least 17 families, protected by the Count of Schauenburg, who were, however, driven from Hamburg in 1648 and 1649. They settled in Altona, which belonged to the Danish part of Schleswig-Holstein, where the conditions of settlement were defined by the general charter of King Christian IV of Denmark. The right to freely exercise one’s religion was also expressly declared in 1641. The

religious freedom secured in the concessions included not only the synagogue, but also a rabbi, the protection of the Shabbat, the permission for a kosher butcher and the permit to establish a Jewish cemetery and bury the dead there “in the Jewish custom”. These privileges were to represent the future basis on which the Altona community was to develop, and with it the congregations of the future tripartite.

The Hamburg Jews who in the meantime had settled in Altona, however, were anxious to regain their right of residence in Hamburg. Their request to the Council in 1649 was denied. The protected Altona Jews first obtained the right to reside in Hamburg in 1657 during the Dano-Swedish War; however, they remained special protected Jews in Altona. Shortly thereafter, 630 families moved to Hamburg, which developed into Altona’s filial community in Hamburg. The official right of residence was conceded “de jure” to the “German” Jews not until 1697.

The Ashkenazi part of the cemetery also holds the dead of those protected Altona Jews who resided in Hamburg. It was basically irrelevant where an Altona community member died, in every case, permission was needed from the sovereign, for Jews who died outside the area, to be transferred to Altona and buried there; the German chancellery was responsible for Danish territories. Burial in Altona required both this approval as well as a letter of escort for the transportation through royal territory, ordering all royal officials to allow free passage of the coffin. Community members also retained the right to be buried in the community cemetery if they had left their domicile for business purposes.

In the 17th century, three Ashkenazi congregations had formed, in Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbek, whereby two existed as “double” communities, namely Altona’s protected Jews along with their filial community Altona protected Jews in Hamburg, as well as the Wandsbek’s protected Jews along with a filial community Wandsbeker protected Jews in Hamburg. The development of the Altona community as a double community had two causes: the first were the favourable residence conditions in Altona, and second were the better business opportunities in Hamburg. Since the early 17th century, a community had existed in Wandsbek, where permission for the creation of a cemetery, as well as freedom of religion, was granted in a charter in 1637.

In 1671, the Ashkenazi communities in Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbek joined together to form one body, the “tripartite community AHU”, by virtue of a consent decree by the chief rabbi of Frankfurt in 1669. (Hebrew: Shalosh Kehilot AHU. AHU is the Hebrew acronym of the cities’ names.) This community was made up of several congregations in “prayer rooms” (from 1682/84 onwards its own synagogue), three cemeteries, and a staff consisting of a (chief) rabbi, a schoolmaster and a synagogue attendant. After the Great Charter of 1641, a rabbinical court (bet din) was established, which was responsible for both cultural and civil matters as well as disciplinary measures in the community. The chief rabbi’s legal residence was in Altona and his jurisdiction included the Jews of Schleswig-Holstein. The subordination of Hamburg’s Jews under the jurisdiction of the Altona Chief Rabbi who was subordinate to the Danish King, subsequently led to repeated conflicts with the Hamburg authorities.

The tripartite community was dissolved in 1811 in the course of the French occupation. With roughly 6,300 members (around 6 percent of the city’s population), the Hamburg community was the largest in the German Empire. During the French occupation of Hamburg both the Hamburg Jews and the French Jews enjoyed the same rights, which were revoked again after the Congress of Vienna. The equal rights guaranteed in 1850 were first granted to the

Hamburg Jews in 1860. Religious reformation efforts influenced by the Jewish Enlightenment arose also in Hamburg shortly after the dissolution of the Shalosh Kehilot AHU. The first temple of the reform movement in Germany was dedicated in Hamburg in 1817, with an organ, a mixed choir and many prayers in German. The following decades years were characterised by the desire to assimilate on one hand, and the attempts of the orthodoxy to retain the old values on the other. To end the constant conflicts and prevent a split of the community, two associations were formed for the rules on prayer and religious services in the community: The Orthodox German-Israelite Synagogue Association on one side, and on the other the reformist Israelite Temple Association.

In 1812, after the dissolution of the Shalosh Kehilot AHU and subsequent division of the Altona double communities into the Altona community and its branch “Altona Jews in Hamburg”, the burial ground added in 1806 north of the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery was also divided. The larger part, the so-called Hamburg part, served as burial grounds for the branch community from 1812 to 1835. The Hamburg community buried their dead in Ottensen from 1663 onwards, and after 1713 also in the Grindel cemetery due to the plague, and after 1883 in the cemetery in Ohlsdorf.

19,000 Jews were living in Hamburg, Altona and Wandsbek in the spring of 1933. In the subsequent years they were subjected to increasing discriminations, reprisals and persecutions. The Pogrom in November 1938, in which nearly all the synagogues in Hamburg were destroyed, initiated the final fall of the community, which led to increased emigration from Germany. When it was banned in October 1941, 7,500 Jews still remained in Hamburg, nearly all of whom were deported and murdered in 1945. As early as 1937, the communities in Hamburg, Altona and Wandsbek were forced to merge into the Jewish Religious Federation, which was dissolved in 1942. By the end of the war, only 647 Jews were still living in Hamburg, the majority in “mixed” marriages.

A new Jewish community was founded on 18 September 1945 as one community, and was given the status of a corporate body with public rights in 1948. With the dedication of the new synagogue on Hohen Weide in 1960, the community once again had a religious centre. In the following decades, the number of members remained nearly constant, with just under 1,500. In the 1990s, arrivals from the former CIS countries led to a significant increase, but also to an altered composition of the community. A clear sign of solid establishment was the opening of the community centre in 2007, with administration, school, and kindergarten, in the restored building of the former Talmud-Torah school. The congregation had 2,445 members in 2015.

#### *2.b.4.b.1 Prominent Public Figures of the Ashkenazi Communities*

##### *Jecheskel Katzenellenbogen (Chief Rabbi), died 28 November 1748 (FE)*

Jecheskel Katzenellenbogen, born 1668, came from Lithuania and was summoned to Altona as rabbi in 1713, where he remained in office until his death in 1749. His term of office was characterised and strongly affected by increasing – and increasingly violent – disputes with Altona resident Jakob Emden. The dispute first began in regard to questions about the Halakhah. Emden’s attacks became ever more personal, and continued even after Katzenellenbogen’s death.

*Jonathan Eibeschutz (Chief Rabbi), died 18 September 1764 (FD)*

Jonathan Eibeschutz was born in Moravia in 1690 and served many years as rabbi in Prague. In 1741 he was summoned to Metz. He came to Altona in 1750 as successor to Jecheskel Katzenellenbogen, and died there in 1764. Through his posthumously published writings he gained a reputation as an outstanding expert on rabbinical literature.

*Jacob Emden (Rabbi, book printer), died 19 April 1776 (FD)*

Jakob Emden was born in Altona in 1697, the son of Chacham Zwi/Zwi Hirsch Aschkenasi (1660-1718). After his schooling he officiated as rabbi in Emden (1729-1732). From 1743 he ran a book press in Altona as private scholar, with permission from the Danish King Christian VI. He wrote his autobiography, "Megilat Sefer", between 1752 and 1766. He had lively correspondence with Moses Mendelssohn in his later years, and turned to secular sciences, which gave him the reputation in later interpretations of having been a forerunner of the Enlightenment. Jakob Emden and Jonathan Eibeschutz occupy a special place in the community and religious history because of their lasting quarrels, which continued until death.

*Aharon Gumpertz Emmerich, died 10 April 1769 (KC)*

The physician Aharon Emmerich, better known as Aron Gumpertz, friend and teacher of Moses Mendelssohn, was perhaps the first Ashkenazi Jew who lived fully and completely in the spirit of learning and the Enlightenment. Born in 1723 as offspring of a well-known family of rabbis and court Jews in Berlin, he received an education in languages, philosophy and natural sciences along with traditional studies. He completed his medical studies at the University of Frankfurt / Oder, graduating in 1751. He moved to Hamburg in 1761. His work "Enthüller des Geheimnisses" (Unveiler of the Mystery) is an important interpretational resource for the Bible commentary of Ibn Ezra.

*Noah Chaim-Hirsch Meir Berlin, died 07 March 1802*

Born in 1734 in Fürth as the oldest son of the learned banker and court mint supplier Abraham Meyer Berlin and Röschen Dina, Noah Chaim grew up there and was at first teacher and judge at the Rabbinical Court in Fürth in 1764, State Rabbi for the Principality of Bayreuth in Baiersdorf in 1772 and State Rabbi for the Electorate of Mainz in 1783. After Raphael Cohen stepped down in 1800, Berlin was elected Chief Rabbi of the tripartite community of Altona, Hamburg and Wandsbek (AHU). The celebrated pilpulist (an astute talmudic dialectician) and casuistry expert published several books, which his visually attractive gravestone partly notes in the upper third area.

*Raphael Cohen, died. 1803 (EL)*

Raphael Cohen (1722-1803), son of Rabbi Jekutiel Süskind, officiated in Minsk, Wilkomierz (Ukmergė) near Vilnius, and Posen among other places before he became Chief Rabbi of the tripartite federation and chairman of the Rabbinical Court from 1776 to 1799. His term is viewed as the last phase of the traditional rabbinate before it was examined and modernised. Cohen was seen as a strict advocate of Jewish observance with the goal of maintaining traditional Jewish life forms; he fought consistently against every modernisation which sprang from the ideas of Haskala (the "Jewish Enlightenment"). He especially fought against the Mendelssohn's Bible translations.

*Zwi Hirsch Zamoscs, died 21 September 1807 (EM)*

Zwi Hirsch, born in 1740 in Zamoszcz , Poland, son of the learned and wealthy Benjamin Baschko, became judge in the Rabbinical Court in Tyszowce in 1766 and later Rabbi in Osoblaha (1770) and Brody (1773). As Chief Rabbi in Glogau he founded an important Yeshiva in 1788, and was in 1802 the last Chief Rabbi of the tripartite community Altona-Hamburg-Wandsbek. His 1807 gravestone also mentions the extensive collection of unprinted works he left behind.

*Salomon Ludwig Steinheim, died 18 May 1866*

Salomon Ludwig Steinheim, born in 1789, was a physician, religious philosopher and scholar. Born in eastern Westphalia, he worked as a doctor in Altona from 1811 to 1845; after 1854 he lived in Italy. As publicist, Steinheim fought for the emancipation of the Jews in Schleswig-Holstein. His main theological work, "Die Offenbarung nach dem Lehrbegriff der Synagoge" (The Revelation According to the Guiding Concept of the Synagogue) (1835-65), shows him to be an original thinker who does not easily fit into the contemporary categories of Orthodoxy or Reform Movement.

*Jakob Ettlinger (Chief Rabbi), died 07 December 1871*

Jakob Ettlinger, born in 1798, is viewed as both the last great old-school Talmudic scholar in Germany, as well as one of the two first academically formed rabbis of the modern school. He founded a Yeshiva in Mannheim, was Samson Raphael Hirsch's teacher and officiated from 1836 as rabbi of the German Jewish community in Altona. At the same time, he was chairman of the Jewish Court in Altona until 1863 which, with the Jewish emancipation in the Duchy of Altona, was the last officially recognised rabbinic court in the German states. Ettlinger was also known as a theologian and author. In 1845, he founded the magazine "Der treue Zionswächter" (The Loyal Guardian of Zion), which he used to publish opinions against the Jewish Reformation movement. He died in 1871, after the official closing of the Königstraße cemetery, and with special permission from the Altona magistrate, he was buried there next to his first wife, Grendel, who died in 1842.

## 2.b.5 History of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona



Fig. 165: Map of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona from the year 2015

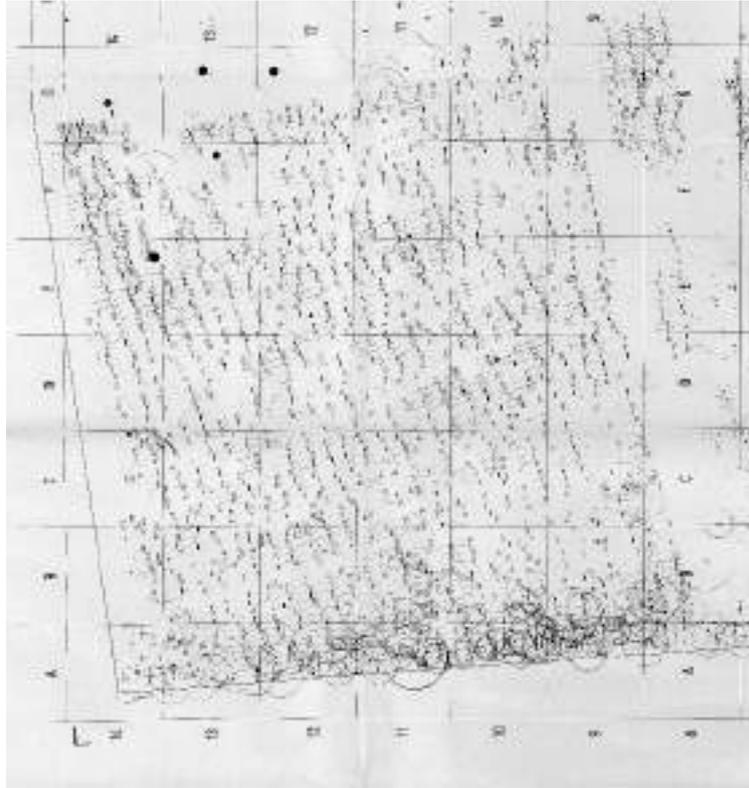
The cemetery known today as the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona consists of two neighbouring yet separate cemeteries of two different Jewish congregations:

- 1) the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery which was established in 1611 and
- 2) the cemetery of the Ashkenazi Jews, which was first used in 1616

Until the end of their active use in the 2nd half of the 19th century, both parts had their own history and development independent of one another.

### 2.b.5.a History of the Portuguese-Sephardic Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona

The Council of the City of Hamburg refused to permit the Jews their own burial grounds. The Portuguese-Sephardim, as “new Christians”, were therefore buried in Christian churchyards until 1611. It wasn’t until the Portuguese-Sephardic community grew significantly that three Portuguese merchants – Andres Falero, Ruy Fernandes Cardoso and Álvaro Dinis acquired a patch of presumably agriculturally used, undeveloped land on the Heuberg on 31 May 1611 from Count Ernst III von Holstein-Schauenburg and Sterneberg, to create cemetery there for the private Hamburg synagogue communities “Talmud Torah”, “Keter Torah” and “Neve Shalom”. The only condition laid down by the Count was that the burials be conducted “without any singing and ringing”.



**Fig. 166: Map of the Portuguese-Sephardic part of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, by Elke Buchholz from the years 1984/85**

In the first year, 1611, three burials took place in the present-day grid quadrant A10 and B11. The oldest surviving gravestone in the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, for Abraham Suarte, also dates back to the year 1611.



**Fig. 167: Oldest surviving gravestone, for Abraham Suarte, from the year 1611**

In the early years of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, there were many reburials of Portuguese-Sephardim settled in Hamburg, and buried in Hamburg's Protestant cemeteries.

Thus the Portuguese Sephardim buried in the Hamburg Neustadt cemetery between 1627 and 1653 were brought to Altona in 1654 for reinterment.

The rapid rise in the Portuguese-Sephardic population in Hamburg meant that by 1641 the available space in the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Altona was already no longer sufficient. As the removal of graves or double allocation was out of the question, due to Jewish graves being meant for eternity, based on existing written sources, in 1641 a directly adjacent piece of land was bought, and another one in 1642. The three private Portuguese-Sephardic communities merged into one main community called the “Holy Congregation of the House of Israel”, consisting of 1,212 proud members. Available space in the cemetery grounds therefore soon became scarce once again. The community again purchased property adjacent to the cemetery in 1672 and 1674. A possible further purchase in 1647 has not been verified. Unfortunately, nothing is known of the exact locations and sizes of the new lots, as early maps show only the streets and a vague border of the entire area.

However, with the last purchase in 1674, the Portuguese-Sephardic part of the cemetery reached its ultimate size. To the best of our knowledge no further property was purchased. The earliest map on which the dimensions and form of the individual parts of the cemetery can be recognised, dates back to the year 1736.

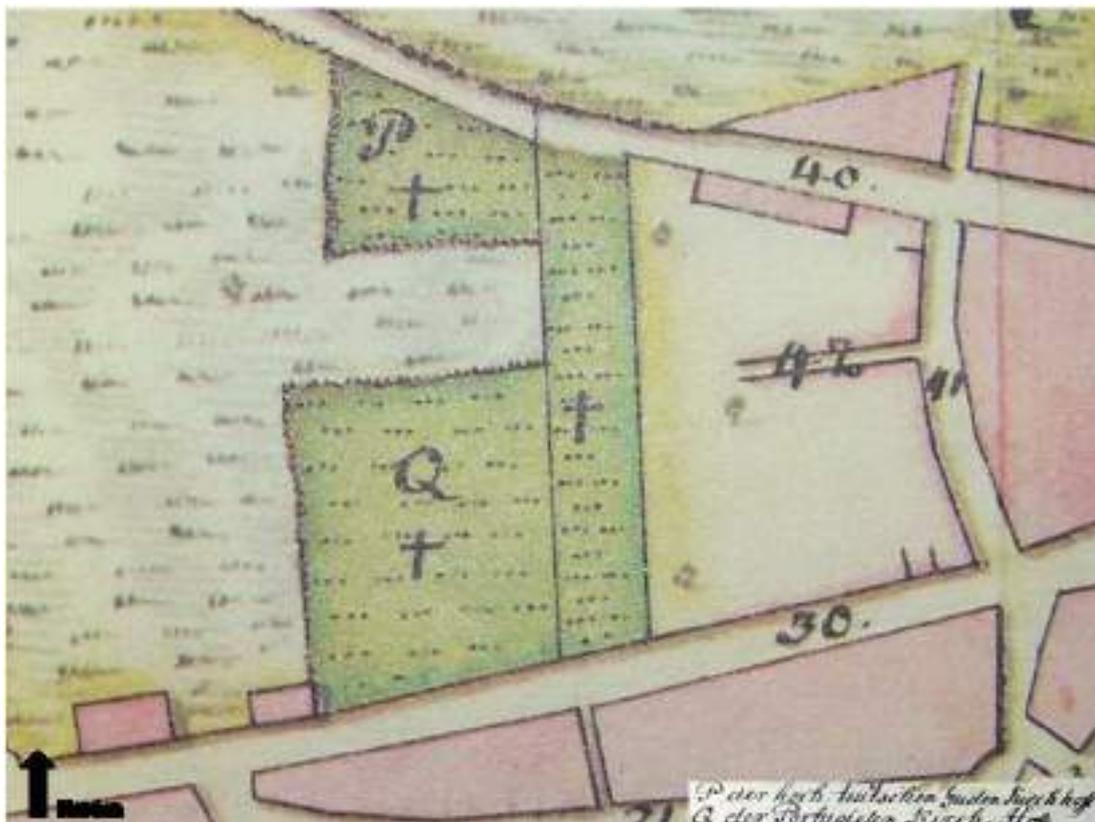
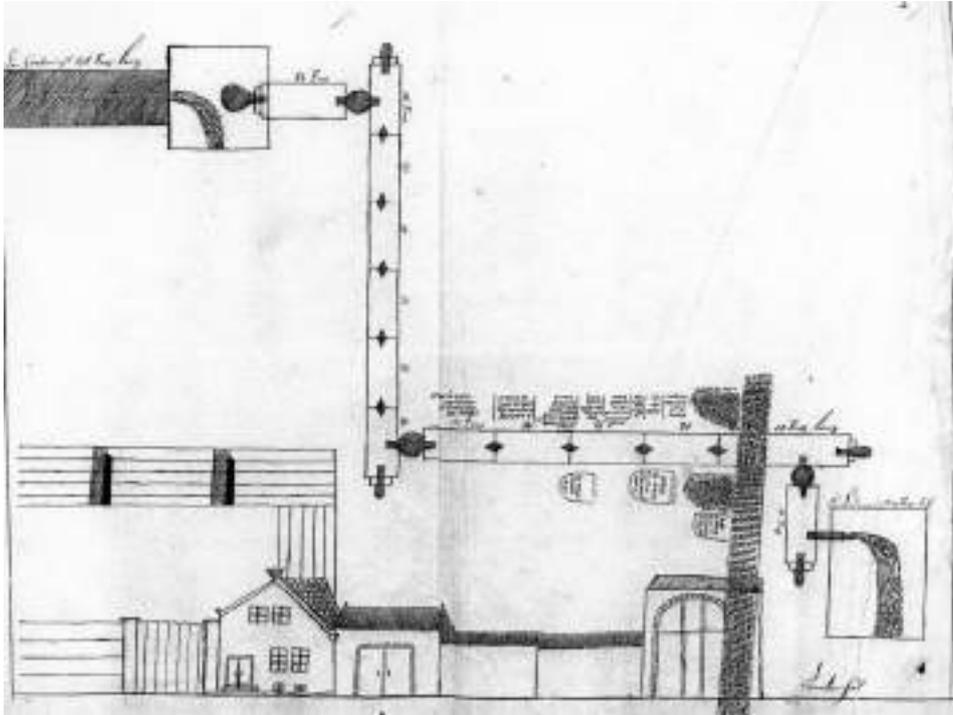


Fig. 168: Geometrical layout of the city of Altona, 1736 (Altona Museum, Signature 23-1-1, 1993-57/4b); Q = Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery, P = Ashkenazi cemetery

It is assumed that no path network existed in the cemetery's earlier years. Due to the narrow arrangement of the graves and tomb slabs, there would have been little use for this. The dead were laid in the cemetery closely together under horizontal tomb slabs, facing Jerusalem, according to Jewish tradition.

Rainwater presented a serious problem in the lower lying areas because of the cemetery's loamy soil, in contrast to that of the surrounding developed areas. In 1761, the first drainage efforts were made by way of a system of trenches which diverted the water into two pits. These plans are probably recorded in the map below.



**Fig. 169: Drawing of a water trench in the Jewish cemetery, in which the “planks” which encircled the Sephardic part of the Jewish cemetery can be seen; probably 1761 (Hamburg State Archives, Inventory 522-1, Vol.1, Signature 73, p. 1a)**

Whether the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery had an enclosure from the beginning is not known, however, maps and archival material show a view-obstructing wooden wall of horizontal “planks” between wooden posts by 1805 at the latest, perhaps as early as 1761 (see Fig. 169). It ran along the property boundary of the Sephardic part, probably on all sides. In 1859, a building application was made to tear down these planks and erect a stone wall. It cannot be determined whether this stone wall was built immediately afterwards, however, according to archival sources, by 1884 it was in very bad condition.

The entry to the Portuguese-Sephardic section of the cemetery was probably placed in the southeast corner of this part of the cemetery at a very early date. In the map shown above (Fig. 169), an entrance to the Portuguese-Sephardic section of the cemetery can be seen directly left of the building. Due to the limited size of the grounds, it may be assumed that this was the only entrance.

As early as 1664, reference was made of a “house belonging to the cemetery” on the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery grounds, in which a caretaker was to be installed. The location of this former structure is not known. It was probably located near the south-eastern entrance, on the site of the present visitors’ centre (Duckesz Building). By 1790 at the latest, and perhaps as early as around 1761 (see Fig. 169) a small structure was located on Königstraße, presumably a dwelling, which probably also held the taharah room. The outlines of this building can be seen clearly on a map from the year 1802.

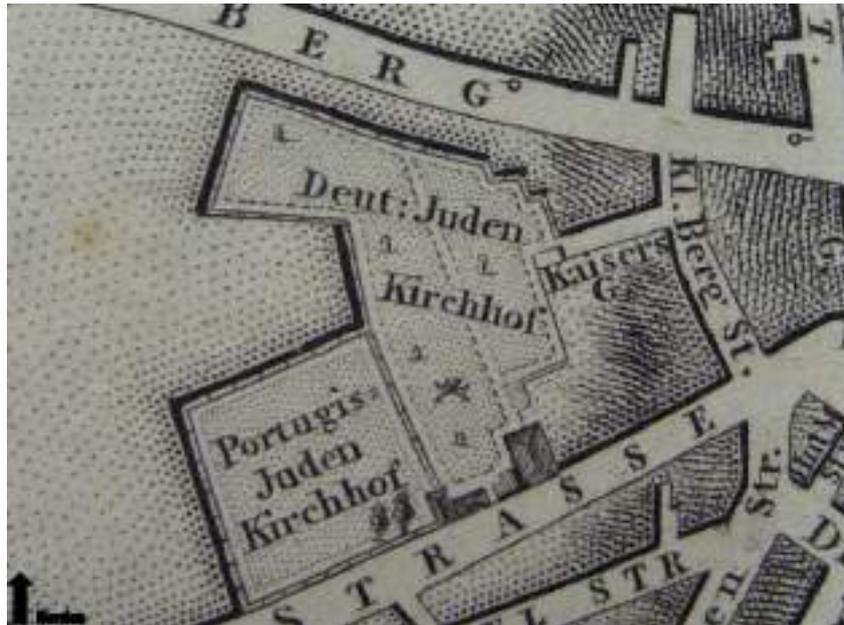


Fig. 170: Altona, around 1802 (Altona Museum, Number 23-1-1, AB 8681)

According to census records from the year 1860, a Jewish master stonemason lived in the building belonging to the “Portuguese-Israelite community of Hamburg”, and which was used as a dwelling. A map from the year 1836 shows that the building has since been significantly extended.



Fig. 171: Altona in the year 1836 (Hamburg State Library, Number KT H 171)

Between 1869 and 1874, after the closing of the cemetery, the Portuguese-Sephardic community sold the extending, developed lot in the south-eastern corner of the cemetery.

Prior to this, in 1864, a narrow strip of land of the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery has already been surrendered. The graves there were protected by being “tunnelled over”, the tombstones placed in the inner cemetery area.

As the number of members of the Portuguese-Sephardic community continued to decline (in 1872 there were only 275 members), very few burials were conducted in the second half of the 19th century in the Portuguese-Sephardic Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona.

The cemetery was closed by the Schleswig-Holstein Ministry of the Interior in 1869. Further burials, exclusively in family plots, were conducted only by special permit in the 1870s. Three burials were conducted in the Portuguese-Sephardic part in 1871, 1872 and 1877.

Afterwards, the Portuguese Sephardim also used the Jewish cemeteries in Grindel and Ottensen, and after 1883 only in the Ihlandkoppel Jewish cemetery, a special section of the Ohlsdorf cemetery.

According to available archival documents, around 2,000 burials were conducted between 1611 and 1877 in the Portuguese-Sephardic part of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona. The exact number of gravestones previously existing on this site during that time is difficult to determine. Firstly, the available archival materials do not provide the exact number of persons buried here; also, the number of persons interred is, as a rule, larger than the number of gravestones, as not every grave was given a stone, such as, for example, those of children under two years of age, Jews who lived in Hamburg, but who were not members of the Jewish congregations; members of outside congregations who were in the area temporarily; destitute members and those whose remains were transferred to other cemeteries. On the other hand, sometimes multiple stones existed for one deceased person.

According to the topographical grave register created by the community officials Rocamora and Sealtiel, 1806 gravestones were present in the Portuguese-Sephardic part of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona in 1874.

As is apparent from the preceding text, the Portuguese-Sephardic Cemetery in Hamburg-Altona is an independent cemetery with its own history. However, the preservation of its integrity and authenticity is significantly owed to its geographical proximity to the Ashkenazi cemetery, which had been closed at about the same time, but whose community remained in existence for a longer period of time. An understanding of the Jewish history and culture of the 17th–19th centuries can be gleaned particularly through this geographically immediate juxtaposition of the two cemeteries.

#### 2.b.5.b History of the Ashkenazi Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona

Between 1612 and 1616, the Altona German Jewish Community purchased property to bury their dead directly next to the recently acquired Sephardic burial grounds. The exact date of this acquisition has not been documented, however, the community's purchase is verified in the 1641 general charter issued by the Danish King Christian IV, which states: "that they keep a synagogue, to hold their services therein according to Jewish rites, also their churchyard, to bury their dead therein in the Jewish manner."

The first burial in the Ashkenazi part of the Jewish cemetery in Hamburg-Altona took place in the year 1616. The oldest graves are located in the south section of the Ashkenazi cemetery, directly adjacent to Sephardic cemetery. The oldest surviving gravestone is from the year 1621 (see Fig. 99).

The cemetery, first only a narrow strip running east of the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery between Königstraße to the south and Große Bergstraße to the north, was expanded substantially through land purchases in 1668, 1710, 1745 and 1806. The 1860 map shows the dimensions of the Ashkenazi cemetery after the last expansion and shortly before its closure in 1869.



Fig. 172: Altona, 1860 (Altona Museum, Signature 23-1-4, 1937/450)

By 1874, to help with orientation on the grounds, the cemetery was divided into geographical segments (S, N, O, W, C I and C II, "Hamburger Teil"), which also correspond somewhat to the course of its use. These areas were drawn up in a map of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona from the year 1953 which clarify the development and allocation of the Ashkenazi part of the Jewish cemetery.

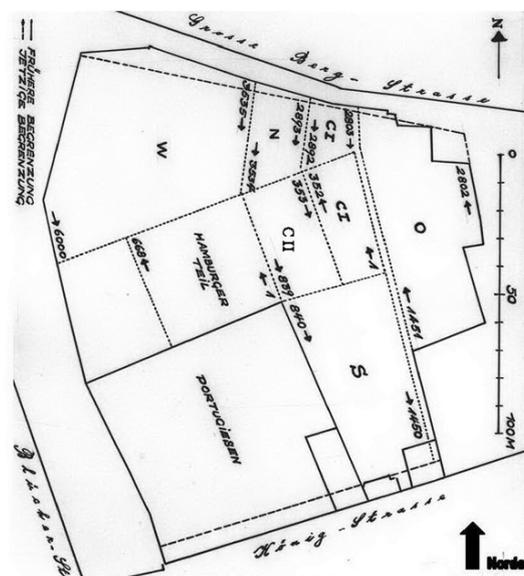


Fig. 173: Map of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona with its alterations up to 1953

The southern area (S) was in use from 1616 to 1741, making it the oldest Ashkenazi area. It was again put to use after the beginning of the 19th century when room was scarce in the other areas of the cemetery, and third row was established for rabbis. In the northern area (N) burials were conducted from 1734 until the end of the 18th century, and then again from 1840 until 1852. The Centre II (C II) area, which lies between the southern (S) and northern (N) areas, was used from 1711 to 1747, sporadically between 1751 and 1782, and then again from 1846 to 1870. The area Centre I (C I) lies adjacent to the north of Centre II and N, and consists of two parts. Burials were conducted on one of them from 1741 to 1758, and 1795/96. Burials were conducted in the eastern section (O) from 1758 to 1796, and again after 1850. The western section (W) is altogether the newest and largest part; burials were conducted there from 1745 to 1847. A special area is the so-called "Hamburger part", in which, between 1812 and 1835, members of the Altona community living in Hamburg had to bury their dead separately, by decree of the authorities.

The entrance to the Ashkenazi part was probably in the southwest corner of the cemetery. A gate to the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery can be seen directly to the right of the building in the drawing of the water trenches (Fig. 169, 1761), and another gate a little bit further to the right. Between them appears to be a wall.

The Ashkenazi cemetery, like the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery, also had buildings on the premises. In the 1802 map (Fig. 170), three structures can already be seen in the southwest corner of the cemetery. While the structure on the left may be the gate mentioned above, to the right is a large building, which connects to a small structure directly to its left. Sources from the time between 1801 and 1804 speak of a "Jewish community hospital" on this site. In between is a gap which probably represents the cemetery entrance. In 1860, the building on the left was identified as a dwelling owned by the Ashkenazi community. The building east of the gap is identified as "Jewish hospital" belonging to the Jew Abraham Heilbuth. In 1864, the Ashkenazi community is listed as owner of the hospital building.

Around 1891, this building on the west side underwent modifications and an enlargement onto the site of the former gap between the buildings. Evidently the hospital on this site was closed at the same time, because in the building documentation for a building at Blücherstraße 18/22, an 1891 reference states that the former infirmary on Königstraße 30 was closed and from then on the building at Blücherstraße 18/22 should be used as such. Whether the entrance to the Ashkenazi cemetery was also moved to Blücherstraße at that time cannot be verified.

From the early 19th century onwards, the entire northern side of the Ashkenazi cemetery was bordered by residential buildings, all of which belonged to the Ashkenazi community. A garden even protruded into the northeast corner of the cemetery. The gravestones were set only a few centimetres from the buildings. There was a gap in the building development in the area of Große Bergstraße 110/100a, which was not closed until later. This was in all likelihood the site of the northern entrance to the Ashkenazi cemetery.

From the beginning of the 19th century, buildings and their back doors and gardens directly abutted the cemetery premises along the east side, on Kleine Bergstraße. It is possible that there was also an entrance to the Ashkenazi cemetery on the east side by way of a small cul-de-sac.

The Ashkenazi cemetery was closed by the Schleswig-Holstein Ministry of the Interior in 1869. However, further interments took place up until the 1870s by special permit. In 1871, for example, the rabbi Jacob Ettlinger was buried in the Ashkenazi part of the cemetery with special permission from the Altona government.

From then on, the Jewish cemeteries in Grindel and in Ottensen were used as final resting places, and after 1873 the new cemetery on Bornkampsweg.

In a topographic grave register from 1875, the 6,009 tombstones in the Ashkenazi part of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona were recorded as thoroughly as possible. Missing, however, are the 669 tombstones of the “Hamburg part”, which are included in a special register from 1900. One may therefore assume that, at the time of the cemetery’s closure, a total of 6,678 gravestones were found in the Ashkenazi part of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona.

#### 2.b.5.c Common History of the Two Sections of the Cemetery After the End of their Active Periods

##### *2.b.5.c.1 From 1870 to 1933*

Around 1874, a prestigious multi-storey residential building was erected on the property at the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery entrance, that had been sold by the Portuguese-Sephardic community between 1869 and 1874, which, after some renovations and enlargements, was taken down again in the years between 1929 and 1937. (Today, the visitors centre stands on this property, which does not belong to the cemetery.)

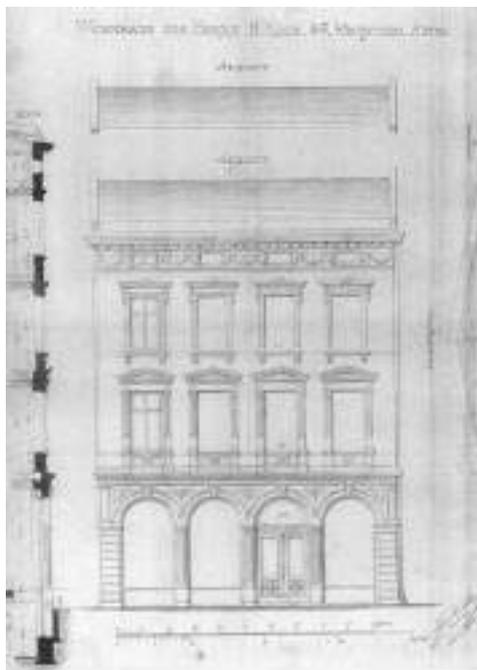


Fig. 174: Facade of the planned building at Königstraße 36, 1874 (Hamburg State Archives, Inventory 324-1, Signature K 2456)



Fig. 175: Altona 1901/03 (Altona Museum, Signature 23-3-6, without inventory number)

Around 1888/89, members of the Jewish community repeatedly complained that the old burial site was in a state of neglect. They therefore agreed to the suggestion of the Altona Beautification Association (Altonaer Verschönerungsverein), to plant low undergrowth and somewhat higher shrubs and trees. However, at the behest of the Chief Rabbi, these were not allowed to develop deep roots and touch the graves. The integrity of the cemetery was thus preserved.

In 1902, the Portuguese-Sephardic community had to cede a narrow strip of land situated at its southern edge to the city authorities so that Königstraße could be widened. Around 200 graves were moved further inside the cemetery. The “tunnelled over” graves on the Königstraße side were also moved to the interior in the course of a widening of the street in 1864. The retention of the path encircling the cemetery was taken into account in the curtailment of the boundary to Königstraße in 1902. This condition can still be seen on the premises today.

For the surrender of this strip of land, the city of Altona paid the Portuguese-Sephardic community a purchase price of 20,000 marks, and additionally promised to erect, at cost to the city, a new enclosure adjusting to the alignment of the cemetery to the street. On the southern boundary of the cemetery, a wrought-iron enclosure, with a gate on the western boundary, was erected according to plans by Manfred Semper, son of the famous architect Gottfried Semper.



**Fig. 176: Gate to the Portuguese-Sephardic part of the Jewish cemetery, on the southwestern boundary; photographer: Max Halberstadt, around 1935**

#### *2.b.5.c.2 From 1933 to 1945*

After 1933, the economic situation of Hamburg's Jews dramatically deteriorated due to the passing of various anti-Semitic laws. The "Jüdische Religionsverband Hamburg e.V." (Hamburg Jewish religious association), owner of both sections of the cemetery at the time, was pressured by the state to sell them; on 9 January 1943, the cemetery became government property. Anticipating the danger for the Jewish heritage, the two directors of the association, Dr Leo Lippmann and Dr Max Plaut, together with a former employee of the Hamburg State Archives, Hans W. Hertz, decided to photographically document the existence of the gravestones here, and in other Jewish cemeteries in Hamburg. This documentation of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona took place from 1942-1944 and was only completed in 1954 and 1958-1960.

In 1943, there were efforts to build two barracks for forced labourers in the middle of the cemetery, in the area now named the "Hamburg part". There were considerations on the expansion of an industrial company bordering the northeast corner of the Ashkenazi part as well as on the establishment of a day care centre on Königstraße. The complete removal of all the stones was planned. Historically and genealogically valuable gravestones and memorials were to be preserved, however, and brought to museums, mediated through the Department for Heritage Preservation.



Fig. 177: 1943 planned building of barracks (Hamburg Department for Heritage Preservation, File 39-201.301.1)

Due to the lack of space in museums, as well as a scarcity of fuel and manpower, it was decided in the end to “pile the gravestones to be removed directly onto the cemetery premises on Hinrich-Lohse-Straße (today Königstraße).” (Object-File Department for Heritage Preservation 39-201.301.1). Later (1943), it was decided to leave the stones under the barracks, as these were built on posts, and the stones were not of particular concern for the research on “historically and racially valuable precursors in the cemetery”. The city treasury used the increasing disappearance of important green spaces, which the cemetery represented, in arguments against the building of the industrial barracks. The management of the cemetery’s (green) areas was thereafter left to the Garden and Cemetery Administration in Hamburg-Ohlsdorf.

In 1943 the eastern part of the cemetery was cleared above-earth, although in the end no buildings were erected. The gravestones standing in this part were carefully taken out of the earth and layered upright next to each other in their original order on a free spot near the old entrance, and survived the war relatively undamaged. In 1954, the stones were temporarily distributed over the site.

At the start of the Second World War, youths systematically broke some 200 gravestones in the Hamburg part and cleared the resulting rubble to make room for a playing field. The wrought-iron bars, landed in the smelting furnaces after they had been confiscated by Nazi authorities, presumably even before 1942. The premises then lay open from all sides. Many of the trees and some of the tomb slabs were destroyed in bombings in 1943.



**Fig. 178: Sephardic cemetery, around 1946, photographer: Germin (Hamburg Department for Heritage Preservation, Signature DA 06786-26)**

In spite of all these disturbances, of the approximately 8,500 original gravestones, around 8,100 gravestones or gravestone fragments survive today. The cemetery's authenticity has been preserved as well.

#### *2.b.5.c.3 The Common Post-War History*

A memorandum in the files of the Department for Heritage Preservation from 22 October 1945 states that the enclosure wall and several stones in the Jewish cemetery on Königstraße in Altona were destroyed by bombs, tree pullers, and children playing. Attempts were made to hinder access by unauthorised persons with the use of signs, directives from the (military) police and the provisional installation of a barbed-wire fence. In 1948, after all attempts to temporarily fence in the property had failed, as the materials were stolen almost immediately, the cemetery received a permanent enclosure on the north and south sides (Bergstraße and Königstraße) with pillars and iron bars, and on the east and west sides, where public grassy areas were subsequently planned, with iron posts and barbed wire. Around 1960, the barbed wire on the west side was replaced with iron bars, and on the east side with a wall.



Fig. 179: Cemetery wall on the east side; photographer: Alexandra Kruse



Fig. 180: Sephardic graveyard with enclosure on Königstraße; photographer: Alexandra Kruse

The cemetery boundary on the north side was slightly straightened in the course of the enclosure reconstruction. The graves outside of this realignment were left where they were; their gravestones were moved back somewhat in their respective rows. The graves which lay under the enclosure wall were carefully removed and relocated into the cemetery interior in the presence of a Jewish cemetery caretaker.



**Fig. 181: 1953 map of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona with alterations charted (red = historic boundary, green = current boundary of cemetery)**

In 1958-1960 a row of hornbeams was planted along part of the boundaries as a hedge. These mostly survive today, but over the decades were not cut as a hedge, but allowed to grow as trees. The cemetery is otherwise mainly overgrown by these trees today, which after the eradication in the Second World War, either resprouted from cut stocks or grew wildy. A systematic planting did not take place after the war – except for the overgrown hornbeam hedge and possibly the birches. An avenue was only recently reinstalled at the north side on the path running east-west, which had been originally planted at the end of the 19th century.



Fig. 182: Vegetation and new path in the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Alexandra Kruse

1960 saw the registration of the cemetery, the graves and the gravestones under the number 469 in the list of historic monuments in the city of Hamburg as “the most important monument complex for Jewish history in greater Hamburg, even in northwest Germany”. The grave monuments are furthermore the most important testimony of local stonemasonry art from the 17th and 18th centuries. Special value was awarded to the gravestones in the Portuguese-Sephardic part.

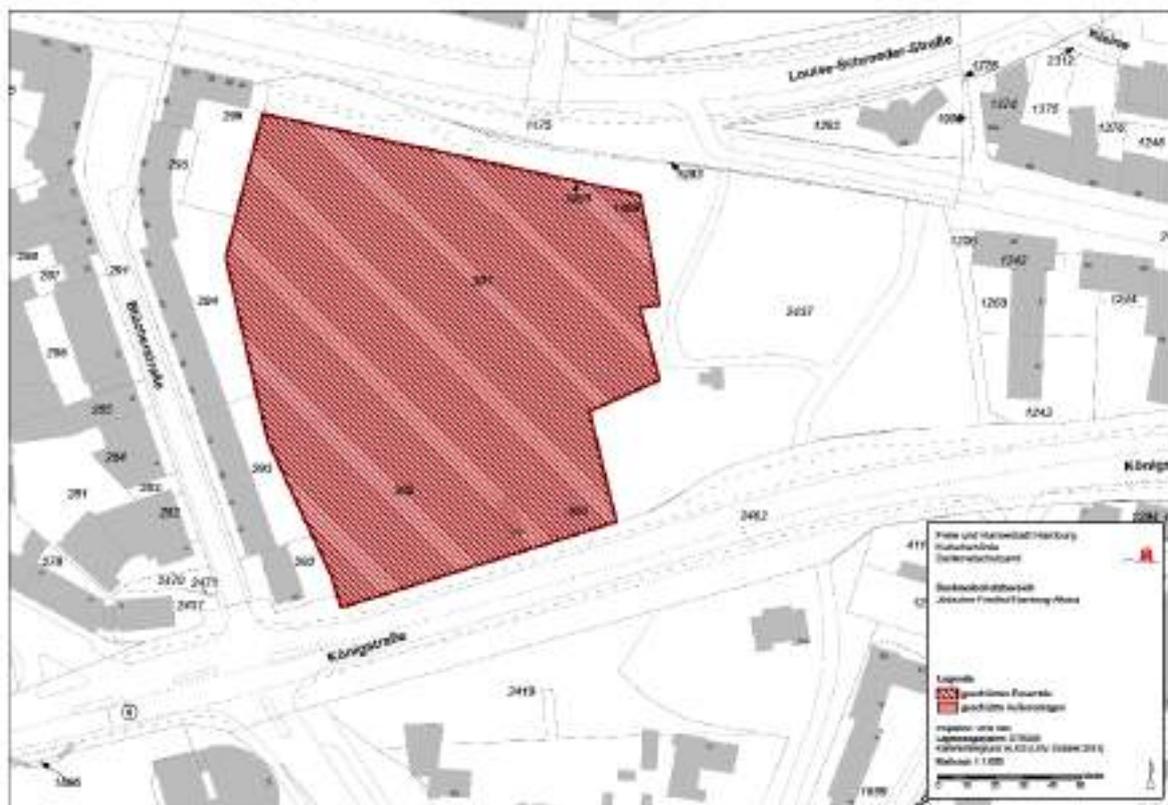


Fig. 183: Map with registration of the cemetery placed under protection in 1960 in accordance with the Hamburg Heritage Protection Law, 2013

In 1945, the broken pieces of the tombstones began to be collected and reassembled, and the horizontal Portuguese-Sephardic tomb slabs cleaned.

In 1965, the Senate awarded the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg special funds for the horticultural and professional maintenance of the Jewish cemetery in Hamburg-Altona.

In order to bring the Ashkenazi steles, removed from their original locations in the past, back to their proper places, a topographic directory was created, based on available photo archive collections. From 1967 onwards, under the supervision of Hans W. Hertz, the stones were brought back to their original places and reset. Gravestones whose original locations could no longer be determined, were first laid against the stone wall along the east side of the cemetery. Professional conservation measures were carried out on the gravestones as well. The horizontal tomb slabs and box graves in the Portuguese-Sephardic part of the cemetery were cleaned and preserved and also lifted slightly on one side, so that the rainwater runs off more easily.

From an inspection of the cemetery in 1982, it was determined that the condition of the stones in was increasingly worse in comparison to the 1940s and 50s. The alleged reasons for this were air pollution, wind, rain, high groundwater, tree roots and grass. It was also determined that a preservative coating used in the restoration drive of 1965 had damaged the physical/chemical balance of the stones. Many Ashkenazi steles had also toppled over.

The Department for Heritage Preservation decided on gentle countermeasures: Improperly set stones were given an improved subsurface, as the danger primarily sprang from wild vegetation (branches, roots) and from sinkholes. Only careful conservational measures were carried out (see list in Chapter 4a and 6c), numerous trees were removed, overgrowth cut back and an improved, easy-to-maintain path network laid down.

In 1985, after extensive preliminary examinations, a maintenance concept was created but apparently could not be carried out immediately. In 1989, there were press reports on the cemetery's neglect. In 1990, the citizens of Hamburg approved, for the purpose of restoration work, 500,000 DM (approximately 250,000 EUR) for the Jewish community.

All gravestones were cleaned, documented and preserved, and damaged stones were repaired if possible and reset. In the Portuguese-Sephardic part, tombstones were selected in three areas, and restored and repaired using different methods: steam jets, reassembly of stones using methods acceptable for memorials (if broken), lifting sunken/fallen stones, packing with washed gravel to bring the stones to a light tilt, filling of cracks and gaps using methods acceptable for memorials, and the carrying out of scientific preliminary investigations (see also listing in Chapter 4a or 6c.).

In 1999, the property at Königstraße 169 (36, 10a), which had been sold by the Portuguese-Jewish community between 1864 and 1875, but which had never been part of the cemetery premises, was obtained by the city of Hamburg in order to erect a visitors' centre. In regard to the visitors' centre building (Eduard Duckesz Building) as a multi-purpose structure and in order to create access to the visitors' centre and the cemetery, the enclosure was changed in this area in 2007. After having been closed to the public for decades, it was now made accessible to it after the renovation.



**Fig. 184: Visitors' centre Eduard Duckesz House at the entrance to the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Alexandra Kruse**

The Salomon Ludwig Steinheim Institute for German-Jewish History in Duisburg inventoried and documented the 5936 inscriptions and fragments of the Ashkenazi part of the Hamburg-Altona cemetery in 2000. The project was concluded in May 2006. Since 2005, restoration work has seen to the treatment of nearly 1,000 tombstones and fragments. During the work, dozens of fragments and intact stones were found and could be categorised or reset, so that in the meantime the total number of tombstones in the Ashkenazi part grew to nearly 6,500.

Since 1990, extensive cleaning, renovation and restoration work has also been carried out in the Portuguese-Sephardic part of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona. For example, in 1990-91, on the basis of extensive research, 332 gravestones were picked up, cleaned with hot water and laid on a drainage bed. Corresponding fragments were set and joined together, piece by piece. After extensive analyses of the marble tombstones in 2003, 53 marble stones were restored. In addition, in 2003, a total of 15 tombstones were uncovered, which lay covered with earth at the enclosure on the Königstraße side. (for an exact list of measures see 6.c).

In 2007/2008, the Department for Heritage Preservation in Hamburg resolved, together with the Jewish Community, to carry out a further extensive restoration programme over a period of 10 years. The financing is ensured from funds of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg. Between 50 and 120 stones are restored each year, according to damage and urgency.

810 Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones were cleaned in 2012. Between November 2015 and February 2016, as the latest measure in the Portuguese-Sephardic part, 175 tombstones were cleaned, lifted and laid on a gravel drainage bed with a slight incline. Broken pieces were placed on newly-made sandstone slabs and set piece by piece with mortar.

These rehabilitation measures shall be continued in the future.



Fig. 185: 2016 restored tombstone in the Portuguese-Sephardic Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona, photographer: Regina Schwarzburg



### 3 Justification for Inscription

#### 3.a.1 *Brief Synthesis*

The “Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona”, established in 1611, with its graves and tombstones, is a monument to the history of the Portuguese Sephardim, who fled from the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal. The cemetery displays an entirely new sepulchral art, developed by these Sephardim from the 17th and 18th centuries, preserved until today, like nowhere else in the world in comparable authenticity and integrity. This sepulchral art, in which the Diaspora or conversion experiences of the Portuguese Sephardic and their history are reflected, is characterised by flat-lying tombstone forms with opulent stone masonry art and an extravagant wealth of decoration, but in particular in the representations of human and animal figures and biblical scenes. The sepulchral art points to an intensive cultural exchange between assimilated Sephardic Jews, who had been baptised against their will, and Catholic Christians on the Iberian peninsula, as well as between the Portuguese Sephardim, who had only recently reverted to normative Judaism, and Protestant Christians in northern Europe. This turning point in the history of the Portuguese Sephardim, from “conversos” back to the Jewish faith and Jewish culture is especially documented at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, in the extraordinary Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art of the 17th and 18th centuries.

#### 3.a.1.a *Summary of Factual Information*

The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona is situated in the district of Altona, west of Hamburg’s city centre. The cemetery, just under 1.9 hectares in size, consisted historically of two neighbouring but separate independent and individual cemeteries: The cemetery of the Portuguese-Sephardic Jews, which was created in 1611 and which occupies the south-west quarter of the site, and the cemetery of the Ashkenazi Jews, which has been in use since 1616 and adjoins to the East and North.

Sephardim is the name given to those Iberian Jews who lived in Spain until their expulsion in 1492 and then emigrated in large numbers to North Africa, the Ottoman Empire or Italy, where they either founded their own Jewish communities or joined existing ones. “Portuguese”, less commonly called Sephardim, refers to the descendants of those Jews who were forcibly baptised in Portugal in 1497 – at the time referred to as crypto-Jews, New Christians or Marranos – who emigrated from Portugal from 1580 onwards, after the start of the Inquisition and further tightening of living conditions, and settled in northern Europe in the late 16th century. They settled particularly in the maritime cities of the Netherlands (Amsterdam), in northern Germany (Hamburg, Glückstadt) and since the mid 17th century in London and the New World (Curaçao, Barbados, Surinam, Nevis, St. Eustatius, St. Thomas, Charleston, New York etc.).

Due to their global and economic networking, the Portuguese Sephardim can claim a large share of credit for the development of modern mercantilism and capitalism, even though they were a small group in relation to the entire Jewish population. Through their trade relationships in the New World, they were involved to a considerable extent in the establishment of the Atlantic trade. They can also be credited for the decisive impulses behind the establishment and development of the stock exchange. They helped to shape a modern ethos based on rationality, which was of vital importance for the economic

development of cities like Amsterdam, Hamburg, London, and New York. The Portuguese Sephardim were therefore globally significant from an economic-historical perspective.

For generations, the majority of the Jews who left Portugal in the 16th century had been unable to exercise neither their religion nor the culture connected to it. They were therefore no longer familiar with traditional Jewish customs, and Jewish sepulchral art and culture, nor did they have their own stone masons who had experience with Jewish culture and Jewish motifs. After they had settled in an area where they could express their beliefs and their culture, they developed a completely new, unique Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral culture, based on their experiences in Roman Catholic Spain or Portugal and in Protestant northern Europe, and on the basis of their own culture. As regards to ornamentation, iconography, epigraphy and choice of material, this sepulchral art is distinguished from the traditional Sephardic burial culture of the Sephardim who emigrated from Spain to North Africa, the Ottoman Empire or Italy, as well as by the contemporary Ashkenazi sepulchral culture.

### 3.a.1.b Summary of Qualities

The Sephardic Jews generally used tomb slabs or other flat-lying types of tombstones such as tent-like forms (Hebrew: "ohalim"). The Portuguese Sephardim furnished these types of tombstones with extravagant ornaments in decorative, iconographic, and epigraphic forms. Rich ornaments such as cartouches, columns, pilasters, floral vines and bouquets of flowers serve to artistically subdivide the surface of the tombstones and create fields for images or text. These are filled with elaborate memorial poems and/or series of images. Additionally, there is a wealth of other ornamental elements such as grapevines, bead and reel motifs, palm branches, volutes and draperies, memento mori motifs such as skulls, human bones, sickles or hourglasses, but also a variety of coats of arms. The corners of the memorial slabs are often decorated with rosettes and other round, rosette-shaped ornamental elements. The tombstones of rabbis (hahamim) and cantors (hazzanim) were often adorned with images of open books or stacks of books. Along with closed or open books, scholars were frequently remembered by depictions of the Tablets of the Law.

The exceptional character of Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art is also evidenced by its frequent depiction of human and animal figures. These figure in series of images representing stories from the Bible where, as a rule, the first name of the deceased are illustrated (Joseph in the well, Jacob's ladder, Daniel in the lion's den, Rachel and the sheep, David's lyre, the judgment of Solomon, etc.) The representations of biblical scenes on Portuguese-Sephardic cemeteries do not, however, only illustrate the names of the deceased, but also the history of the Jewish people as a whole. Some gravestones also display illustrations of animals which play an important role in ancient mythology and Jewish tradition, e.g. Phoenix, the pelican and the butterfly. Other frequently depicted animals are leopards, eagles, stags and lions.

Another prominent feature are the multilingual inscriptions of the Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones: There are eulogies of the most moving kind, accompanied by artistic and often rhyming epitaphs in one, two, or three of the following languages: Hebrew, Portuguese, Spanish, English, French, Dutch and German. The inscriptions commemorate the deceased and honour their memory in a lasting and beautiful way. While the main intention was to describe the deceased as a god-fearing person, the decorative and image-laden gravestones of the Portuguese-Sephardic cemeteries in the northern European sea port cities and the

New World also bear witness to the pride of the deceased and their families. These gravestones display pride in the fact that, if they had not been born Jews, they had at least died as Jews!

On the face of it, with its richness of images and ornamental elements, this very special sepulchral art does not appear to be very Jewish. It is a product of the history of the Portuguese Sephardim from the late Middle Ages until early Modern Times. It points to an intensive cultural exchange between assimilated Jews (who had been baptised against their will) and Catholic Christians on the Iberian peninsula as well as between the Jews who had only recently reverted to normative Judaism and Protestant Christians in northern Europe. The Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral culture of the 17th and 18th century is above all an expression of Jewish art and culture where the Jewish Diaspora and the experience of converting is reflected.

The first and most impressive evidence of this new sepulchral culture is found in 1611 in Altona (Hamburg, Germany), and from 1614 onwards in Ouderkerk aan de Amstel (near Amsterdam, Netherlands). From there, the Portuguese Sephardim brought them along into the New World. Numerous gravestones were produced in Hamburg and Amsterdam for the Portuguese-Sephardic cemeteries in Surinam, Barbados and Curaçao, for lack of local materials. Besides the Jewish cemetery in Hamburg-Altona, this Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral culture is also present today in the Netherlands in Ouderkerk aan de Amstel, south of Amsterdam, as well as in the Dutch and English colonies of Curaçao, Barbados, and Surinam, and on the North American continent.

The comparative analysis has clearly shown that there is no other Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in the world in which this unusual Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art is preserved, in comparable integrity and authenticity, like it is found in the Jewish cemetery in Hamburg-Altona.

The cemetery in Altona is the oldest, most complete, and best-preserved prototype of this very special Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral culture, and therefore a testimony of Outstanding Universal Value. It contains around 1,600 tombstones, mostly from the 17th and 18th century, lavishly decorated with artistic and playful textual and decorative motifs as well as biblical scenes. The splendid tomb slabs and ohalim made of marble from Carrara deserve special mention here as they reflect, in a special way, the wealth and self-confidence of the Portuguese Sephardim.

In Altona, directly next to the Sephardic graves, there are some 6,500 preserved tombstones on the Ashkenazi part of the cemetery, which document the art of tombstones of the Ashkenazi Jews from the 17th to the 19th century. The numerous graves of rabbis in this cemetery are of particular importance as regards to the sheer text volume of their inscriptions and their literary originality, which remind us of the fact that the Chief Rabbinate of Altona, in its heyday during the 18th century, was among the most renowned in the whole of Europe.

The tombstones in both parts of the Jewish cemetery in Hamburg-Altona, which together exhibit an unusual abundance of tombstones of notable Jewish personalities, document the different manifestations of the Jewish art of tombstones from the 17th to the 19th century in direct and, in this form, rare coexistence of Sephardic and Ashkenazi cemeteries to each other. Furthermore, these tombstones are outstanding examples of the art of northern European stone masonry of the 17th to the 19th century.

### 3.a.2 *Criteria under which Inscription is proposed*

#### 3.a.2.a Criterion ii

*(exhibits an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, large-scale sculpture, town planning or landscape design.)*

The Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones of the 17th and 18th century at the cemetery in Hamburg-Altona, which was established in 1611, represent an important interchange of human values in the development of Jewish sepulchral art.

The Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art is the result of a remarkable cultural exchange between different religions in Europe from the 16th to the 18th century: The forcibly baptised Sephardic Jews who fled Portugal or Spain – called crypto-Jews, New Christians or Marranos – who for generations had not been permitted to express their Judaism there, brought to northern Europe a sepulchral art influenced by the Catholic Christians of the Iberian Peninsula. In northern Europe, the crypto-Jews' sepulchral art, influenced by Iberia and Catholicism, was in turn influenced by the Protestant Christians. The Sephardim, having returned to a normative Judaism, developed a new, completely unique Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art, based on these influences and their own Jewish religion. This cultural expression, with its adoptions of Christian traditions, differs both from the traditional Sephardic sepulchral art of the Sephardim who emigrated from Spain into North Africa, the Ottoman Empire or Italy, as well as from Ashkenazi sepulchral culture and art.

Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral culture and art, which at first does not seem particularly Jewish, is characterised by flat-lying tombs, lavish ornamentation, multilingual grave poems and above all by the use and reinterpretation of Christian (Catholic and Protestant) traditions, for example with the depiction of crests and with biblical scenes containing representations of human and animal figures. In contrast to the illustrations on Christian tombstones, which predominantly show depictions of crucifixion or the resurrection or motifs from the New Testament, the Portuguese Sephardim, who had returned to their faith, used scenes from the Old Testament, symbolising the first names of the deceased.

The first and most impressive manifestations and prototypes of this new sepulchral art can be found in Hamburg-Altona from 1611 onwards. This new sepulchral art accompanied the Portuguese Sephardim, from there and from Amsterdam, to North and South America after the mid 17th century.

#### 3.a.2.b Criterion iii

*(represent a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilisation which is living or which has disappeared.)*

The graves and tombstones in the Portuguese-Sephardic part of the Jewish cemetery in Hamburg-Altona are outstanding testimonies to the cultural and religious history of the forcibly baptised Sephardim who had fled Spain and particularly Portugal. They document the history full of conflicts of the Iberian Sephardim in the period from the late Middle Ages to the early Modern Era, and present not only a rarity but also the earliest and best-preserved

monuments of Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art from the 17th and 18th century worldwide.

The unusual Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art in the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, characterised by extravagant ornament through biblical scenes with representations of human and animal figures, is the expression of a new Jewish culture which reflects the Diaspora and experiences of conversions of the Portuguese Sephardim. They are also evidence of these migrants' troublesome and contentious return to, and renewal of, the Jewish faith.

The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona is thus extraordinary testimony of the history and the religion of the Portuguese Sephardim, an archive of their visions of life, death, transience, and eternal life, set in stone.

### 3.a.2.c Criterion iv

*(represents an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which symbolises one or more significant stage(s) in human history.)*

The Portuguese-Sephardic part of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona bears outstanding witness to the extraordinary Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art, which symbolises the history of the Sephardic Jews from the 16th to the 18th century. Their graves and tombstones found in Hamburg-Altona thus document the history of their migration from Spain via Portugal to northern Europe and on to the Americas, and the Diaspora and conversion experiences connected with it.

In the Hamburg-Altona cemetery, established in 1611, we find the earliest and most impressive evidence and prototypes of Portuguese-Sephardic tombstone art, characterised by extravagant ornamentation as well as by biblical depictions with representations of humans and animals. The 1,660 tombstones are made predominantly of Obernkirchen sandstone, mainly from the 17th and 18th century. The splendid tomb slabs and ohalim made from Carrara marble also deserve special mention, as they reflect the wealth and self-confidence of the Portuguese Sephardim in a special way.

The approximately 6,500 preserved tombstones in the Ashkenazi part of the Jewish cemetery in Hamburg-Altona document the sepulchral art of the Ashkenazi Jews from the 17th to the 19th century. The numerous graves of rabbis in this cemetery are of particular importance as regards to the sheer text volume of their inscriptions and their literary originality, which remind us of the fact that the Chief Rabbinate of Altona, in its heyday during the 18th century, was among the most renowned in the whole of Europe.

The tombstones in both parts of the Jewish cemetery in Hamburg-Altona, which together exhibit an unusual abundance of tombstones of notable Jewish personalities, document the different manifestations of the Jewish art of tombstones from the 17th to the 19th century in direct and, in this form, rare coexistence of Sephardic and Ashkenazi cemeteries to each other. Furthermore, these tombstones are outstanding examples of the art of northern European stone masonry of the 17th to the 19th century.

### 3.a.3 *Statement of Integrity*

According to paragraphs 87-89 of the “Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (in the version from 8 July 2015), the analyse showed, that als requirements in regard to integrity are fulfilled and that the site possess all elements necessary to express its Outstanding Universal Value; be of adequate size to ensure the complete representation of the features and processes which convey the property’s significance, and must not suffer from adverse effects of development and/or neglect. These key parameters to guarantee the integrity of the Ensemble “Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona”, to ensure its significance and preservation, are:

#### 3.a.3.a *Wholeness*

The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona contains all elements, characteristics and structures, which are required to demonstrate its Outstanding Universal Value:

The Portuguese-Sephardic part of the cemetery presents an extraordinary testimony and prototype of the very special Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art of the forcibly baptised Sephardic Jews expelled from Portugal since the 16th century, and an outstanding historic, art-historical and cultural-historical monument to the histories of religion, mentalities, literature (epigraphy) and art (sepulchral art).

Essential characteristics are: horizontal tombstones, in particular of the 17th and 18th century, decorated with artistical and playful text and decorative motifs, as well as extraordinary biblical scenes with depictions of human and animal motifs and multilingual inscriptions.

The Ashkenazi part of the cemetery, which is situated directly next to the Portuguese-Sephardic part of the cemetery, documents the Ashkenazi culture and art of tombstones from the 17th to the 19th century.

Significant characteristics of the Ashkenazi part are standing tombstones from the 17th to the 19th century, some with extravagant baroque design as well as numerous tombs of rabbis with particularly sophisticated text volume and literary originality.

In addition, the tombstones in both parts of the Jewish cemetery in Hamburg-Altona document the spectrum of Jewish sepulchral art from the 17th to the 19th century, in the direct juxtaposition of Sephardic and Ashkenazi burial grounds rarely seen in this form. Furthermore, they are outstanding examples of the art of northern European stone masonry of the 17th to the 19th century.

#### 3.a.3.b *Adequate Size*

The nominated area contains the entirety of the Jewish cemetery Hamburg-Altona and is therefore of adequate size to fully demonstrate the characteristics and procedures that make it significant. The approximately 1.91 hectare site consists of two neighbouring cemeteries which once were separate from each other: the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery, which

measures 0.48 hectares, and the Ashkenazi cemetery, which measures 1.43 hectares. On the Portuguese-Sephardic part of the cemetery are 1,667 tombstones, mostly from the 17th and 18th centuries, on the Ashkenazi part are around 6,500 tombstones or fragments with and without inscriptions, from the 17th to the 19th century.

### 3.a.3.c Intactness

The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona fulfils the requirements of intactness because it does not suffer from adverse effects of development and/or negligence:

A large number of tombstones from the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries remain preserved on the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona. Although the formerly approximately 2.14 hectare cemetery, established in 1611-1616 and open for burials until 1869, lost an area in the southern part in 1864 and 1902 from the widening of Königstraße, and suffered damage in particular as a result of the Third Reich and the Second World War through racially motivated vandalism, the attempt to build a sports ground, a partial clearance for a planned community camp for the Association of the Fish Industry or a soap factory, and finally due to bomb attacks, of the initial 8,484 gravestones there are today still around 8,160 complete or partial gravestones, of which 6,500 are in the Ashkenazi part and 1,667 in the Portuguese-Sephardic part.

Having been placed under protection in 1960 by the Hamburg Department for Heritage Preservation, efforts were made to initiate reasonable, professional preservation of the entire site, which continue to date with secured long-term financing. The inventory of the tombstones has been completely recorded and documented; for the Ashkenazi part, 5,936 inscriptions have been researched and documented in the data base “epidat2” of the Salomon Ludwig Steinheim Institute, and recently published as a book. The inventory of the Portuguese-Sephardic part has been published in 2000 by Michael Studemund-Halévy in the “Biographical Dictionary of the Hamburg Sephardim”.

The tombstones were and are continuously subject to conservation and restoration. Displaced fragments of tombstones have been brought back and, wherever possible and appropriate, pieced together again. Parts which have been covered by upper layers of soil have been secured and joined together with their free parts, resulting in nearly complete slabs which were then erected.

### 3.a.4 *Statement of Authenticity*

The draft of a statement regarding the Outstanding Universal Value in accordance with paragraphs 79-86 of the “Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (in the version from 8 July 2015) confirms, with regard to the criterion of authenticity, that the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona fulfils these requirements. The key parameters to convey the authenticity of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona over time are:

#### 3.a.4.a Form and Design

The nearly 1.91 hectare cemetery, situated north of Königstraße, is an amalgamation of two neighbouring but separate independent and individual cemeteries: The cemetery of the Portuguese-Sephardic Jews, which was created in 1611 and which occupies the south-west quarter of the site, and the cemetery of the Ashkenazi Jews, which has been in use since 1616 and adjoins to the East and North.

The two areas of the former individual cemeteries can still be easily recognised today, as both burial grounds are clearly different from each other. The nearly square Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery situated in the southwest, which occupies approximately one fourth of the total area, contains long, rectangular tomb slabs and other low-lying tombs, in keeping with Sephardic custom. The tombstones of the Ashkenazi, however, are mostly rectangular steles.

The form and design of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona are determined by a large number of elaborately designed tombstones from the 17th and 18th centuries.

In particular, the tombstones in the Portuguese-Sephardic section are distinguished by extraordinarily rich decorative ornaments and artistically playful text and decorative motifs. Along with the rosettes, the decorative elements found most frequently are broad grapevines, pearl beadings or palm branches, volutes and draperies. Amongst the preferred motives are allegorical memento-mori-symbols such as skulls, angel and bat wings as well as hourglasses, which decorate the tombstones on their own or together with descriptive captions. Well elaborated sculptural decoration is found frequently: plant decor, putti, cupids, coats of arms, the Tree of Life, a hand out of the clouds, which is felling a tree or cutting a rose, as well as depictions of animals (butterfly, pelican, phoenix, lamb) and depictions of biblical scenes illustrating the first name of the deceased (Abraham, Isaak, Joseph, Daniel, Rachel, David, Solomon).

Significant characteristics of the Ashkenazi part are standing tombstones from the 17th to the 19th century, some with extravagant baroque design as well as numerous tombs of rabbis with particularly sophisticated text volume and literary originality.

#### 3.a.4.b Materials and Substance

In relation to materials and substance, the area and the graves, but in particular the preserved tombstones, are characteristic of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona.

Although the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona has lost an area in the southern part during the period of 1864 to 1902 due to the widening of Königstraße, and in particular suffered damage as a result of the Third Reich and the Second World War, it still demonstrates a very high degree of authenticity in respect of materials and substance.

The site of the cemetery, which formerly measured 2.14 hectares, has only lost small areas near the Königstraße and at the northern fringe, and today measures 1.91 hectares.

Of the initial 8,484 gravestones, around 8,160 remain today, either intact or in fragments. According to a geological report compiled in 1984, there are 1,652 gravestones or fragments in the Portuguese-Sephardic section of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, mostly from the 17th and 18th century, of which 1,537 are made of various sandstone, 52 of marble, 62

of limestone, and one gravestone is made of basalt. In 2003, 15 additional tomb slabs which had been buried under grass, were uncovered, so that today 1,667 tombstones remain in the Portuguese-Sephardic part of the cemetery. On the Ashkenazi section of the cemetery, there are around 6,500 tombstones or fragments of tombstones today.

#### 3.a.4.c Use and Function

Although the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona has no longer been used for new burials since the second half of the 19th century, its initial function as cemetery has, however, been preserved without change, in line with the Jewish tradition, according to which a burial ground is created for eternity and does not undergo any changes.

#### 3.a.4.d Location and Setting

The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona was created at the beginning of the 17th century in Altona in the western part of Hamburg's city boundaries, which at the time of establishment belonged to the County of Holstein-Pinneberg, owned by the Protestant Count Ernst of Holstein-Schauenburg. At that time, the cemetery was situated to the west of the residential area of Altona, on undeveloped land north of the street already then known as Königstraße.



**Fig. 186: Plan of Hamburg and Altona from the year 1791, with the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona marked in red**

At the time the cemetery was enclosed in the second half of the 19th century, the city of Altona had “grown around it”, so that it was surrounded by densely developed areas. Towards Königstraße the cemetery was, for some time at least, enclosed with a fence made

of wooden planks, so that it could not be seen from the road. Later, this fence was replaced by wrought-iron railings.



Fig. 187: Surroundings of the Jewish Cemetery in 1860

Its surroundings changed once more after the Second World War. The site of the cemetery, which today measures approximately 1.91 hectares, runs from Königstraße in the south to Louise-Schroeder-Strasse in the north. The western boundary adjoins the back gardens of housing on Blücherstraße. A sports field and Walter-Möller-Park lie east of the cemetery.

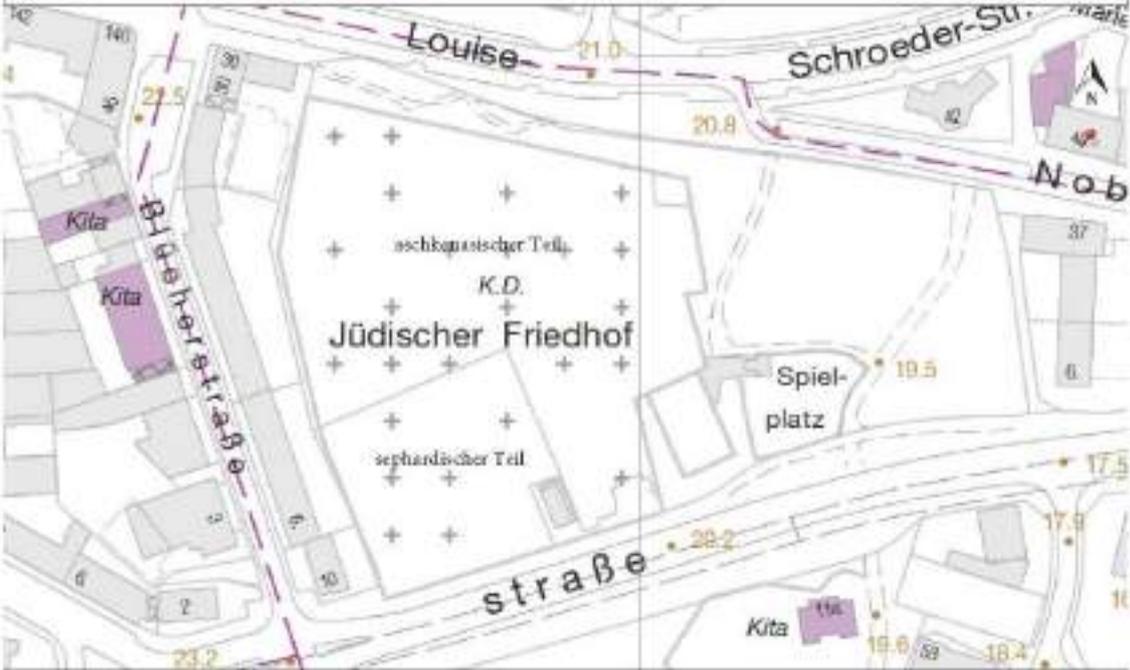


Fig. 188: Current map of the Jewish cemetery and its surroundings

### 3.a.5 *Protection and Management Requirements*

The site submitted for nomination is fully protected by the Heritage Protection Act of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg. The cemetery's immediate surroundings are also subject to protection to the extent that they are of formative significance to its appearance or existence, according to Section 8 of Hamburg's Heritage Protection Act.

The Heritage Protection Act of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg (as last amended on 5 April 2013) directly protects architectural monuments, ensembles, garden monuments and archaeological monuments, as well as movable heritage assets whose protected classification has become final (Section 4). The nominated site's building, areas, roads, waters, quay walls, and bridges, as well as their surroundings, may not be wholly or partly eliminated, reconstituted, substantially improved, removed from their locations or be otherwise altered without approval from the competent authority pursuant to Section 9 of the Heritage Protection Act.

In order to ensure the long-term preservation of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona and to provide a broad foundation for its sustainable development, a Management Plan was prepared which should serve as orientational assistance for representatives of the authorities involved in the administration of the future World Heritage site, its owners, tourism, and the public. The management structures are outlined in the Management Plan along with the binding formulation of the conservation goals, to help guarantee the observance and implementation of conservation goals. Likewise, those public stakeholders are named who manage in the day-to-day work the interests of the protected property in the process of urban planning.

The goal of the Management Plan is to safeguard the Outstanding Universal Value as well as the authenticity and integrity of the nominated site, and to reconcile these requirements with sustainable development of the nominated site. For this purpose, main protection objectives and other key goals were defined, areas of conflict and synergy identified, the need for action evaluated, and priority measures and projects determined.

The Management Plan is divided into the following three parts:

- ▶ Part I - Description
- ▶ Part II - Administration and Management:
- ▶ Part III - The Future of the World Heritage Site

#### 3.a.5.a *Part I: Description*

In Part I, the site and its historical development, the nominated ensemble, and the buffer zone are described, as well as its World Heritage characteristics (Outstanding Universal Value, Authenticity and Integrity). Main protection objectives and other key goals shall be defined on this basis and the legal instruments named, with the help of which the World Heritage characteristics shall be ensured and sustainably preserved.

3.a.5.b Part II: Administration of the World Heritage Site - Coordination and Organisation  
 In Part II of the Management Plan, the coordination and organisation of the required World Heritage management is detailed. It lists as well the key players who will be involved in the management of the site and defines their fields of action.

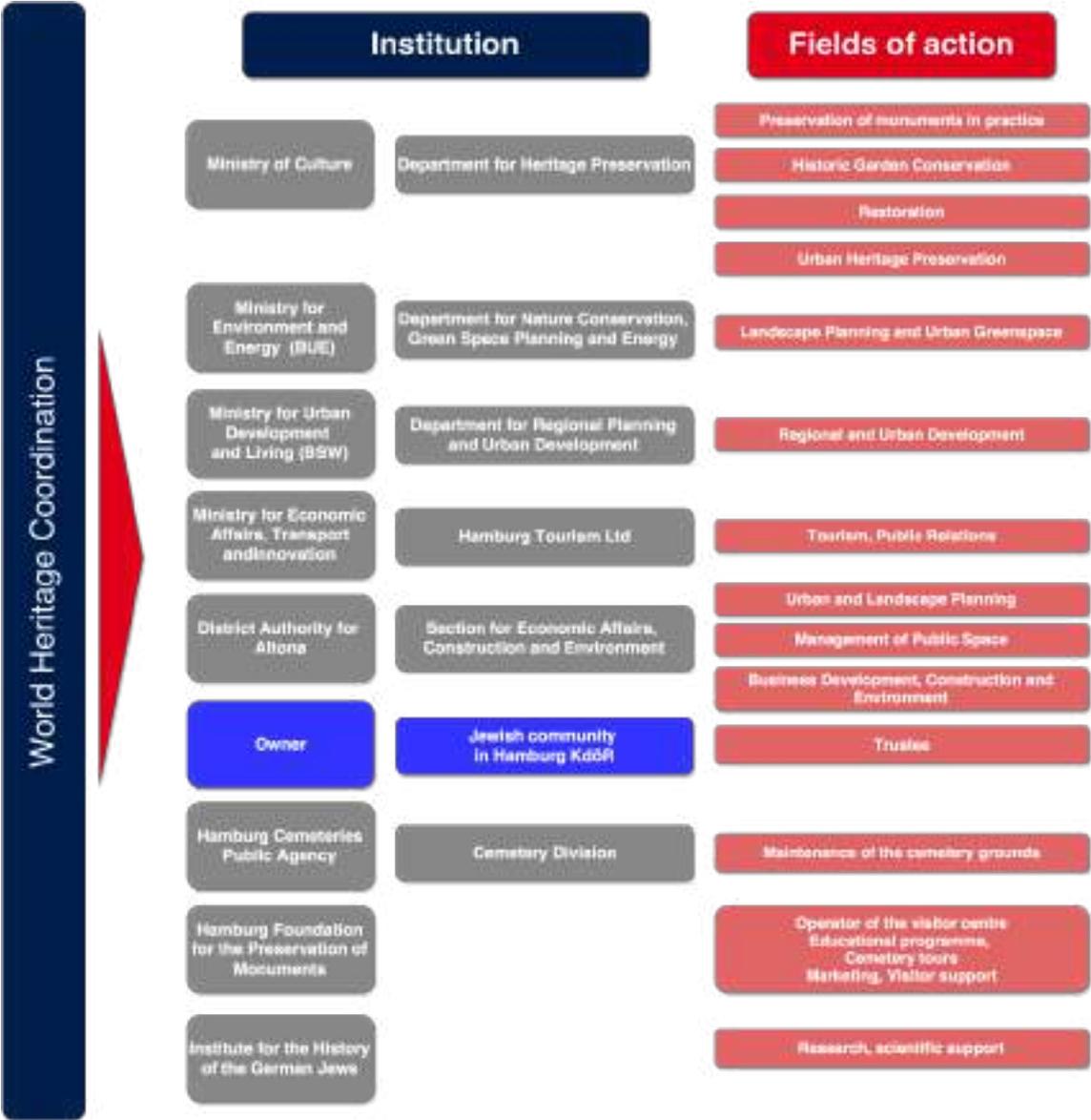


Fig. 189: Those involved in World Heritage Management and their responsibilities

3.a.5.c Part III: The Future of the Nominated Site  
 The goal of Part III of the Management Plan is to demonstrate the essential directives for the preservation and sustainable development of the World Heritage site, and to ensure that the sustainable use has no negative impacts on the property's Outstanding Universal Value, its integrity and/or its authenticity.

After having determined and listed the operational principles in terms of planning and management, with regard to the preservation of the World Heritage site as well as measures for their prevention, the Department for Heritage Preservation developed strategic measures and priority projects to transpose these principles into concrete project lines. Three thematic focal areas of action: “Preservation and Conservation”, “Identity and Continuity” and “Raising Awareness and Disseminating Information” serve for the definition of the enshrined main protection objectives and other key goals.

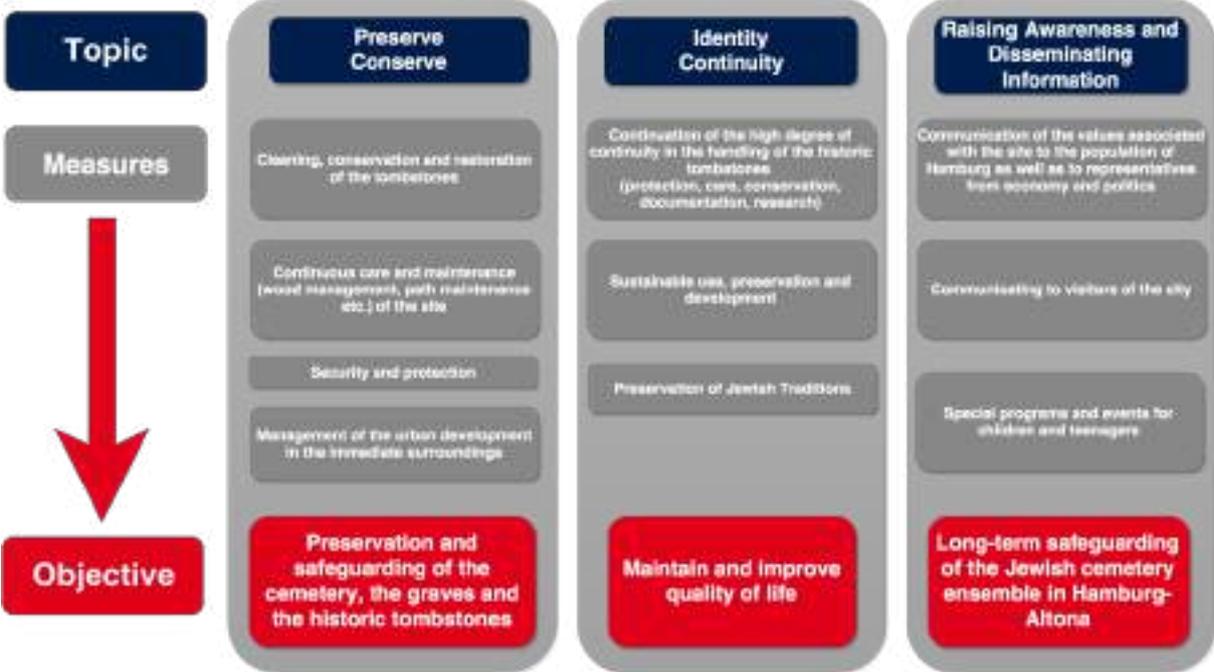


Fig. 190: Three-pillar model of the protection objectives of the “Jewish Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona” proposed for nomination for UNESCO

### 3.b Comparative Analysis

Designed for Eternity, Jewish cemeteries are, in many places of the world, the only substantially preserved testimony to Jewish history. The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona is also such a reminder of Jewish history. The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona monument is therefore nominated as a testimony of the history of the Portuguese Sephardim for the time period from the end of the Middle Ages to the end of the Modern Era. This turning point in the history of the Sephardim, from “conversos” back to the Jewish faith and Jewish culture, and ultimately to a Sephardic “global village”, is documented in particular in the extraordinary Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art of the 17th and 18th centuries.

The graves and tombstones in the Portuguese-Sephardic part of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona are amongst the most important documentation and monuments worldwide of the descendants of the persecuted and forcibly baptised Sephardim who fled the Inquisition, first from Spain to Portugal and then, about 100 years later, from Portugal as well. Due to their history, these Portuguese Sephardim developed a very specific (neo-Jewish)

Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art, which departs and greatly differs from the traditional Sephardic sepulchral art of the Sephardim who fled from Spain to Northern Africa and the Ottoman Empire from 1492 onwards, with regard to ornaments, iconography, language, epigraphy and selection of material.

The tombstones of the Portuguese Sephardim at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona is distinguished above all by opulent stone masonry and exuberant decorative richness, with a variety of symbols and symbolism, particularly by the representation of human and animal figures as well as via biblical scenes. Together with the multilingualism of their epitaphs with long, complex or sophisticated funereal poems, they indicate an intensive cultural exchange between assimilated Jews (who had been baptised against their will) and Catholic Christians on the Iberian Peninsula, as well as between Jews who had only recently reverted to Judaism and Protestant Christians (Calvinists and Lutherans) in northern Europe. The Portuguese-Sephardic burial culture of the 17th and 18th century reflects the diaspora or experience of conversions of the Portuguese Sephardim, and therefore their history.

This new Portuguese-Sephardic burial art was passed on from Hamburg and Amsterdam into the New World, where it is also still found today.

As described in detail in Chapter 2.b.3, Portuguese-Sephardic burial art differs not only from traditional Sephardic burial art, but also from that of the Ashkenazi Jews. Therefore, neither the funereal art of the traditional Sephardim nor that of the Ashkenazim is comparable with that of the Portuguese Sephardim.

The following comparative analysis primarily deals with the Portuguese-Sephardic cemeteries in northern Europe and in the New World. As not all Sephardim who had to flee Portugal in the late 16th century emigrated to northern Europe, but rather in some cases also to southern and western Europe, the comparative analysis also includes Portuguese-Sephardic cemeteries in countries in those regions as well. The period of significance covers the time period of the 17th and 18th century, which can be viewed as an intersection point and high point for Portuguese-Sephardic society (s. Chapter 2b).

The comparative analysis also takes into account particularly those cemeteries which, due to connections in terms of content are registered in the World Heritage List or the countries' tentative lists such as, for example, in Bordeaux, France.

### **3.b.1 *Comparative Analysis of Portuguese-Sephardic Cemeteries in Southern and Western Europe***

#### **3.b.1.a France**

After the general expulsion of the Jews from the French realm in 1394 and from Provence in 1501, Jews were only allowed to live in a few regions in the south and west of France. A decree by Henry II in 1550 allowed for a resettlement of "new Christians" or "Portuguese" into the French kingdom, as these groups were called for another two hundred years, the majority of refugees came to France from Lisbon and Porto, but also from Spanish harbour cities or from beyond the Pyrenees from Pamplona, Saragossa, Huesca and Lérida. From the 16th to

the 18th century, however, the communal language of these “Portuguese peoples” remained Spanish.

The “Portuguese” came to Bayonne and Bordeaux as early as 1550, to the two cities which they would prefer over all others for more than another 200 years. Both harbour cities were home to 1500 – 2000 Jews each, until well into the 18th century. A small number settled in Toulouse or further north. Some Sephardim, but far more Ashkenazim, lived in Paris. A few smaller agglomerations in the southwest of France also took in refugees: the Duke of Aspremont gave them refuge in Peyrehorade, the Duke of Gramont in Bidache and La Bastide-Clairance

It was not until the course of the 18th century, when a general resettlement of Jews in France was first hesitantly observed. This was legally safeguarded only under Napoleon, by rulings in 1790 and 1791. Where previously the Sephardim primarily living in the south were in the majority, after 1790/91 the Ashkenazi group gained strength.

The Portuguese-Sephardic communities (Les Nations juives Portugaises) of Aquitaine were formed after the expulsions of the Sephardim from the Iberian Peninsula. They came to France as “conversos” or “new Christians” and had to live there officially as Christians. Their children were baptised, marriages took place in the church and the dead were buried in Christian cemeteries. They kept the Jewish faith only in secret. It was not until the mid 17th century that they could live openly as Jews with their own synagogues and cemeteries, which were usually located directly adjacent to the Christian cemeteries. It is likely that the “new Christians” had previously buried their dead in a separate area of the Christian cemetery which, after the restrictions were loosened, were detached from the Christian cemeteries and became Jewish cemeteries. The language used on the gravestones in the Sephardic cemeteries was almost always Spanish; in two cemeteries there are no Hebrew inscriptions at all.

Prior to 1791, nine cemeteries were established for Portuguese Sephardim in France: one in Paris (1780) and eight in Aquitaine: Bordeaux (2, one of which still in use today), Bayonne (1), Bidache (1), La Bastide-Clairance (1), Peyrehorade (3, one of which still in use today).

### *3.b.1.a.1 Paris*

The Jewish cemetery, established in 1780 in the Rue de Flandre in Paris, has only a few preserved Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones. This cemetery is certainly an important memorial to the Portuguese Sephardim in France, however, due to its alterations, the integrity required of the cemetery according to the Operational Guidelines is no longer present. This cemetery therefore cannot be deemed to have Outstanding Universal Value compared to the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Hamburg-Altona.



Fig. 191: Portuguese Jewish cemetery at 44 Rue de Flandres, Paris

### *3.b.1.a.2 Bordeaux*

The harbour city of Bordeaux was an important place of migration for Jews expelled from Spain and Portugal. The well-known Gradis family came to Bordeaux in the early 16th century, and within 100 years the community of “new Christians” consisted of 50 to 60 families. A census from 4 December 1636 counted 36 families and 167 persons together with 93 poor, who lived in the Portuguese community “at this time as devout catholics”.

Jews from Provence also began to settle in Bordeaux. The city was home to 1,422 Jews of Portuguese origin and 348 Jews from Provence until the beginning of the 18th century.

The history of these Jews is documented by three cemeteries which are still present in the city today.

1) Portuguese Jewish cemetery, established in 1724, 105 Cours de la Marne

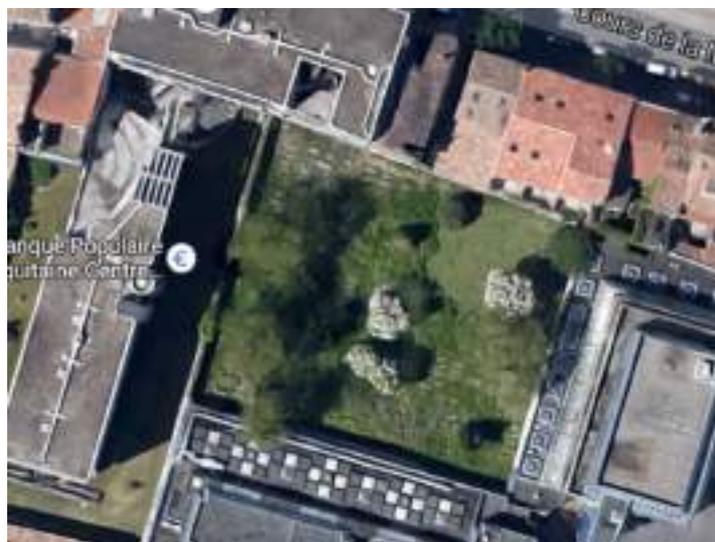


Fig. 192: Jewish cemetery at 105 Cours de la Marne, Bordeaux, aerial photograph Google maps

This cemetery, established for the “Portuguese Jewish nation” which had settled in Bordeaux in the 16th century, was opened in 1724 on property at Cours de la Marne which had been donated by the merchant and shipowner David Gradis (1665-1751).

In 1911, a third of this area was expropriated by the French War Ministry. The bones of the deceased who had been buried in the expropriated area were reinterred in the second Jewish cemetery at Cours de l’Yser. The gravestones from the expropriated area were collected in another part of the site. 279 gravestones were lost.



Fig. 193: Portuguese cemetery at Cours de la Marne in Bordeaux



Fig. 194: Gravestones at the Portuguese cemetery at Cours de la Marne in Bordeaux



**Fig. 195: Ohalim in the Portuguese cemetery at Cours de la Marne in Bordeaux**

800 gravestones, laid in 17 rows, can be found in the downsized cemetery grounds today. These are predominantly plain tomb slabs which have inscriptions and a few symbols, but no decorative reliefs and depiction of human or animal shapes. One also finds a few simply designed ohalim, the long sides of which are covered with inscriptions. The oldest tombstone dates back to March 1725, the most recent from 29 October 1788.

The fact alone that the cemetery was established more than a hundred years after the one in Hamburg-Altona argues against the two cemeteries being comparable. Furthermore, the integrity of the cemetery at Cours de la Marne in Bordeaux additionally suffered due to the reduction in area by a third, the transferral of the remains to another cemetery and the loss of gravestones. Unlike those in Hamburg-Altona, the gravestones found here show only a few symbols but no opulent reliefs and depictions of humans or animal forms. This cemetery therefore cannot be deemed to have Outstanding Universal Value compared to the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Hamburg-Altona.

## 2) The Portuguese Jewish cemetery at 176 Cours de l'Yser, founded in 1764

In 1764, when the Portuguese Jewish cemetery at Cours de la Marne became too small, the Jewish community decided to buy a property at Cours de l'Yser in order to establish a cemetery at that place. This area was expanded in 1826 and 1845. This cemetery is still used today by the Jewish community of Bordeaux.



**Fig. 196: Jewish cemetery at 176 cours de l'Yser, Bordeaux, aerial photograph Google maps**

The oldest gravestone in this cemetery dates back to 1768, however, a great number of the gravestones that are present here, are from the 19th and 20th century. The gravestones from the 18th century are plain rectangular tomb slabs which primarily have inscriptions and no further decorations.

This cemetery therefore cannot be deemed to have Outstanding Universal Value compared to the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Hamburg-Altona.

## 3) The Jewish cemetery at Avignon, 49 Rue Sauteyron.

The establishment of the cemetery at Rue Sauteyron in Bordeaux is related to the arrival of approximately 20 Jewish families in the early 18th century, who originally came from Avignon and surrounding area. As they were not permitted to bury their dead in the Portuguese cemetery, the Jews of Avignon were forced to create their own cemetery. In 1728, David Petit bought property which adjoined the Rue Sauteyron. The cemetery holds approximately 400 gravestones, distributed over six rows. The gravestone inscriptions are in Hebrew, Spanish and French. The oldest gravestones in this cemetery date back to 1727, the most recent from 1805, the year the cemetery closed.



Fig. 197: The Jewish cemetery in Avignon, 49 Rue Sauteyron, Bordeaux, aerial photograph Google maps

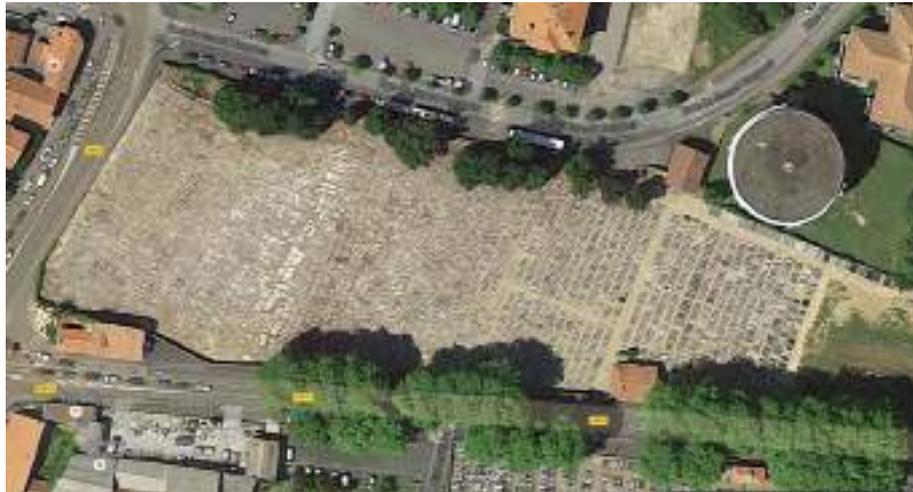


Fig. 198: Gravestones at the Jewish cemetery in Avignon, 49 Rue Sauteyron, Bordeaux

The gravestones preserved in this cemetery, above all those with inscriptions and without any further noteworthy ornaments, appear to be in a deplorable condition. Due to both the cemetery being established about 110 years later, and the small number and the austerity of the stones, it is not comparable with the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona. Moreover, its integrity and authenticity appear to be seriously jeopardised.

This cemetery therefore cannot be deemed to have Outstanding Universal Value compared to the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Hamburg-Altona.

### 3.b.1.a.3 Bayonne



**Fig. 199: Jewish cemetery of Bayonne, aerial view © Google Maps**

Bayonne was also an important place of migration for Jews expelled from Spain and Portugal. The Jewish community in Bayonne, which was at its largest in size in 1755, buried their dead in a Jewish cemetery directly adjacent to the Christian cemetery Sainte Etienne which was created in 1689, but was first officially opened not until 1792.



**Fig. 200: Bayonne Portuguese cemetery, photographer: Oihane Abarrategi Ranero**

Today, there are approximately 4,000 gravestones at the cemetery. With the exception of a few, these are flat-lying tomb slabs, the majority of which have only some inscriptions. Approximately 50 stones also show a rich design using symbols. However, visual depictions of humans and animal figures like in Hamburg-Altona are not found here.



**Fig. 201: Tomb slabs in the Bayonne Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery, photographer: Oihane Abarrategi Ranero.**

The conditions of the gravestones in the Bayonne Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery, which is listed as a protected monument since 1995, was a cause for concern until a few years ago. The weathering was so pronounced that the inscriptions and design of the stones are often no longer recognisable. The cemetery has undergone restorations since 2010, however the final tasks are yet to be carried out.

The Jewish cemetery in Bayonne, established a good 70 years later than the cemetery in Hamburg-Altona, undoubtedly represents an important testimony to Sephardic history in France. A comparison of the gravestones in Bayonne and Hamburg-Altona, however, demonstrates the striking differences between the two cemeteries. Apart from the fact that the gravestones in Bayonne have suffered much damage through weathering, which has impaired the authenticity of the cemetery, in comparison to Hamburg-Altona, the tombstones in this cemetery lack the extraordinary variety of designs with symbols and biblical scenes characteristic of Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art of the 17th and 18th century in northern Europe and in the New World. This cemetery therefore cannot be deemed to have Outstanding Universal Value as testimony to Portuguese Jewish history, compared to the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Hamburg-Altona.

The Jewish community of Bayonne formed a few subsidiary communities in Aquitaine which had less importance, but which together with Bayonne represent important testimonies to Sephardic history in France. Most of these communities had dispersed towards the end of the 18th century.

#### *3.b.1.a.4 La Bastide-Clairence*

The Jewish cemetery of La Bastide-Clairence served as a burial site for a small offshoot community of Bayonne, comprising between 6 and 80 families. 50 of the 62 originally present stones have survived, the earliest stone from 1620, the latest from 1785; the plain stones, in the form of flat-lying tomb slabs, do not display any particular ornamental designs. Their inscriptions are invariably in Spanish.



**Fig. 202: Aerial photograph of La Bastide-Clairence with a small Jewish cemetery to the north © Google Maps**

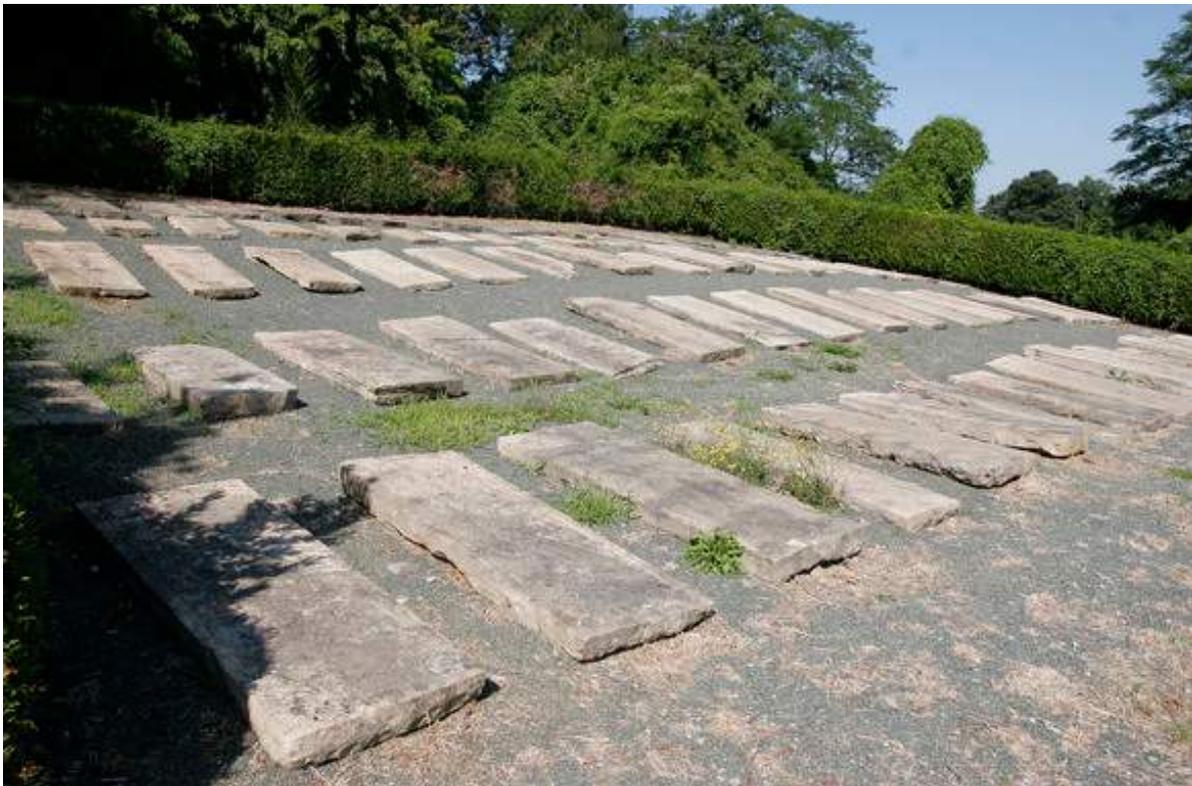


**Fig. 203: Jewish cemetery of La Bastide-Clairence, photograph: P. Pierret**

The cemetery in La Bastide-Clairance is an interesting complement to the cemetery in Bayonne and shows the regional spread of the Sephardim in the Aquitaine region. Due to the small number of gravestones alone, a comparison with the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona cannot be made. The simple gravestones in La Bastide-Clairance are also not comparable to the richly designed stones in Hamburg-Altona. This cemetery therefore cannot be deemed to have Outstanding Universal Value as testimony to Portuguese Jewish history, compared to the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Hamburg-Altona.

#### *3.b.1.a.5 Bidache*

The Jewish cemetery in Bidache was first used in 1665 and remained in use until around 1750: The cemetery contains 151 gravestones, 131 of them dated. 135 stones bear inscriptions, of which 130 are in Spanish, four have inscriptions in two languages (Hebrew and Spanish) and one stone with only Hebrew.



**Fig. 204: Gravestones in the Jewish cemetery in Bidache; photographer: P. Pierret**

Here, too, a comparison cannot be made with the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, alone due to the small number of gravestones. The simple gravestones in Bidache are likewise not comparable to the richly designed stones in Hamburg-Altona. This cemetery therefore cannot be deemed to have Outstanding Universal Value as testimony to Portuguese Jewish history, compared to the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Hamburg-Altona.

#### *3.b.1.a.6 Peyrehorade*

The small Jewish cemeteries of Peyrehorade are scattered throughout the area. Some are adjacent to Christian burial sites, some lie between privately owned houses, similar to a garden. They are testimony to the period in which Jews created burial grounds on their

private property. Here we find approximately 400 stones in all, of which the large majority is written in Spanish and does not display any symbols.



**Fig. 205: Jewish cemetery in Peyrehorade, which adjoins the Christian cemetery directly to the south; aerial view © Google Maps**

1. Jewish cemetery in Peyrehorade: 118 gravestones, 58 stones with inscriptions, of these 49 in Spanish, two in Hebrew, 6 in Portuguese, 1 in French; earliest stone: 1633, latest stone: 1739
2. Jewish cemetery in Peyrehorade; area: 296 square metres, established in 1737, closed in 1826: originally 110 gravestones, 81 surviving stones; 77 in Spanish, 4 in French



**Fig. 206: Peyrehorade cemetery on formerly private property; photographer: P. Pierret**

The cemeteries in Peyrehorade are also an important complement to Sephardic history in Aquitaine, however they are not comparable with the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Hamburg-Altona neither in the number nor the design of the gravestones. This cemetery therefore cannot be deemed to have Outstanding Universal Value as testimony to Portuguese Jewish history, compared to the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Hamburg-Altona.

### *3.b.1.a.7 Conclusion*

For all of the Jewish cemeteries in Aquitaine it can be conclusively determined that they are not comparable with the Jewish cemetery in Hamburg-Altona. The majority are small cemeteries, which are not comparable alone due to the number of stones present. The authenticity and the integrity of some of the cemeteries is also strongly compromised. The larger cemeteries in Bayonne and Bordeaux were created later than the cemetery in Hamburg-Altona (Bayonne around 70 years, all three in Bordeaux more than 100 years later). It is, however, noticeable that most of gravestones in the Sephardic cemeteries in Aquitaine, predominantly in the form of tomb slabs, show only inscriptions and hardly any symbols. More complex tombs, such as ohalim, are rare. The graves and gravestones of these cemeteries are undoubtedly important testimonies to Jewish history in France, however due to the reasons given above, they cannot be deemed to have Outstanding Universal Value as testimony to the history of the Portuguese-Sephardic Jews and their very special sepulchral culture found in these cemeteries, compared to the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Hamburg-Altona.

### *3.b.1.b Italy*

Italy holds a special position in Sephardic history. At the end of the Middle Ages, the established Italian Jews were joined by Ashkenazic emigrants from France and Germany, and from the 16th century onwards also by Sephardim from the Iberian Peninsula. These groups, differing by their origins, found predominantly in large cities like Rome or Venice, formed their own communities and maintained their own synagogues, but usually buried their dead in shared cemeteries. A sharper division of Ashkenazi and Sephardic cemeteries, such as in Hamburg-Altona, is lacking here.

#### *3.b.1.b.1 Venice*

Venice was home to the largest Jewish community in northern Italy. Their numbers reached around 2,500 in 1500 and about 4,500 by 1650. Today there are still two Jewish cemeteries at the Lido in Venice, which document their history and culture: the "Old Cemetery" and the "New Cemetery".

#### *The Old Cemetery*

The property of the old Jewish cemetery at San Nicolo at the Lido originally belonged to the nearby Benedictine monastery. It was in sold to the Jewish community in 1386 by the Republic of Venice and is part of the first documented Jewish presence in the city (1382-1397). Only one gravestone has been retained from this early time.

In the 16 century the Jewish population in Venice began to increase significantly. Together with the Ashkenazim, the city was now home to Levantine, Spanish, and Portuguese Jews. From 1516 until the Republic's collapse in 1797, they all lived in Venice's ghetto.

The rapid increase in the population and several epidemics (1576 and 1630) made a series of expansions to the old cemetery necessary until the mid 17th century. Up to 1578 it comprised an area of 5,076 m<sup>2</sup>; in 1715 it was enlarged to 10,500 m<sup>2</sup>. The cemetery was used by the Tedeschi (Ashkenazim), and later also the Levantini (from Venice and the East) and the Ponentini (Sephardim), who came to Venice in the 16th century and whose number

reached no higher than 700. Two gravestones from the year 1631, one found during the latest archaeological excavations and restorations, document the cemetery's gradual expansion along the lagoon.

In the mid 17th century parts of the old cemetery grounds, which were occupied until the 1770s and the establishment of a new, nearby cemetery, were damaged by the construction of a fortress which the Venetian government built on Lido's north side. Some of the gravestones from this part were taken to the southern part of the cemetery and stacked there on other gravestones. In the mid 19th century the northern part of the cemetery was used as a shooting range by the Austrian Army. Both the building of this military installation as well as the construction of diverse roads resulted in numerous gravestones being removed from the northern part of the old cemetery, and dispersed into the remaining southern part.

These graves were moved again in 1930, when space along the lagoon was needed for the new lagoon road. By 1998 the old cemetery, which once had an area of 10,500 m<sup>2</sup> in 1715 , had been reduced to a total area of 3000 m<sup>2</sup>.

Today the old cemetery is a kind of lapidarium. Indeed, there are still graves throughout the entire grounds, but the stones have been arranged without correlation to the graves, as their locations were not known. A number of stones were also arranged at the cemetery's wall enclosures.

Many of the gravestones which contain Hebrew and Italian inscriptions, as well as in Ladino, display opulent reliefs or family emblems. They also show various representations of the human figure.



Fig. 207: Portuguese-Sephardic tombstone at the Old Jewish Cemetery in Venice

### *The New Cemetery*

The so-called New Jewish Cemetery at the Lido in Venice was established in the 1770s after the closing of the Old Jewish Cemetery. Today the entrance can be found around the corner from the Old Cemetery, just a few hundred metres away.

Shared today by several smaller Jewish communities, it predominantly holds newer tombstones, but also many large family graves and tombstones from earlier times, which were moved here from the Old Cemetery.



**Fig. 208: The sarcophagus for Avraham ven Yomtov, died. 1584, formerly in the Old Cemetery, today located in the New Jewish Cemetery**

It can be conclusively stated that the two Jewish cemeteries at the Lido in Venice are important testimonies to Jewish life in Venice. They are, however, not comparable with the Jewish cemetery in Hamburg-Altona. The Old Cemetery has suffered great losses to its integrity and authenticity due to the many changes. While the New Cemetery does hold some of the older gravestones from the Old Cemetery, they cannot, however claim the characteristic of integrity; besides that, the new cemetery, first established in the 18th century, has predominantly newer gravestones, which rule out a comparison with the cemetery in Hamburg-Altona. Due to the reasons given above, the two Jewish cemeteries on the Lido in Venice cannot, however, be deemed to have Outstanding Universal Value as testimony to Portuguese Jewish history and its very special sepulchral culture, compared to the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Hamburg-Altona.

#### *3.b.1.b.2 Livorno - Cimitero Monumentale Ebraico*

Livorno had a special position in Italy, as Ferdinand I had issued various edicts for religious freedom and tax exemption in 1591 and 1593, known as the *Leggi Livornine*. As a result, the Jews from Spain and Portugal in particular settled in Livorno. During the 17th and 18th century, Spanish and Portuguese were the predominant languages of the Jews in Livorno. In 1601 the Jewish community comprised 114 persons, and at the end of the 17th century, 3,000.

In 1648 the Jewish community received permission to use an open field near Via Pompilia for a cemetery. A second cemetery was established in 1738. Unfortunately, neither cemetery exists today; in 1939 the stones were transferred to a new cemetery which had opened in 1837.



**Fig. 209: Gravestone from the Old Cemetery in Livorno; photograph by Piergiuliano Chesi, [wikimedia commons](#)**

The gravestones from the Old Cemetery, which were brought to the newer cemetery from 1837 onwards, cannot claim the feature of integrity; the other gravestones in the 1837 cemetery do not fall within the reference period. The Jewish cemetery in Livorno therefore cannot be deemed to have Outstanding Universal Value as testimony to Portuguese Jewish history and its very special sepulchral culture, compared to the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Hamburg-Altona.

### 3.b.1.c Summary of the Comparative Analysis of Portuguese-Sephardic Cemeteries in Southern and Western Europe

The comparative analysis of Portuguese-Sephardic cemeteries in southern and western Europe led to interesting findings. Venice apparently once had magnificently designed tombstones comparable to those in Hamburg-Altona. Unfortunately, only a few of these tombstones survived; the cemeteries in which they are located today cannot claim the characteristic of integrity. These Jewish cemeteries therefore cannot be deemed to have Outstanding Universal Value as testimony to the Portuguese-Sephardic history and its very special sepulchral culture.

The analysis for France led to a comparable result, namely that there are also no cemeteries here which can claim an Outstanding Universal Value as testimony to the history of the Portuguese-Sephardic Jews and their very special sepulchral culture; however the reasons for this are partly different. With these cemeteries it is above all evident that the gravestones in Sephardic cemeteries in Aquitaine, predominantly designed as tomb slabs, show only inscriptions and hardly any symbols, to say nothing of pictorial scenes with depictions of humans and animal shapes. More complex tombs, such as *ohalim*, are rare. It is conceivable

that the different design of the gravestones, in comparison to those in the northern European harbour cities and in the New World, is based on the history of the Portuguese Jews in France. As of today, this hypothesis cannot, however, be proven. It has become apparent that further research is required, however, this has no influence on the evaluation of the Outstanding Universal Value of the Jewish cemetery in Hamburg-Altona.

### **3.b.2 *Comparative Analysis of Portuguese-Sephardic Cemeteries in Northern Europe and in the New World***

#### **3.b.2.a *Scandinavia***

With the exception of Denmark, Jews were allowed to settle in Scandinavia relatively late. Norway, as independent nation, only took in Jews after the mid 19th century. These were primarily Ashkenazi Jews. Sweden allowed Jews to settle in the last quarter of the 18th century, on condition that they be baptised. This condition remained until 1782. The total number of Jews in Sweden remained low until the middle of the 19th century; the vast majority were Ashkenazim. The few existing Jewish cemeteries in Norway and Sweden do not date back to the 17th and 18th century, which is the period of significance. Moreover, as a rule these are Ashkenazi cemeteries. The Jewish cemeteries in Norway and Sweden therefore cannot be used as a basis for comparison.

##### ***3.b.2.a.1 Denmark***

**Denmark** still has twelve Jewish cemeteries today (not including Altona and Glückstadt, which were likewise in Danish territory at the time of their creation). All of these are communal cemeteries used by both Sephardim and Ashkenazim. The erection of both Ashkenazi and Sephardic stones follows the Ashkenazi tradition of vertical standing stones, as the Ashkenazim did not permit the Sephardim to follow their own custom and place their stones horizontally. Due to this unusual situation, the cemeteries in Denmark cannot be used for the purpose of comparison of specific Portuguese-Sephardic burial culture, which the Sephardim in Hamburg-Altona developed prototypically.

#### **3.b.2.b *Germany***

In Germany, Portuguese-Sephardic cemeteries can only be found in Glückstadt and Hamburg-Altona.

##### ***3.b.2.b.1 Glückstadt***

The Jewish community in Glückstadt created a cemetery in 1622, which at first was only envisaged for Sephardic Jews, but was later also used for Ashkenazi burials. The earliest graves dated back to 1625; the last "Portuguese", Elias Meldola, was interred in 1861. The cemetery was expanded several times over the course of time, around 1895 it was then reduced to a quarter of its size. The National Socialists dissolved the cemetery in 1941 and utilised the property for other purposes. After the end of the war, the gravestones, having been stacked in a corner, were arranged in rows without consideration to their original allocations.

89 Sephardic and 11 Ashkenazi tomb slabs are found on the 1,531 m<sup>2</sup> site today, all of them flat-lying stones with Portuguese and Hebrew inscriptions, and numerous pictorial representations: Skulls, scorpions, butterflies, coats of arms, boots, sabres and biblical scenes, as is the case in Hamburg-Altona.



**Fig. 210: Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones at the Jewish cemetery in Glückstadt**

Due to the significant changes to the site and rearrangement of the gravestones, this cemetery lacks the characteristics of integrity and authenticity. Moreover, only a small number of gravestones have survived, so that this cemetery cannot be deemed to have Outstanding Universal Value, compared to the cemetery in Hamburg-Altona.

### 3.b.2.c The Netherlands

At the end of the 16th century, the Dutch harbour city of Amsterdam opened its doors to the Sephardim expelled from the Iberian Peninsula and from Portugal, and later to the eastern European Ashkenazim as well. The legal basis for the immigrants' lives was formed by the Jewish ordinance, promulgated in 1616, which in contrast guaranteed extensive freedoms in economic activities, political rights and the right to religious autonomy. The Calvinist lords of the town of Amsterdam did not interfere in the Jewish community's internal affairs, but rather guaranteed them the opportunity to return to their faith and the practising of Jewish traditions. Not surprisingly, a large Portuguese-Sephardic community developed in Amsterdam in the early 17th century, comprising six to eight thousand Jews.

However, the establishment of a Sephardic cemetery within the city of Amsterdam was not facilitated. In 1614, the Sephardic community therefore bought a property south of Amsterdam in Ouderkerk aan der Amstel, which was officially opened as a cemetery in 1616.

### 3.b.2.c.1 Ouderkerk aan de Amstel/ Amsterdam

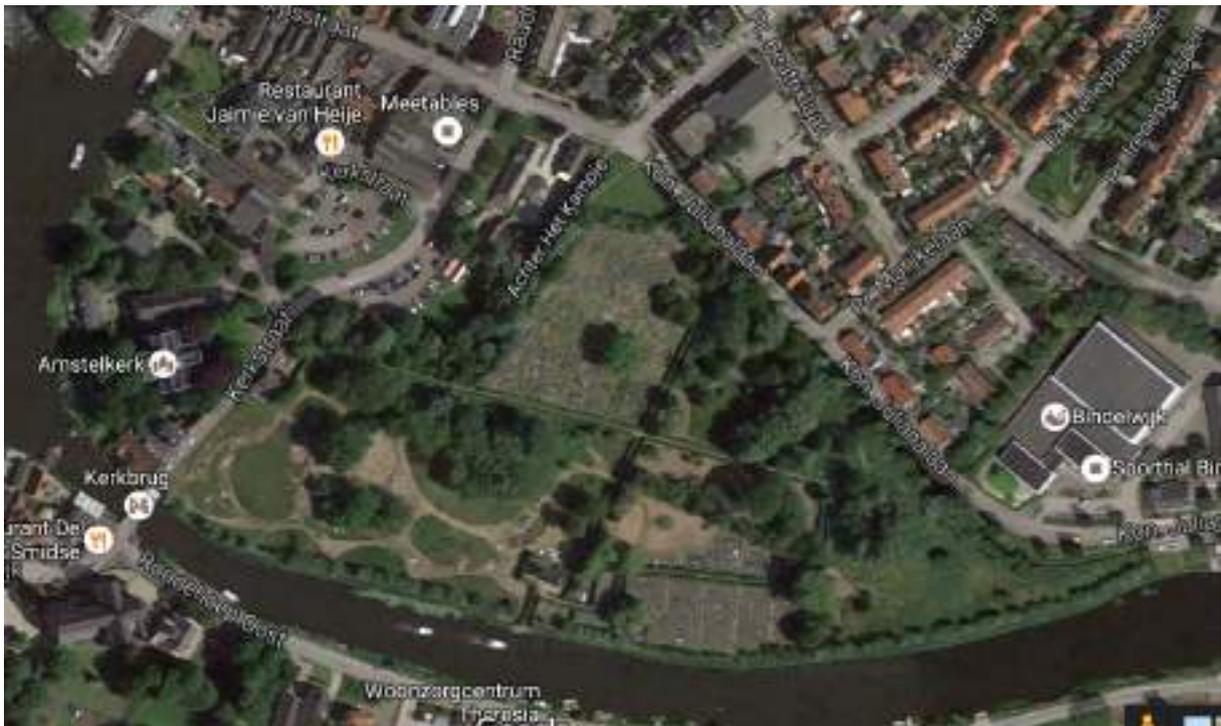


Fig. 211: Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Ouderkerk aan de Amstel, the oldest part in the South West, aerial photograph Google Maps

The Ouderkerk aan de Amstel cemetery, officially put to use in 1616, is maintained by the large Portuguese-Sephardic community in Amsterdam. The first burial took place as early as in 1614. The oldest gravestone in this cemetery dates back to the same year.



Fig. 212: Oldest surviving gravestone in Ouderkerk, from 1614, photographer: Bernd Paulowitz

In the course of the 17th century the cemetery in Ouderkerk aan de Amstel was enlarged several times – 1663, 1690 and 1691 – due to the continuously growing community. The entire site was fully occupied in 1923. To make room for more graves, a part of the cemetery that had been established in the 18th century, was covered with a 3-metre layer of sand, under rabbinical supervision, so that new graves could be placed above the old ones.



**Fig. 213: Map of the Jewish cemetery in Ouderkerk with confirmation of the purchase and use of the cemetery's expansion area (purple year dates = years of purchase; red year dates = years of being put into operation)**

Only flat-lying tombstone forms are found in Ouderkerk, as in Altona. The graves, which are of particular interest from the point of view of art history, date back to the 17th and 18th century, whereas in the 19th century the desire for artistic forms declined in preference for simple tomb slabs. All types found in the 18th century were already developed in the 17th century. These especially rich tombstones can be divided into two groups; flat-lying tomb slabs and types with a three-dimensional structure.

The three-dimensional tombstones are in the form of simple stone sarcophagi with smooth, non-decorated sides. Such a grave structure is often placed on one or several stone steps.



**Fig. 214: Multi-level tombstone in the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Ouderkerk aan de Amstel, photographer: Bernd Paulowitz**

Next to these exist the tent-shaped sarcophagus lids with triangular ends and without visible bases (ohalim), as also found in Altona. These ohalim are usually made of white marble, often placed close to one another in groups of two or four. At the sloped narrow ends, various motifs can be found, such as an open book with the inscription “Keter Torah” (Crown of the Torah) as symbol for the Torah or the scholarship of the deceased. The crests are usually placed in Baroque cartouches with ribbons at the side.



**Fig. 215: Group of ohalim in the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Ouderkerk aan de Amstel, photographer: Bernd Paulowitz**

The use of crests on tombstones is very widespread in Ouderkerk, and is also found flat-lying tomb slabs as well.



**Fig. 216: Tombstone from the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Ouderkerk with depictions of a crest, photographer: Bernd Paulowitz**

Not all tomb slabs show opulent decor, however. Alongside them are simple, undecorated tomb slabs which contain only inscriptions. Multilingual inscriptions are also found in Ouderkerk, like in Altona.



Fig. 217: Undecorated tomb slabs in the Jewish cemetery at Ouderkerk, photographer: Bernd Paulowitz



Fig. 218: Ouderkerk, tomb slabs of Ribca Ximenes, 1694 (left), and Jeudith de Mattos, 1721 (right), marble

Many of the approximately 150 tombstones and tomb slabs visible today are, however, adorned with rich, decorative reliefs: some with a “neutral decor”, i.e. with cartouches in Baroque forms bearing an inscription or a coat of arms; frame motifs, branches, branches bearing fruit, flowering branches, which serve as borders of coats of arms, inscriptions or flower vases, or also filled with pictorial scenes; borders from architectonic motifs such as half-columns or pilasters which are connected with arches. There are still also draped “cloths” with inscriptions. General motifs such as putti and weeping children or death symbols like skulls, used together with bones, sickles and hourglasses, are also widespread. There is also the motif of a hand - or many hands - from the clouds, as symbol for the divine, divine power, or divine will, or the symbol of blessing hands, or also purely Jewish symbols like the Levi pitcher.



**Fig. 219: Tombstones at the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Ouderkerk with depictions of a felled tree and with putti, skulls and winged hourglass, photographer: Bernd Paulowitz**

Personal motives and symbols, which more closely characterise the personality of the deceased, are also found on the tombstones. These relate to the deceased’s name, occupation, or particular abilities, f. ex. as with the representation of David playing the harp.



**Fig. 220: Tombstone at the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Ouderkerk with depiction of David playing the harp, photographer: Bernd Paulowitz**

Like at Hamburg-Altona and the Caribbean, the Jewish cemetery at Ouderkerk also contains numerous stones with biblical scenes (Rebecca at the well, Hannah in the temple, Jacob meeting Rachel, the binding of Isaac, Jacob’s ladder, etc.)

Made predominantly of white marble, in part very richly designed tomb slabs containing up to four pictorial scenes, date back to the 17th and the early 18th centuries, like those at Hamburg-Altona.



**Fig. 221: Tombstone at the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Ouderkerk with scenes of Jacob's dream of the ladder to heaven (left) and depictions of Abraham, who concludes a covenant with Abimelech (right), photographer: Bernd Paulowitz**

Many of the Ouderkerker cemetery's tomb slabs have sunken deeply over the centuries, due to the substrate of its boggy land close to the Amstel, or covered with sand in the early 20th century and are no longer visible today. Of the approximately 23,000 gravestones previously in place from the 17th to the 19th century, only approximately 150 are visible above ground today. Their position and therefore the entire site in Ouderkerk can be compared to a staged setting of graves in parkland. The authentic character of a Jewish cemetery, with gravestones lying densely next to one another, as preserved in the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg Altona, is at least partly lost in Ouderkerk, which had been used in the 17th and 18th century.



**Fig. 222: Jewish cemetery at Ouderkerk aan de Amstel, view of the oldest part of the cemetery; photographer: Bernd Paulowitz**

Undoubtedly the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Ouderkerk, which was opened five years after the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Hamburg-Altona, is however a very important cultural monument. With their valuable materials and their high design quality, the 150 visible gravestones from the 17th and 18th century reflect the wealth of the Portuguese-Sephardic community in Amsterdam. However, both the integrity and the authenticity of this second Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in northern Europe is strongly impaired, as today only about 150 tombstones are still visible above the ground, of the approximately 23,000 laid there from the 17th to the 19th century. Despite its historical importance and its 150 visible tombstones dating back to the 17th and 18th century, compared to the Jewish cemetery in Hamburg- Altona, the Jewish cemetery in Ouderkerk aan de Amstel cannot be deemed to have Outstanding Universal Value.

### 3.b.2.d United Kingdom

#### *3.b.2.d.1 London*

Although all Jews had been expelled from England in the late 13th century, during the 17th century London became a place of refuge for the Sephardim, or new Christians, fleeing Portugal. An attempt to officially lift the banning of Jews from England in 1655 failed, but from then on, Jews nevertheless were able to enter the country freely and settle there. London subsequently experienced an upswing similar to that in Amsterdam and Hamburg.

Of the Old Velho Sephardi Cemetery from 1657 and the Sephardi Novo Beth Chaim Cemetery from 1733 – the two Portuguese-Sephardic cemeteries in London from that time – the second, with its previous 9,500 graves, was the larger one.

#### *Sephardi Novo Beth Chaim Cemetery*

Many of the tombstones originally at the Sephardi Novo Beth Chaim Cemetery were removed in the 1970s, so that now only 2,000 tombstones from the 19th and 20th century remain. Today they lie hidden at the premises of what is now Queen Mary's College.



**Fig. 223: Burial grounds of the Sephardi Novo Beth Chaim Cemetery, today the grounds of Queen Mary's College in London, Mile End, photographer: Bernd Paulowitz**

Due to the substantial changes, and the loss of numerous gravestones from the reference period, the cemetery can no longer claim the characteristics of integrity and authenticity. The Sephardi Novo Beth Chaim Cemetery in London therefore cannot be deemed to have Outstanding Universal Value as testimony to Portuguese-Sephardic history and its very special sepulchral culture, compared to the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Hamburg-Altona.

#### *Old Velho Sephardi Cemetery*

The older cemetery, Old Velho Sephardi Cemetery from 1657, does hold many historic gravestones today; these, however, are very much more simply designed than those in the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Hamburg-Altona. These lack the sculptural decorations, the human and animal representations, and the pictorial scenes present on the tombstones in the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Altona.



**Fig. 224: Burial ground of the Old Velho Sephardi Cemetery, London, Mile End; photographer: Dan Bondy**



**Fig. 225: Tombstones in the Old Velho Sephardi Cemetery in London, Mile End, photographs: Dan Bondy**

The plain gravestones in the Old Velho Sephardi Cemetery in London are therefore not comparable to the richly designed tombstones in Hamburg-Altona. This cemetery therefore cannot be deemed to have Outstanding Universal Value as testimony to Portuguese Jewish history, compared to the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Hamburg-Altona.

### 3.b.2.e North America

#### *3.b.2.e.1 New York*

After the Portuguese conquest of Recife in 1654, Sephardim left the former Dutch colony, and shortly afterwards the Netherlands, London and Hamburg as well, to settle in New Amsterdam (New York). The Shearith Israel Congregation, founded as early as in 1654, succeeded in obtaining a place for a cemetery two years later, against the resistance of the anti-Jewish governor, Peter Stuyvesant. The first burial in the Shearith Israel Cemetery took place in 1683 with the grave of Benjamin Bueno de Mesquita. From 1656 to 1825, all of New York's Jews were members of the Shearith Israel Congregation. At least 179 burials took place here from its creation until 1831.

Until 1725, only Sephardim were buried in the cemetery; after 1725, Ashkenazi Jews also found their final resting place here (Abraham Isaacs, Alexander Zuntz, Alexander Harris, etc.) Only a few Sephardic tombstones remain today, most of which are more plainly designed than those in the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Hamburg-Altona. Only a very few pictorial representations are found, for example that of a hand from the clouds, an opened book, or a ship. Languages used on the tombstones are Hebrew, Portuguese, Spanish, and English. As with the Sephardic graves in other Dutch and English colonies, the Caribbean is typical for the early use of the local language, in this case, English.

Due to the few surviving tombstones, particularly any with the depictions of human and animal shapes or biblical scenes which characterise Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art,

there can be no comparison with the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Altona. This cemetery therefore cannot be deemed to have Outstanding Universal Value as testimony to Portuguese Jewish history, compared to the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Hamburg-Altona.

Like other cemeteries in North America and the Caribbean, the model developed in Europe was implemented here. In part, particularly in the Caribbean, the stones came from Europe. No new, specific gravestone culture was developed, rather, the European traditions were passed on.

#### *3.b.2.e.2 Newport*

In 1658 Sephardim from Amsterdam, Curaçao, London, and New York founded a community in Newport; in 1677 Moses Pacheco, who came from Hamburg and later returned there, bought together with two other Sephardim a cemetery grounds which was enlarged in 1678. This cemetery, used by both Sephardim and Ashkenazim and no longer in use since 1828, is the second-oldest cemetery in the USA. The inscriptions on the 47 stones in the historic Touro Cemetery are in Hebrew, Portuguese, English and Latin. No gravestones have survived from the first 80 years after the cemetery's founding, i.e. between 1677 and 1757.

Due to the very few surviving tombstones from the reference period, no comparison can be made with the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Altona. This is a "second-generation" cemetery and not a prototype for Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art. This cemetery therefore cannot be deemed to have Outstanding Universal Value as testimony to Portuguese Jewish history, compared to the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Hamburg-Altona.

#### *3.b.2.e.3 Charleston*

The Coming Street Jewish Cemetery in Charleston was founded as a private cemetery for the da Costa family in 1754, and is the oldest surviving Jewish cemetery in South Carolina. The earliest grave dates back to 1762.

The da Costa family transferred the property to the Jewish community in 1767 for general use. While only Sephardic Jews were buried in the cemetery at the beginning, Ashkenazi burials followed very shortly thereafter, without any spatial division. The cemetery is used today by the reformed Jewish community Beth Elohim.



**Fig. 226: A look into a part of the cemetery of the Beth Elohim community, potographer: Alexandra Kruse**

Sephardic graves dating back to the 18th century are occasionally found in this cemetery, which holds over 500 graves today, but as it was actively used until recent times, they make up only a small part of the whole cemetery. A much larger area of the cemetery is filled with graves and stones from more recent times into the present.

Of special note regarding the historical inventory are the tombstones found in the private burial areas of the Sephardic da Costa family (from 1754) and the Ashkenazi Lopez family (from 1843).



**Fig. 227: A look into the Sephardic da Costa family burial area from 1754, potographer: Alexandra Kruse**



**Fig. 228: A look into the cemetery area of the Ashkenazi Lopez family, from 1843; photographer: Alexandra Kruse**

In this cemetery, the da Costa family area as well as a few individual historical Sephardic graves are evidence of Portuguese-Sephardic traditions having been brought along from Europe. However, due to the small number of these graves, and due to the mixed use of the cemetery into the present, this cemetery cannot be deemed to have an Outstanding Universal Value as testimony to Portuguese-Sephardic history, compared to the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Hamburg-Altona. This is a “second-generation” cemetery and not a prototype for Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art. The cemetery in Charleston documents first and foremost the new direction and emancipation of the Jews who emigrated to America.

### 3.b.2.f Caribbean and South America

In contrast to the Jewish cemeteries in North America, the Portuguese-Sephardic cemeteries in the Caribbean and South America show a significantly greater proximity to their European precursors.

Those buried on the Caribbean islands arrived as Jews, especially after 1660, when England (Barbados, Nevis) and the Netherlands (Surinam, Curaçao) guaranteed rights of establishment, above all to Sephardic Jews. As neither materials, like sandstone and marble, nor stone masons who possessed the skills for the making of artistically designed tombstones, could be found on the Caribbean islands, numerous stones in these cemeteries were produced in Amsterdam, London or Hamburg, as family connections existed between the “Old World” and the “New World”.

#### 3.b.2.f.1 Nevis

The Jewish cemetery in Charlestown, 61 x 23 metres and encircled by a wall, today still contains 18 or 19 horizontal tomb slabs on stone bases. The inscriptions are in one or two languages; Hebrew, English and Portuguese. The first burial was conducted in 1679, the last

in 1729/30. The tomb slabs are, with two exceptions, made from imported granite. Fourteen stones have complete epitaphs with formulaic phrases, as also commonly found in Hamburg and Amsterdam: “SA” (Sepultura), “do bemaventurado”, and “sua alma goza da gloria”. Three tomb slabs show both Jewish and non-Jewish symbols: Priestly hands, hourglass and skull. The tomb slab of Bathseba Abudiente is adorned with palms, flowers, a rose and a winged hourglass.



**Fig. 229: Sephardic cemetery in Nevis, photographer: unknown**

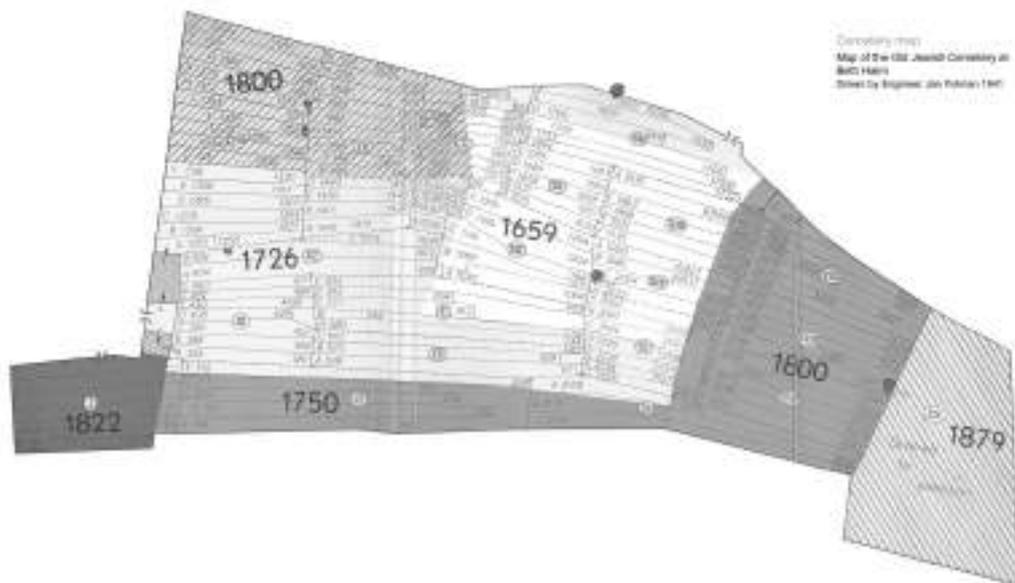


**Fig. 230: Grave of Bathseba Abudiente, died. 1684, photographer: unknown**

Due to the few surviving tombstones from the reference period, the cemetery does not possess the integrity needed to represent the Outstanding Universal Value of Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art and culture. However, the cemetery shows very clearly how

European traditions continued to be used here. Hamburg-Altona was the example and model for the graves and gravestone culture.

### 3.b.2.f.2 Curaçao



**Fig. 231: Map of the Curaçao Jewish Cemetery**

Those buried in the Curaçao Jewish cemetery, especially those after 1660, came to the island as Jews. The earliest gravestones – the oldest is from 1668 - bear no inscriptions. Interestingly, these gravestones are made from coral or local rust-coloured basalt. Terra cotta was also used. The graves often had a semi-cylindrical form. Meanwhile, the inscriptions have been greatly affected by pollution, and some have disappeared. Half of the original 5,000 stones are deemed lost, the surviving 2,500 have been strongly weathered and destroyed by exhaust gases of the adjacent refinery.



**Fig. 232: Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Curacao with refinery in the background, photographer: unknown**

The surviving gravestones are both horizontal tomb slabs and tent-like stones (ohalim). The inscriptions are predominantly in two languages.



**Fig. 233: Burial ground of the Curaçao Jewish cemetery; photographer: Michael Studemund-Halévy**

The iconographic programme of the gravestones' depictions follows that of Hamburg-Altona. This includes four themes in particular:

- Allegories: Hourglass with or without crossbones; axe from the clouds, felling a tree; menorah.
- Occupational symbols: Ships for sailors; hands in characteristic blessing for Kohanim; water pitchers for Levites; Masonic symbols.
- Scenes from the last hours of the deceased: Wept over by mother, wife, and children (for a young decedent); death of a woman in childbed, etc.
- Bible legends: The binding of Isaac; Jacob's ladder; Rahel with sheep; Moses with the tablets of the covenant; King David with harp (lyre), etc.



**Fig. 234: Detail of a gravestone at the Curaçao Jewish cemetery, Rahel with the sheep. Source: <http://www.bethhaimcuracao.com>**

We owe our knowledge about the inscriptions and symbols on the surviving gravestones to the documentation dating back to the 1930s, provided by Dr I.S. Emmanuel. Since then, the stones suffered much damage due to the exhaust gases of the adjacent refinery. Most of the

inscriptions and symbols can no longer be recognised. Further, even larger damage must be taken into account for the future, as the refinery shall continue operations.



**Fig. 235: Image from the 1930s, showing the condition of the gravestones before their decay from pollution. Source: <http://www.bethhaimcuracao.com>**



**Fig. 236: Historical photo: Abigail Aboab Cardozo, wife of Selomoh Nunes Redondo, 18 June 1747, Carrara marble, 96 x 36 x 6 inches (destroyed by environmental influences). Source: <http://www.bethhaimcuracao.com>**

The Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Curacao is without a doubt perhaps the most important Sephardic cemetery in the New World. It is, however, a “second generation” cemetery, in which no new, specific gravestone culture was developed, but rather the European traditions were passed on. The cemetery in Hamburg-Altona was the prototype for this handed-down Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art.

More crucial however is the fact that the integrity and authenticity of this Sephardic cemetery, while still the largest in the Caribbean, has been sharply impaired, as, on the one hand, only about 2,500 gravestones still survive today from the approximately 5,000 original stones from the 17th and 18th century and, on the other, because the surviving stones are greatly damaged today due to the exhaust gases of the adjacent refinery, and further damage is anticipated.

This cemetery therefore can no longer be deemed to have Outstanding Universal Value as testimony to Portuguese Jewish history, compared to the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Hamburg-Altona.

### *3.b.2.f.3 Surinam*

Those buried in the Cassipora Creek and Jodensavanne cemeteries in Surinam, particularly after 1660, came to the island as Jews, when Holland and England guaranteed rights of establishment to Jews, especially to Sephardim. In order to entice Jewish settlers, the colonial government offered them special privileges, including religious freedom, freedom to own property, and the right to their own legal system. Jewish merchants were specially prized for their expertise in international trade.

In 1665, the Jewish community bought a piece of land near the Cassipora Creek, in order to build a synagogue and establish a cemetery. The Cassipora Synagogue was dedicated in the year 1671 by the “Joodse Burgerwacht Compagnie”. Shortly thereafter, the community climbed a nearby hill with a view of the Suriname River; here is where the Jodensavanne settlement was founded. A synagogue was opened there in 1685.

At the end of the 17th century, about 575 Jews lived in the flourishing agricultural settlement of Jodensavanne. They owned more than 40 plantations and about 1,300 slaves. Along with their important economic role, the Jewish community also had a stake in the protection of the colony’s plantations against rebelling slaves.

When the sugar cane industry declined in the 19th century, most of the Jews who lived in Jodensavanne moved to the capital of Paramaribo. The settlement was abandoned after a large fire in 1832. The two cemeteries at Jodensavanne and Cassipora survived together with the remains of the synagogue.



**Fig. 237: Pyramid-shaped graves at the Cassipora Cemetery in Surinam, photographer: Michael Studemund-Halévy**

The cemetery in Cassipora has 216 gravestones today, from an estimated over 400 from the time between 1667 and 1873. The oldest gravestone dates back to the year 1667.

The cemetery in Jodensavanne has 462 gravestones from the time between 1685 and the mid 19th century. A great number of the stones are made of marble imported from Europe, other gravestones are manufactured from limestone and brick.

The design of the gravestones follows the iconographical and epigraphical tradition of the Portuguese-Sephardic cemeteries in Hamburg-Altona: predominantly horizontal tomb slabs and pairs of “tent” graves (ohalim) for the most part with bilingual inscriptions in Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, or Hebrew. The selection of representations on the gravestones also resembles that of the Altona tombstones. We find there, for example, depictions of hourglasses held by putti, of skulls with crossbones, of a hand appearing from the clouds and felling a tree, as well as blessing hands, Levi pitchers, circumcision scenes, etc. Numerous gravestones in these cemeteries were imported from Europe.



Fig. 238: Surinam gravestone with hourglass held by putti (below), shewbread (below left), hand from the clouds (below centre), and skull with crossbones (below left); photographer: Michael Studemund-Halévy



**Fig. 239: Cassipora Cemetery in Surinam, photographer: Michael Studemund-Halévy**

The Portuguese-Sephardic cemeteries of Jodensavanne and Cassipora, in Surinam, are without a doubt important Sephardic New World cemeteries. This, however, is a “second generation” cemetery, in which no new, specific gravestone culture was developed, but rather the European traditions were passed on. The cemetery in Hamburg-Altona was the prototype for this handed-down Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art. Furthermore, both cemeteries, in contrast to Hamburg-Altona, offer a small number of Portuguese-Sephardic gravestones.

These two cemeteries therefore cannot be deemed to have Outstanding Universal Value as testimony to Portuguese Jewish history and its specific sepulchral art, compared to the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Hamburg-Altona, which represents the prototype for this sepulchral art.

#### *3.b.2.f.4 Barbados*

The Jewish cemetery on Barbados is one of the oldest Jewish cemeteries in the western hemisphere, with gravestones which date back to the 1660s. The Spanish and Portuguese community there was founded in 1654. A synagogue was built, and a cemetery established. The cemetery was destroyed in 1934 through urban development measures. 374 epitaphs were copied beforehand. In the late 20th century, a reconstruction plan was launched, in which it was attempted to assemble the many existing fragments of the mid 17th century tombstones, and to reconstruct them.



**Fig. 240: Burial grounds of the Sephardic cemetery on Barbados; photographer: Michael Studemund-Halévy**

The copies and reconstructions of the gravestones explain that their iconographic programme was unusually multifaceted. Here we find memento mori motifs (skull with or without crossbones; hourglass), biblical legends (Jacob's ladder; woman rising from a coffin) but also the hand from the clouds felling a tree; shofar blower; hand with a quill; angel with trumpet; mohel's instruments (knife, bottle, forceps); woman holding a child; a sleeping child; angels; cupids; putti; animals (birds, doves, bees, snakes, dolphins); the Grim Reaper, threatening a fortress with his spear; as well as palms, leaves, flowers, roses, a tree bearing fruit, and an urn.



**Fig. 241: Detail of a tombstone at the Sephardic cemetery on Barbados: Woman rising from a coffin; photographer: Michael Studemund-Halévy**



**Fig. 242: Gravestone of the cantor Mehir Belinfante at the Sephardic cemetery on Barbados, with depictions of blessing hands, mohel instruments, etc., photographer: Michael Studemund-Halévy**

The Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery on Barbados is without a doubt an important Sephardic monument. However, both the integrity and the authenticity of this cemetery are strongly impaired by demolitions in 1934. Today, the diversity in the gravestones' depictions can only be conveyed by copies and reconstructions. This moreover is also a "second-generation" cemetery, and not a prototype for Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art.

This cemetery therefore cannot be deemed to have Outstanding Universal Value as testimony to Portuguese Jewish history and its specific sepulchral art, compared to the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Hamburg-Altona, which represents the prototype for this sepulchral art.

#### *3.b.2.f.5 St. Andrews – Jamaica*

The Jewish communities in Jamaica were founded in the 17th century by ex-Marranos. The oldest cemetery is the Hunts Bay Cemetery, across from the harbour in Port Royal. Predominantly Sephardim were buried here. The earliest tombstone dates back to 1672, the latest is from 1771.



**Fig. 243: Hunts Bay Jewish cemetery, photographer: Rachel Frank, On Being, Creative Commons**

On the gravestones there are depictions which are part of the Portuguese-Sephardic iconography programme: Skull, crossbones, hourglass, etc. Levi pitcher, Kohanim hands, mohel knife, putti and cherubs, winged cherubs, snake and bird motifs, doves, rosettes, axe from the clouds, biblical legends; epitaphs (Hebrew, Portuguese, Spanish, English), bilingual epitaphs (Hebrew-Portuguese/Spanish; English/Spanish Hebrew).



**Fig. 244: Gravestones at Hunts Bay Jewish cemetery, photographer: Rachel Frank, On Being, Creative Commons**

All the stones are still in situ, but the cemetery has been severely damaged by earthquakes and road construction. The integrity and authenticity of this cemetery is therefore impaired. This cemetery therefore cannot be deemed to have Outstanding Universal Value as testimony to Portuguese Jewish history and its specific sepulchral art, compared to the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Hamburg-Altona, which represents the prototype for this sepulchral art.

### **3.b.3** *Conclusions of the Comparative Analysis*

As the comparative analysis has made clear, there is no other Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in the world, in which the specific Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art is preserved in comparable integrity and authenticity as it is found in the Jewish cemetery in Hamburg-Altona. Here, in the oldest Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in northern Europe, the prototype of the Portuguese-Sephardic tombstone art was developed, and this tombstone art was taken from here and from Amsterdam and Ouderkerk aan de Amstel, into the New World.

Venice apparently once had magnificently designed tombstones comparable to those in Hamburg-Altona. Unfortunately, only a few of these tombstones survived; the cemeteries in which they are located today cannot claim the characteristic of integrity. These Jewish cemeteries therefore cannot be deemed to have Outstanding Universal Value as testimony to the Portuguese-Sephardic history and its very special sepulchral culture.

The analysis for France led to a comparable result, namely that there are also no cemeteries here which can claim an Outstanding Universal Value as testimony to the history of the Portuguese-Sephardic Jews and their very special sepulchral culture; however the reasons for this are partly different. With these cemeteries it is above all evident that the gravestones in Sephardic cemeteries in Aquitaine, predominantly designed as tomb slabs, show only inscriptions and hardly any symbols, to say nothing of pictorial scenes with depictions of humans and animal shapes. More complex tombs, such as ohalim, are rare.

The tombstones in the old cemetery in London are also much more simply designed than those in the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Hamburg-Altona. These lack the sculptural decorations, the human and animal representations, and the pictorial scenes present on the tombstones in the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Altona.

In contrast, the 150 visible gravestones from the 17th and 18th centuries in the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Protestant Ouderkerk aan de Amstel reflect, with their valuable materials and their high design quality, not only the wealth of the Portuguese-Sephardic community in Amsterdam. They also represent important documentation on the history of the Portuguese Sephardim, and the very specific sepulchral art which developed out of their history. Both the integrity and the authenticity of this second Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in northern Europe, however, is strongly impaired, as today only about 150 tombstones are still visible above the ground, of the approximately 23,000 laid there from the 17th to the 19th century. This cemetery therefore cannot be deemed to have Outstanding Universal Value compared to the Portuguese-Sephardic cemetery in Hamburg-Altona.

Although Sephardim had settled in North America and established cemeteries by the mid 17th century, for example in 1683 in what is now New York, hardly any Portuguese Sephardic cemeteries remain in North America today.

In contrast to the Jewish cemeteries in North America, the Portuguese-Sephardic cemeteries in the Caribbean and South America show a significantly greater proximity to their European precursors. Those buried on the Caribbean islands arrived as Jews, especially after 1660, when England (Barbados, Nevis) and the Netherlands (Surinam, Curaçao) guaranteed rights of establishment, above all to Sephardic Jews. As neither materials, like sandstone and marble, nor stone masons who possessed the skills for the making of artistically designed tombstones, could be found on the Caribbean islands, numerous stones in these cemeteries

were produced in Amsterdam, London or Hamburg, as family connections existed between the “Old World” and the “New World”.

The comparative analysis verifies the influence which emanated from Hamburg-Altona, and the artistic and cultural achievement developed there and found all over the world. The impact and adoption of the Sephardic traditions from Hamburg-Altona, especially in the Caribbean and North America, support the Hamburg-Altona cemetery’s universal character. In this way, Sephardic history was revived and handed down, even long after the heyday of Hamburg community.

At the same time, it could be shown that this unique Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art, which, amid the depicted experience from a mix of, on one hand, the Catholic past and the return to normative Judaism and, on the other hand, Protestant sepulchral art, has merged together a past culture into this extraordinary testimony, and found today, in its completeness and intactness, only in Hamburg-Altona.

### **3.c Proposed Statement of Outstanding Universal Value**

#### **3.c.1 *Brief Synthesis***

Jewish cemeteries are created for eternity, aptly called “archives made of stone”, they are often the only preserved tangible testimony of Jewish history. The “Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona”, established in 1611, with its graves and tombstones, is a monument to the history of the Portuguese Sephardim, for the period from the end of the Middle Ages to the end of the Early Modern Period. Due to their history of having first fled Spain for Portugal and then, approximately 100 years later, fleeing Portugal and the Inquisition as forcibly baptised Sephardim, their descendants developed an entirely new Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art which differs in ornamentation, iconography, language, epigraphy and material selection from both the traditional Sephardic tombstone art of the Sephardim who fled Spain for North Africa and the Ottoman Empire from 1492 onwards, and also from the tombstone art of the Ashkenazim.

The flat-lying tombstones of the Portuguese Sephardim at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona are distinguished above all by opulent stone masonry and exuberant decorative richness, particularly by the illustration of human and animal figures as well as by biblical scenes. A further characteristic is the use of more than one language for their epitaphs and sophisticated grave poems. The Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art found on these tombstones is the result of an intensive cultural exchange between assimilated (i.e. forcibly baptised) Jews and Catholic Christians on the Iberian Peninsula, and also between Jews who had recently returned to normative Judaism and Protestant Christians (Calvinists and Lutherans) in northern Europe. The Portuguese-Sephardic burial culture of the 17th and 18th century reflects the diaspora or experience of conversions of the Portuguese Sephardim, and therefore their history.

The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg Altona is the prototype of a new form of Portuguese-Sephardic tombstone art. Originating from Hamburg and Amsterdam, this new Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art spread to North and South America, where it is still present to this day. However, it is not preserved with comparable integrity and authenticity, in any other cemetery in the world, like it is in Hamburg-Altona.

### **3.c.2** *Justification for Criteria*

**Criterion ii:** The Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones from the 17th and 18th century in the Hamburg-Altona cemetery, which was founded in 1611, represent an important interchange of human values in the development of Jewish sepulchral art. The outstanding Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art found here is the result of an intensive cultural exchange between assimilated (i.e. forcibly converted) Jews and Catholic Christians on the Iberian Peninsula, as well as between Jews who had recently returned to normative Judaism and Protestant Christians (Calvinists and Lutherans) in northern Europe. This new Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art was spread from here to the Americas.

**Criterion iii:** The graves and tombstones in the Portuguese-Sephardic part of the Jewish cemetery in Hamburg-Altona are outstanding testimonies to the cultural and religious history of the forcibly baptised Sephardim who had fled Spain and particularly Portugal. They document the history full of conflicts of the Iberian Sephardim in the period from the late Middle Ages to the early Modern Era, and present not only a rarity but also the earliest, most impressive and best-preserved monuments of Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art from the 17th and 18th centuries worldwide. The Jewish cemetery in Altona is thus an extraordinary testimony to the history and the religion of the Portuguese Sephardim, an archive of their perceptions of life, death, transience and eternal life, set in stone.

**Criterion iv:** The Portuguese-Sephardic part of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona bears outstanding witness to the extraordinary Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art, which symbolises the history of the Sephardic Jews from the 16th to the 18th century. Their graves and tombstones, found in Hamburg-Altona, thus document the history of their migration from Spain via Portugal to northern Europe and on to the Americas, and the Diaspora and conversion experiences connected with it. In the cemetery in Hamburg-Altona, established in 1611, we find the earliest and most impressive evidence and prototypes of Portuguese-Sephardic sepulchral art. It cannot be found anywhere else in the world in comparable authenticity and integrity.

Through the Sephardic and Ashkenazi burial sites' immediate – and in this form, rare – proximity to one another, the tombstones document the different characteristics of Jewish sepulchral art of the 17th to the 19th century. Furthermore, they are outstanding examples of the art of northern European stone masonry art of the 17th to the 19th century.

### **3.c.3** *Statement of Integrity*

The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, with its 1,660 (from originally 1,800) surviving Portuguese-Sephardic graves and tombstones from the 17th and 18th century, features all the elements and structures necessary to document its importance as prototype of the new Portuguese-Sephardic tombstone art, and the history of the Portuguese Sephardim.

With its approximately 8,100 (from originally 8,400) graves and tombstones, the approximately 1.9 (formerly 2.14) hectare Jewish Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona, its two parts having been established in 1611 and 1616, respectively, is preserved in adequate size and is largely intact. Moreover, with the immediate – and in this form rare – proximity of Sephardic and Ashkenazi burial sites to each other, it documents the spectrum of Jewish tombstone art of the 17th to the 19th Century.

#### **3.c.4 *Statement of Authenticity***

The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona fulfils all requirements for authenticity. Its form and design, determined by the large number of horizontal, opulently designed Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones from the 17th and 18th century and particularly by the depiction of human- and animal shapes, are preserved nearly undisturbed. In relation to materials and substance, both the premises and graves, as well as particularly the tombstones, which are characteristic for the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, are preserved. Its original function has also remained legible and can be experienced and can be experienced unchanged. Therefore the requirements in regard to use and function are also met. This also applies to the requirements of location and setting.

#### **3.c.5 *Requirements for Protection and Management***

The site submitted for nomination is fully protected by the Heritage Protection Act of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg. The immediate surroundings of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona are also subject to protection, to the extent that they are of formative significance to its appearance or existence, according to Section 8 of the Hamburg Heritage Protection Act. Section 7, paragraph 8 of this law establishes the need to take into account the obligation for the preservation of cultural heritage according to the “Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage”, from 16 November 1972, (German Federal Law Gazette -BGBl. 1977 II p. 215).

In order to ensure the long-term preservation of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona and to provide a broad basis for its sustainable development, a Management Plan was developed. The Management Plan contains the following main objectives, which have been approved by the Senate of Hamburg: preservation and conservation of the cemetery grounds, the graves and the original tombstones; continuity in the maintenance and preservation of the cemetery grounds and the gravestones; safeguarding of Jewish traditions; and dissemination of the values connected to the site.



## **4 State of Conservation and factors affecting the Property**

### **4.a Present state of conservation**

#### **4.a.1 *Conservation Status of the Cemetery overall***

By the 18th century at the latest, the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona was protected from trespassers and damage by a wooden wall and later in sections also by a stone wall. The cemetery was also not accessible to the public after its closure in 1869. After the closure, the Altona Beautification Association provided maintenance for the cemetery under the guidance of the chief rabbi for a certain period of time, so that the cemetery, its graves and tombstones remained in astonishingly good condition up until the early 20th century. Between 1930 and 1950, the cemetery was neglected and sadly suffered damages during the Nazi period and during the Second World War, even if fortunately to a limited extent. Damages were thus primarily found in the Ashkenazi part and its Hamburg section (see History 2b).

During the 1950s, the cemetery grounds were then protected again by an enclosure, received renewed maintenance, and was ultimately listed as a protected monument in 1960. The cemetery's present condition, including its enclosure and vegetation, is quite good.

The central element in the assessment of the cemetery's conservation status are, however, of course the graves and tombstones. Their condition is discussed thoroughly in this chapter. As the cemetery's outstanding universal value rests on its Portuguese-Sephardic part, the following statements deal primarily with the Portuguese-Sephardic burial grounds, but the Ashkenazi burial site of course shall not go unmentioned.

#### **4.a.2 *Structural Enclosure***

The enclosure erected in 1958-1960 has been continuously maintained and shows no signs of damage. The maintenance of the cemetery's security and the protection of its essential elements is also ensured for the future.

#### **4.a.3 *Buildings***

The visitor centre (Duckesz House), the only building within the enclosure of the cemetery grounds, although located on an area which never belonged to the cemetery, was built recently and shows no signs of damage. Continuous maintenance is ensured long-term by the Hamburg Foundation for the Preservation of Monuments.

#### **4.a.4 *Green Spaces***

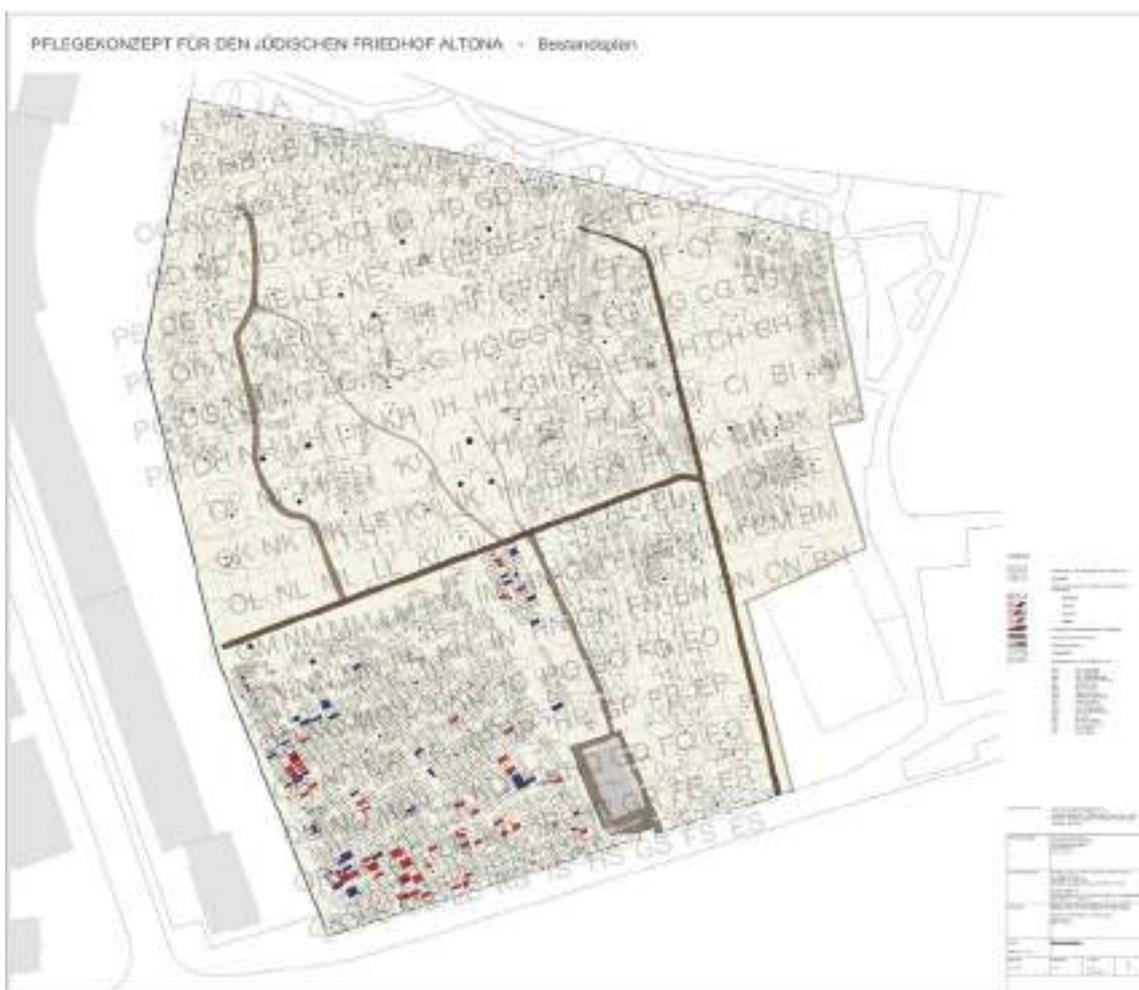
It is assumed that the cemetery or the cemetery's two burial sites did not exhibit any landscaping of green spaces to speak of during their active use, because according to rabbinical dictum "everything that belongs to the dead was not meant for the enjoyment of the living." Fruit-bearing trees and flowers were therefore not permitted in Jewish cemeteries. Damage to the graves by tree roots also had to be avoided.

It was not until after the cemetery's closure in the late 19th century that the Altona Beautification Association planted ornamental shrubs and trees on the cemetery grounds.

However, at the behest of the Chief Rabbi, these were not allowed to develop deep roots which could touch the graves. It is probably within this context that trees were planted along the northern boundary and some metres west of the eastern boundary of the Sephardic cemetery area.

During the course of the Second World War, all the planting in both cemetery areas was lost. In 1958-60, a row of hornbeams was planted along the boundaries as a hedge. These mostly still in good condition today, but over the decades were not cut as a hedge, but allowed to grow as trees. The cemetery area is otherwise mainly covered by trees today, which after the clear-cutting in the Second World War, either sprouted again from the stocks that had been cut or grew wild.

A systematic planting did not take place after the war – except for the overgrown hornbeam hedge and possibly the birches. The maintenance of the cemetery's green areas is therefore primarily limited to containment of damage to the graves and tombstones from the existing vegetation.



**Fig.245: Current plan of the inventory of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona**

The constant horticultural maintenance of the cemetery since the war – grass mowing, removal of leaves and branches, wood management etc. – is the reason for the good condition of the green areas today and their positive appearance. The ongoing maintenance care is carried out by the administration of Hamburg Cemeteries Public Agency with financial

support from the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, and is therefore ensured in the long term.

The trees, which have grown in the last 50 years, are also in very good condition; they have been regularly inspected and carefully thinned in recent times.

The paths on the Ashkenazi part and between the two cemetery areas, which still existed around 1900 and can be seen in historical photographs, made clearly visible on the grounds due to the sanded surface and with the regular definition of their edges, have widely disappeared. In recent times, some of these paths have been reconstructed to provide better access to the graves.

#### **4.a.5** *Preservation Status of the Tombstones*

The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona is a kind of lapidarium, in which thousands of gravestones have accumulated over a long period of time. It is notable that the state of conservation is not directly connected to the age of the stones, because the oldest stones are by no means the objects most damaged by the elements. The type of stone material is the crucial factor. During the assessment of the conservation status, it is therefore advisable to differentiate the stones according to the various kinds of rock. Several studies have already been commissioned on this subject. Furthermore, an exchange of experiences has been arranged with other Jewish cemeteries.

The cemetery's specific stone inventory and its changes over the course of time can be recorded by petrographic mapping and its evaluation of a sufficiently large number of tombstones:

- **Gravestones made of Obernkirchen Sandstone**  
A sedimentary rock with homogeneous, siliceous structure which can vary from coarse silt to fine sand; the characterisation of the rock was carried out by a visual inspection, as scientific petrographic examination of the individual tomb slabs is currently not available. That is why all pebble bound sandstones are therefore denoted as "Obernkirchen Sandstone".
- **Gravestones made of Elbe Sandstone**  
A sedimentary rock with a finely granulated structure of light yellow colouration with brownish seams; moderately silica cemented with a high percentage of clay, thus prone to swelling from moisture.
- **Gravestones made of Limestone**  
A sedimentary rock of light grey to dark grey colouration and very high density from mostly no longer identifiable organogenic structures.
- *Gravestones made of Carrara Marble*  
A metamorphic rock (calcite marble) of white to middle grey colouration and fine to medium grain.
- *Gravestone made of "Schwarz-Schwedisch" (aka "Black Ebony") diabase granite*

An igneous rock with small to medium grain structure and greenish to black colouration; black pyroxene.

There are therefore five types of stone material used in the cemetery. The conservation status condition of the Sephardic tomb slabs shall be described below according to the type of stone material.

#### 4.a.5.a Obernkirchen Sandstone

The Sephardic burial site, on which the nomination is based, contains 1,461 tombstones made of Obernkirchen Sandstone. They are noticeably well preserved overall and show only slight traces of weathering. The reason is the rock's high solidity, which can be traced to the siliceous structure of the binding agent. The mineral content and level of silica of the rock are excellent, which guarantees high weather resistance. The tombstones are coated with a dark to black patina, which penetrates into the rock only a fraction of a millimetre into the surface, although the rock substance has not been adversely affected in any way. However, this patina is not evenly distributed over the sandstone surfaces.

It should be noted that the black colouration of their surfaces is a naturally "grown" patina, which must not be, under any circumstances, removed or damaged during the any cleaning process. It forms a natural protective covering over the rock.

The grave inscriptions and decoration are, for the most part, sharply etched and clearly legible, which gives the impression that they were carved into the stone only a few years ago. Considering that the tomb slabs are especially endangered due to the constant soil moisture as well as the rainwater and changes in humidity, the outstanding preservation of the tombstones demonstrates the excellent weather resistance of this type of rock. The tomb slabs, which had been covered with soil and exposed in recent years, are likewise in very good condition. The sandstone here is in an optimal condition, without visible signs of weathering or formation of patina.

Although the tomb slabs made of Obernkirchen sandstone at present barely exhibit any signs of weathering, a small number of them show mechanical damage dating back to the Second World War. Some of the tomb slabs are broken in many places, and a few have lost fragments, so that they are no longer complete. In some cases, the inscription tablets, which were originally mounted on sandstone bases, can no longer be seen; they were possibly buried in the soil or stolen. The grave foundations, where they were present, are not always still fully intact today, in the case of some individual graves, the tomb slabs that were originally laid have been moved or are hidden in the earth. A few tombstones with small missing pieces and the resulting cracks are also testimony to the bombings during the Second World War. Approximately at the centre of the Sephardic area, the slabs of sandstone and limestone are covered with a layer of moss and lichens. However, the surfaces of the sandstone underneath are in excellent condition.

#### *Summary*

Condition of the gravestones made of Obernkirchen Sandstone: Up to now, there is little to no visible damage through weathering on the gravestones of this variety, which account for approximately  $\frac{4}{5}$  of the entire inventory.

Damages: The small amount of existing damage is of mechanical origin. Most can be traced back to bomb hits from the time of the Second World War. Minor damage has arisen from falling branches or from the felling of trees.

#### 4.a.5.b Elbe Sandstone

According to latest research, approximately 20 tomb slabs in the Sephardic burial ground are made from Elbe sandstone, and another 70 slabs are made from Posta sandstone. In two slabs, Cotta sandstone has been identified as the raw material.

Like the slabs made of Obernkirchen sandstone, the surfaces of the Elbe sandstone slabs are in very good condition, with the exception of the two that were carved from Cotta sandstone, which exhibit substantial traces of weathering. The majority of the Elbe Sandstone tomb slabs have a deep black patina, while the Cotta sandstone slabs have taken on a more or less grey colouration after being cleaned.

The Elbe Sandstone display a very good weather resistance, as the reliefs and especially the sharpness in the graduation of the raised characters are predominantly in flawless condition. However, here too some damage has occurred through the effects of war, including fractures and in two cases, slabs broken apart.

#### *Summary*

Condition of the tomb slabs made from Elbe Sandstone: The tomb slabs made from Elbe sandstone slabs, like those of Obernkirchner sandstone, also in good condition, aside from war damage, and some of them are in very good condition. They show little to no traces of weathering.

Damages: The little existing damage was caused by the effects of the Second World War, from bomb fragments in particular. Slight damage was caused later from falling branches or from the felling of trees.

#### 4.a.5.c Condition of the two Cotta Sandstone Slabs

The comparatively swift weathering of Cotta sandstone is well known and is based essentially on its natural cement, which is siliceous, although with substantial proportions of clay, ferrite as well as kaolinite and sericite. It has only a moderate percentage of silica, in contrast to other sandstone types. The local concentration of the clay-ferrite proportion in phacoid layers is responsible for the visual signs of weathering on the two slabs.

The present weathering situation is as follows: The front and reverse side of the gravestones appear as if larvae have eaten them away. There are small, relief-like eroded "drill channels" from very irregular progressions formed all over the surface of the stone. The surfaces still protruding between the channels are extensively worn down. Furthermore, flaking in thin stone layers and likewise, a wearing down of the underlying stone substance can be identified. Moisture (soil moisture, air humidity / rainwater) penetrating the rock substance is dissipated through wind and sun on the edges of the tombstones more quickly than in the central areas of the gravestone. This is the reason for the better condition of the stones at their edges. In the final stages of weathering, only the frame of the tombstone remains. This is referred to as a frame weathering.

The rock surfaces of both slabs have a black patina with varying degrees of gypsum-based crusting. Microorganisms have settled on the crusting and the black patina.

In line with frame weathering of Elbe sandstone, the inscriptions at the edges are intact and legible. In the centre, however, the sandstone is corroded up to 2.5 centimetres, so that the inscriptions in this area are destroyed.

*Summary:*

The specific manner in which Cotta sandstones weathers cannot be stopped, whether now or in the future. However, this concerns only two slabs found in the Sephardic cemetery.

Several important stones in the Ashkenazi part, on the other hand, are made of Cotta Sandstone and are badly affected by this kind of weathering. Particularly badly damaged tombstones have therefore been replaced with new steles already 90 years ago. The grave of Fromet Mendelssohn, for example, underwent its second major reconstruction a few years ago.

#### 4.a.5.d Limestone

62 tombstones in the Sephardic part of the cemetery have been made from limestone. Gravestones near the centre of the burial grounds are covered by a thick layer of moss and are partially below ground level. Presently they can only be identified by consultation of the map.

Within this group of limestone tombstones, a distinction must be made between those made from light grey stone and those made from dark to black stone. The light grey tomb slabs show more advanced weathering than those made of. Some of the inscriptions deeply cut into the tablets made of shell limestone are difficult to make out due to erosion. While shell limestone consists primarily of calcite and is mainly fine crystalline, the coarse structure of the fossil remains contained in it stands out in particular. Mineral deposits have formed on them, and the pronounced layers of shell fragments are not only granular crystalline but also porous. The porous shell layers eroded over time, and holes up to a size and depth of 2 centimetres have formed in the rock. The roughness of the surfaces and the hole formation present areas vulnerable to aggressive substances or pollutants (organic growth; condensation; mould). Individual limestone tombstones are karstified on their surfaces to such an extent, that their decorations and their inscriptions are badly eroded.

In addition to the light limestone, dark and black varieties of limestone are also present. Their pseudonym "Belgian Granite" refers to their original colouring and their mainly fine crystalline structure, which can sometimes be polished (cf. polished dark hard rock/granite). This limestone variety is likewise very susceptible to weathering outdoors, even if not as strongly as light grey limestone. Particularly noticeable is the large amount of breakage in this group. Often, slabs are broken into three or four pieces, with visible vegetation growth on their edges. The tombstone surfaces are bleached from the sun and now display a mouse-grey colouring.

Loosening of the structure, which is seen in the form of crack formations of different sizes, is particularly noticeable in the dark limestone varieties. Here, too, the surfaces are strongly eroded in places. However, the inscriptions can be deciphered through the use of UV lights.

### *Summary*

Condition of the Limestone Graves: Like the marble slabs, the limestone slabs also are subjected to physical, chemical and biochemical decay. However in some cases the damage from individual weathering processes is more prominently displayed.

Physical decay: Erosion of marble surfaces with roughness, softening of the rock material, crack formations at both micro and macro levels.

Chemical decay: Chemical decay has occurred especially in very recent times due to large amounts of aggressive, acidic substances in the environment (industrial- and traffic emissions). This leads to a dissolution of the shell limestone surface, which primarily consists of calcite. The porous shell layers also have eroded over time, forming holes up to a size and depth of 2 centimetres in the rock.

Biochemical decay: The roughness of the surfaces and the formation of holes present opportunities for aggressive substances or contaminants (organic growth; humus formation), so that increasing amounts of algae, moss, lichens, moulds, fungi and other microorganisms can settle on the rough faces of the horizontal tomb slabs.

The partial structural dissolution found on some of the slabs today is doubtless a result of years of exposure of the limestones to the elements, with frequent changes in humidity and temperature as well as the thermal overload on the rock's fabric. The encrustation of gypsum deposits in the surface rock molecules, however, also imply an anthropogenically induced acceleration of corrosion.

Damages: War damage in the form of fractures, cracks and missing pieces; damages to corners and edges; breakage caused by fallen branches.

#### 4.a.5.e Carrara Marble

52 tombstones in the Sephardic part of the cemetery are made from Carrara Marble. While some stones are well preserved, others have lost much of their plasticity, their opulently engraved ornamentations and their inscriptions. The inscriptions here, for example, are difficult to decipher. The corrosion is predominantly due to natural causes (weathering). A substantial amount of the damages, however, are man-made, for example from the air raids from 1943 to 1945. This is demonstrated by missing pieces and fractures of individual gravestones. The continuous vibration from ongoing regional rail traffic also leads to breakage and cracks in the Carrara Marble, as some of the slabs lie over cavities in the earth. Furthermore, sufficient attention was not paid to the marble's particular sensitivity, for instance in garden work (felling of trees, mowing grass etc.) during wartime. The loss of material and the erosion of the marble has increased in the last decades, according to eyewitnesses. This is also shown by photographic records.

There are clear differences in the impact of erosion, depending on the surface reliefs of the gravestones. The fine modelling of the floral bands, text fields and sculptural ornamentation is sometimes dulled by the formation of encrusted dirt. This may be caused by prolonged standing water and the accumulation of dust, dirt and sand particles, as well as from foliage and dead organic material. The effect of standing water in particular, which occurs in the gravestones' heavily sculptured areas due to the lack of drainage possibilities, encourages microbial growth seen in the form of brown and green algae, lichens, and moss. Many of these areas are completely discoloured. In places, the marble surfaces have black spots,

dark shades and a green colouration. In contrast, gravestones with less ornamentation show significantly lower levels of erosion, which is seen in the relatively well preserved condition of the inscriptions.

Microscopic examinations have revealed that all grain boundaries are clearly opened, which leads to a network of intergranular fractures. The beginnings of this can already be seen here. The softening of the marble is due to the unusual thermal properties of the calcite crystals. This corresponds to a purely physical decay. The resulting fractures or gaps in the rock in turn provide new ways for dissolution through corrosion. The chemical and biochemical corrosion is clear through the filament-like growth of organisms along the opened grain boundaries and cleavage. Pitted and grooved spots also testify to advanced chemical decay following physical softening. The structural loosening found in the marble stone tablets and tent-shaped tombstones is abetted by the combination of thermal stresses with changes in humidity. The marble tombstones now absorb rainwater and moisture rising from the earth (enriched with mineral salts). Water cannot run off due to their horizontal position and deeply sculpted figures, and this leads not only to “puddling” on the gravestone, but also to condensation on the inside of the marble structure. In the winter months, when the temperatures lie below the freezing point, the water in the capillary pores freezes and expands above approximately one tenth of its original volume. This pressure development leads to new crack formations, and to the further enlargement of existing ones.

### *Summary*

Condition of the Marble Gravestones:

Physical decay: Erosion of marble surfaces with roughness, softening of the rock material, crack formations at both micro and macro level

Chemical decay: The chemical decay occurred particularly during the industrial age (heavy soot in the atmosphere through coal burning). This is called carbonation, and leads to the transformation of calcite in the rock structure and subsequently to its erosion. As the original calcite existed as a mineral or a cement in the rock, its loss leads quickly to damage or to the softening of the marble fabric.

Biochemical (biological) decay: Increasing amounts of algae, moss, lichens, fungi, bacteria and other microorganisms are deposited on the severely roughened marble surfaces of the horizontal tomb slabs. These deposits have more or less discoloured the marble surfaces (black, brown and green colourations). The reliefs are partially no longer visible, as the deeper carvings are filled with dirt (soil, leaves) and microorganisms. Most of the marble tomb slabs lie in the earth, so that only their projection surfaces are visible. Even these are still partially underground and overgrown with grass on their narrow sides. Earth and vegetation have begun to cover the front panels of the tomb slabs lying on a slant.

Damages: War damage in the form of fractures, cracks and missing pieces; damages to corners and edges; breakage caused by fallen branches.

#### 4.a.5.f Diabase Granite (“Schwarz-Schwedisch”, or “Black Ebony”)

The Sephardic cemetery grounds contains one gravestone made from this basalt rock variety (called “Schwarz-Schwedisch” or “Black Ebony” / extracted in Sweden). This gravestone lies directly on the ground and has several fractures in the upper area. All fragments are present.

Except for this mechanical damage and minimal dirt on the surface, no traces of damage can be found.

The inscription is cut in raised letters. Its surface and the frame of the slab are polished. The recessed surface has been textured. There are sporadic microorganisms that have settled here. Polish and textured surfaces are without any noticeable weathering damage. The sandstone base on which the slab was mounted has not yet been found.

#### *Summary*

Hard rock such as diabase granite, from which this slab was made, shows no damage from weathering. The fractures in the rock are of mechanical origin and presumably man-made. Referring to damaging substances, such as air pollution, etc.

#### 4.a.5.g Conclusion on the Preservation Status of the Tombstones:

We can conclude that, of the approximately 1,660 Portuguese-Sephardic tomb slabs, about 85% are in very good condition and show no serious damage from weathering. The condition of the remaining 15% varies greatly. Alongside very well preserved stones are some with clear traces of weathering. Some of the stones are broken or show damage that resulted from vandalism especially in the 1930s and 40s, effects of war, fallen branches or similar events. In all, however, the number of severely weathered Portuguese-Sephardic gravestones is very small.

Comparative detailed examinations of weathering conditions are still being conducted for the Ashkenazi part; however, generally it can already be said that the approximately 6,500 surviving Ashkenazi gravestones also do not display any damage, which threaten the cemetery's authenticity.

## **4.b Factors affecting the property**

### **4.b.1 Development Pressures**

There is no cause for concern regarding any impact on the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona due to development.

According to the Jewish faith, and the Jewish laws which rest upon it, Jewish cemeteries are intended for eternity. All graves must therefore be identified with gravestones and must remain for eternity. Because the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona is owned by the Jewish community, it may be safely assumed that no impacts on the integrity and authenticity of the cemetery, its graves or gravestones may arise from disuse, building development, etc.

Moreover, there are legal protection instruments for planning and monuments, which protect the cemetery from impacts due to development:

In the publication of the valid version of the Zoning and Land-Use plan dated 22 October 1997, Official Hamburg Gazette (HmbGVBl.), p. 485, the nominated site and its buffer zone is portrayed as a "green area". In terms of planning law, the nominated site is therefore protected from building development and/or change of use. Furthermore, the cemetery has

been listed as a protected monument in Hamburg since 1960 under the Hamburg Heritage Protection Act.

This also applies to impacts from development in the area surrounding the cemetery. Due to the legally determined protection of the surrounding area, it is ensured that construction projects cannot be implemented in the immediate surroundings if they would have a negative effect on the cemetery or if the project would adversely affect the appearance of the site.

#### **4.b.2 *Environmental pressures***

The cemetery is an open green space and continuously exposed to the elements. This has various impacts on the ensemble.

The weathering of the gravestones through environmental influences thus presents a problem, which must be addressed met with appropriate restoration measures. Earth science defines weathering as all processes which lead to the decay of rock materials. Thereby, a distinction is made between physical (mechanical) and chemical decay. Physical decay includes all events which through mechanical and/or physical processes contribute to the decay of the rock surfaces. Processes of this kind are most often caused by abiotic factors such as wind, water, ice and changes in temperature, less often through plants or animals.

Chemical decay is caused by chemical reactions which lead to mineral deposits, and finally to the dissolution of the solid rock. It plays an increasingly important role, due to aggressive substances such as acids and lyes found in the environment, especially in recent decades.

##### **4.b.2.a *Physical Decay***

Physical decay includes almost all kinds of decay by which rock on or near the surface is broken down into parts, ranging from fragments to sand or silt, through mechanical processes. This can occur through internal processes, for example from frost wedging or swelling from the absorption of water molecules, but also from external impacts such as from rubbing and grinding effects of wind, ice, or flowing water, and the solid substances carried along with them. External physical decay is normally defined as erosion; this plays no role in the weathering of the gravestones, as the cemetery lies in a very protected spot.

Internal weathering, however, presents a potential danger to the gravestones. Weathering from frost and hydration are of special importance here. Both types of weathering result from an increase in volume: through the formation of large ice crystals in small cracks and openings from frost (frost weathering), or through the absorption of water molecules in the rock's crystal lattice (hydration). Both lead to expansion and in turn to partial destruction of the original mineral bond. This will gradually break up a larger stone into smaller parts.

The extent of hydration and frost weathering depends on the type of rock, humidity and temperature. All of the gravestones are basically at risk from these types of weathering, because they have already been exposed to the elements for several centuries. The gravestones made of marble and softer sandstone are especially affected by this type of weathering, because they have irregular surfaces with open pores and are not as hard as limestones.

Nevertheless, the impact of physical decay on the gravestones is assessed by experts (restoration specialists) as altogether minimal. This is because, in spite of longer frost periods, the temperature changes are not so extreme that they reach a difference of over 40 degrees. This in turn is a positive effect of the relatively many trees, which cover large areas of the cemetery and protect the stones from overexposure to sunlight and heat in the summer. They will be even more effective in the future through appropriate measures taken regarding the woodland vegetation.

#### 4.b.2.b Chemical Decay

Until well into the 18th century, physical decay was the greatest danger to processed natural stone; today it is chemical decay. It also presents the greatest danger to the gravestones in the Jewish cemetery in Altona. A concentrations of harmful and reactive substances has risen many times over in the last 200 years. Particularly acidic substances have increased significantly, a consequence of general air pollution. These substances, which settle on the stones primarily through rain and wind, react with the minerals of the rock and form new mineral compounds, dissolving the original cement. This destroys the surfaces over time. Through the processes of physical decay the dissolved substances are carried off, which leads to a continual erosion.

Although chemical decay attacks first and foremost the surface of the stones (in contrast to frost weathering, which can lead to the breakage of whole stones), it is significantly more dangerous for them as the importance of the stones lies above all in the inscriptions and ornaments cut into the surface. Even if pollution from air pollutants and acid has been significantly reduced in Germany by way of general environmental measures in recent years, chemical decay still remains the greatest danger to the gravestones. Effective concepts and measures must therefore be developed for reducing the effects of chemical decay.

Before a concept for conservation and restoration measures is developed, the exact reactions and weathering processes must first be examined. For this purpose, a test was made already a few years ago, erecting stones of different materials, by means of which both the level of weathering over a long period of time as well as the exact kind of surface changes could be analysed, without damaging historical stones through examination. On the basis of these results, a concept will be designed later for further conservation of the stones, possibly also using chemical methods (impregnation, deacidification, etc.). The results are recorded by continuous monitoring.

The first evaluation of existing data from measurements over the last 12 years has concluded that, within the observed time period, pollution made no impact to speak of on the weathering of the cemetery's gravestone inventory.

Decreasing air pollution levels are presumably a significant reason for the stabilisation. This is a first sign of evidence that the recognisable weathering damage occurred in the past, and that the situation has recently stabilised. In addition, in the observed time period, the impacts of the weathering influences have considerably weakened, which among other things can be explained by the high number of trees present on the site This has a balancing effect on the weather extremes and stabilises humidity.

#### **4.b.3 *Natural disasters and risk preparedness***

The Hamburg area is threatened by storms and floods due to its location directly by the Elbe and its vicinity to the North Sea coast. Other natural catastrophes are not foreseeable.

Storms, which are recurring events in Hamburg, lead to repeated damage in green spaces and in cemeteries, predominantly from falling trees and branches. The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona has been spared such destruction up to now, as the relatively few trees in the cemetery are very young and, due to their vitality, are not yet threatened by storms. Consequently, no damage to the gravestones has occurred from trees broken by storms. In the future, however, it can be expected that the risk from storms will increase, because on one hand, the trees will age and therefore be more susceptible to breaking branches or uprooting. On the other hand, experts assume that climate change will increase the likelihood of extreme weather events, which likewise shall increase the danger of damage from breaking timber.

The great 1962 flood in Hamburg has shown that floodwaters from the Elbe do not reach the cemetery. The area lies nearly one kilometre from the banks of the river and it is already positioned above the edge of the geest (in Altona approximately 50 metres above sea level), so that even significantly rising sea levels and increasing storms present no danger of flooding.

#### **4.b.4 *Responsible visitation of World Heritage sites***

The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona is contained within an enclosure and therefore with no possibility of uncontrolled access. There is, however, a visitor centre already within the boundaries of the cemetery, which allows visitors to tour the site during opening hours, but also offers the possibility of regulating the stream of visitors so as to prevent impacts on the cemetery's integrity and authenticity. In the past years, the annual number of visitors to the cemetery was around 5,000, a number that lies far below its reception capacity. The potential expected increase in visitors was recognised in the management plan: Necessary measures and resources are monitored at regular intervals.

#### **4.b.5 *Number of inhabitants within the property and the buffer Zone***

Estimated population located within:

Area of nominated property:	0	inhabitants
Buffer zone:	0	inhabitants
Total:	0	inhabitants

Year: 2016

## 5 Protection and Management of the Property

The protection and administration plan for the listed ensemble submitted for nomination to the World Heritage List takes internationally valid recommendations and charters into account, as well as aspects cited in the “Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the Convention for the Protection of the Cultural and Natural Heritage World Heritage.” It is also based on the instruments of urban land-use planning laid down in State law and particularly on the Heritage Protection Act of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg.

The instruments and factors relevant in this context are listed as follows.

### 5.a Ownership

The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona (land parcels 301 and 302) is owned by the *Hamburg Jewish community KöR*. Today, only the small plots of land 300, 1468 and 1469, which formerly did not belong to the area of the Jewish cemetery, are the property of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg. The ownership is not expected to change in the future.

Object	Owner
<b>Jewish Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona</b>	
Land parcel 300, 1468 and 1469	Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg
Land parcel 301 and 302	Jewish community in Hamburg KöR, Grindelhof 30, 20146 Hamburg



Fig.246: Current map of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona with the numbered land parcels, Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Land Office Geoinformation and Survey, prepared on: 9 August 2016

## 5.b Protective designation

The Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, the ensemble submitted for nomination as a World Heritage site, is fully protected by the Hamburg Heritage Protection Act (updated on 5 April 2013). Under the name “Königstraße Jewish Cemetery”, the ensemble was put on the list of protected monuments in 1960, with the following justification: “The Königstraße Jewish Cemetery ensemble is deemed a unique monument of large historical-cultural significance, and of significance for Jewish history, not only in Hamburg but all of North-West Germany. Its tombstones constitute significant testimonies to the local art of stone masonry in the 17th and 18th centuries.” The protected area includes the cemetery grounds with the areas and enclosures as well as all graves and gravestones.

Protection of the surrounding areas: the cemetery’s immediate surroundings are subject to protection, to the extent that they are of formative significance to its appearance or existence, according to Section 8 of Hamburg’s Heritage Protection Act (Denkmalschutzgesetz).

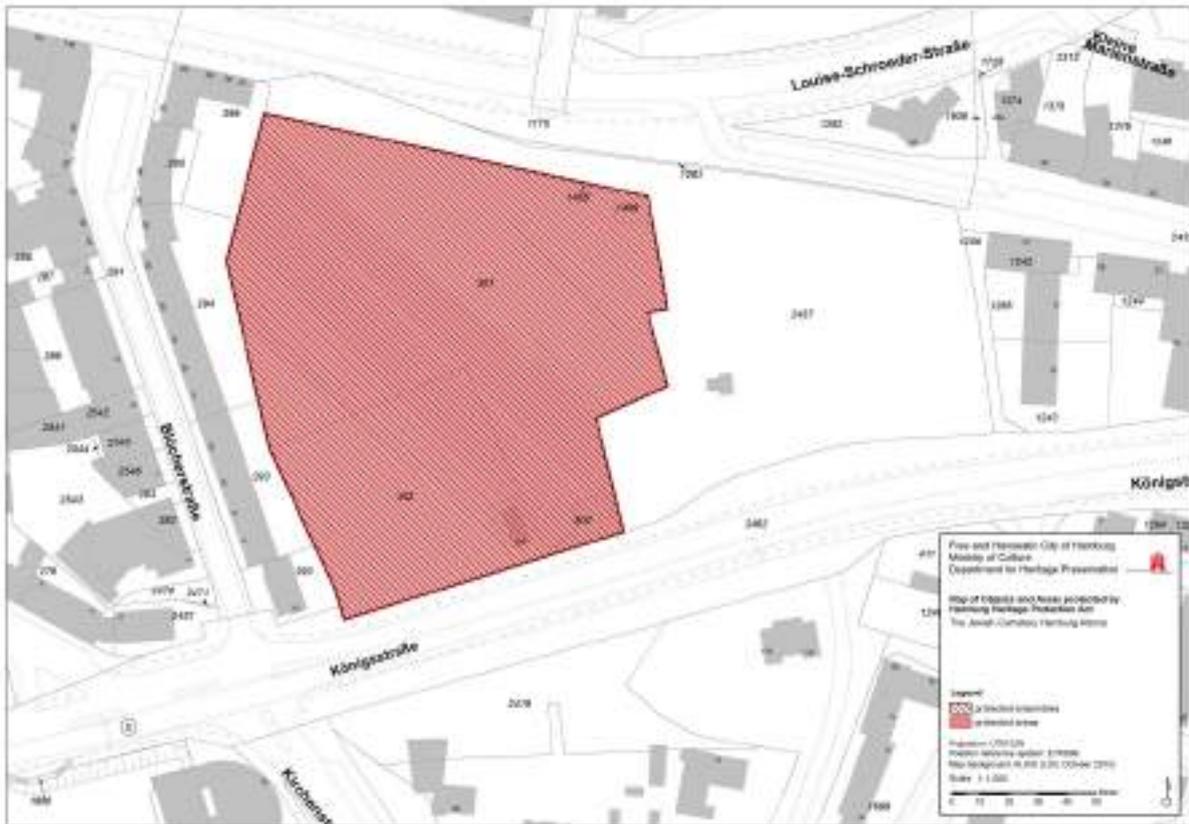


Fig.247: Heritage Protection Map of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona

### 5.c Means of implementing protective measures: Hamburg Heritage Protection Act

The Hamburg Heritage Protection Act forms the most important legal planning basis for protection of the nominated site. As cultural heritage protection is an element of the cultural sovereignty of the German Länder (Federal States), no higher-ranking laws exist at the federal level. The laws are legislated in the Länder, and therefore differ in some respects.

The Heritage Protection Act of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg (updated on 5 April 2013) serves to preserve historic buildings, ensembles, cultural landscapes, archaeological sites. It also serves to preserve movable monuments, whose protection has become indisputable (Section 4). The nominated site was inscribed in the list of protected monuments of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg in 1960, and is therefore accorded legal protection. The entire cemetery area with its grounds, enclosures, and all graves and gravestones as well as its surroundings, may not be wholly or partly eliminated, reconstituted, significantly improved, removed from its location or be otherwise altered without approval from the competent authority within the meaning of Section 9 of the Heritage Protection Act.

Pursuant to Article 1 of the World Heritage Convention, the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona falls into the category of Cultural Heritage. The Heritage Protection Act of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg accords a comprehensive protection to the ensemble in compliance with Section 4. The legislation of the Heritage Protection Act of the Free and

Hanseatic City of Hamburg therefore allows for unlimited protection to the nominated site through state legislation. This guarantees that the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg enshrined in Section 7, paragraph 8 of the Hamburg Heritage Protection Act, in relation to measures and plans, to take into account the obligation to preserve the Cultural Heritage according to the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of 16 November 1972, German Federal Law Gazette (BGBl.), 1977 II p. 215).

The Hamburg Ministry of Culture / Department for Heritage Preservation is the competent authority for the management of the list of monuments, for compliance with the provisions of the Heritage Protection Act, and for the approval process. The following obligations and procedures are intended in order to put the Heritage Protection Act into practice:

#### **5.c.1 *Section 7 Hamburg Heritage Protection Act: Authentic Preservation, Maintenance, Substitution***

► Compliant to paragraph 1, the authorised parties are obligated, after the monuments' inscription onto the list of protected monuments, to maintain them, to a reasonable degree, protect them from threats and keep them in good repair. Unreasonableness exists in particular if the costs of maintenance and management cannot be offset continuously by the income or practical value gained by the monument. If the authorised parties can claim contributions by public or private means or tax benefits, these are to be taken into account. The authorised parties cannot claim the burden caused by increased maintenance costs, if the conservation measures carried out went against the requirements of the Heritage Protection Act or other public law.

► Compliant to paragraph 2, the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg contributes to the costs of maintenance and repair of monuments according to the means budgeted for this.

► Compliant to paragraph 3, the authorised parties' interests in the monument, especially concerning the interests of people with disabilities or mobility issues, shall be taken into consideration with all decisions based on Heritage Protection Act.

► Compliant to paragraph 4, the authorised parties shall report to the competent authorities any apparent deficiencies which endanger the condition of the monument.

► Compliant to paragraph 5 of the Heritage Protection Act, the parties responsible for the damage are to bear all reasonable costs which are incurred in the maintenance and professional repair, rescue and scientific documentation of the monument, if it is damaged, removed from its location, or destroyed.

► Compliant to paragraph 6, the authorised parties can be obligated through the competent authorities to carry out particular measures for the monument's maintenance. If the authorised parties do not fulfil these obligations according to paragraph 1, the competent authorities can carry out the measures themselves or commission them to be carried out. The authorised parties shall bear the reasonable costs of the measures. Private or commercial tenants and other parties authorised for use shall tolerate the implementation of these measures.

► Compliant to paragraph 7, the Senate is authorised to issue detailed rules on the preservation of historic buildings, cultural landscapes and ensembles through legislation. The Senate is also authorised to enact statutory instruments through legislation, according to sentence 1 for regulations of construction plans, to delegate the cases to the district offices in which the local competent district assemblies have agreed to the construction plan drafts.

► Compliant to paragraph 8, the obligation for the preservation of the Cultural Heritage according to the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage from 16 November 1972, German Federal Law Gazette (BGBl.), 1977 II p. 215) shall be taken into account in respect of measures and plans (see above).

► Compliant to paragraph 9, statements and other measures for and against legal successors apply.

### **5.c.2 *Section 9 Hamburg Heritage Protection Act: Caveat on Approval for Alterations to Historical Monuments***

► Compliant to paragraph 1, monuments may not be wholly or partly removed, restored, significantly repaired, removed from their location or be otherwise changed without the approval of the competent authority. An approval is not required for moveable monuments to be taken to another location within the area of application of this law; the authorised parties are, however, obligated to report the location to the competent authority.

► Compliant to paragraph 2, the application for approval may only be denied if it is opposed by overriding reasons for the monument preservation. It shall be granted if prevailing public interest demands this. The Senate can make all decisions unilaterally. Should the Senate so decide, the deadline of Section 11 paragraph 1 is suspended during this period of time.

► Compliant to paragraph 3, the approval may be granted with incidental provisions if this is necessary for the protection of the monument or for documentation. In particular, an approval may be linked to the condition, that the execution be carried out only according to a plan approved by the responsible authorities pursuant to Section 10, according to an approved objective of monument preservation pursuant to Section 10 paragraph 2 sentence 2 number 3, or with the guidance of an expert specified by the responsible authority.

► Compliant to paragraph 4, the approval for a monument's disposal and the approval for a monument's removal from its location can be linked to the condition of its being erected in a suitable place and for a use corresponding to its character, at the expense of the authorised parties. It can also be demanded that reinstallation be on a property which does not belong to the parties responsible for the monument.

### **5.c.3 *Section 8 Hamburg Heritage Protection Act: Protection of the Surrounding Areas***

The immediate surrounding area of a monument, insofar as its appearance or existence is of formative significance, may not be altered through installation, alteration or removal of physical structures, through the development of undeveloped public or private areas, or in

any other way that significantly affects the character and the appearance of the monument, without approval of the competent authority.

**5.c.4 Section 3 Hamburg Heritage Protection Act: Heritage Council**

For the purpose the protection and preservation of historical monuments, the Heritage Council, which consists of 12 members, is assigned to the responsible authority as independent expert advisory board. It is comprised of expert representatives from the fields of heritage preservation, history and architecture, together with citizens and institutions of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg that are active in the area. It advises the competent authority and comments on issues of principle and topical questions relating to heritage protection and preservation.

The Heritage Council will in the future devote particular attention to the requirements of the nominated area. Its expertise shall be drawn on to address matters of the nominated site's inclusion in the development of the city as a whole, of forthcoming restoration projects in the nominated ensemble and of the new building projects in its buffer zone, as well as other matters connected with heritage preservation, in order to ensure consistently high quality when handling the essence and the public space.

**5.c.5 Coordination the Hamburg Heritage Protection Act with the World Heritage Convention**

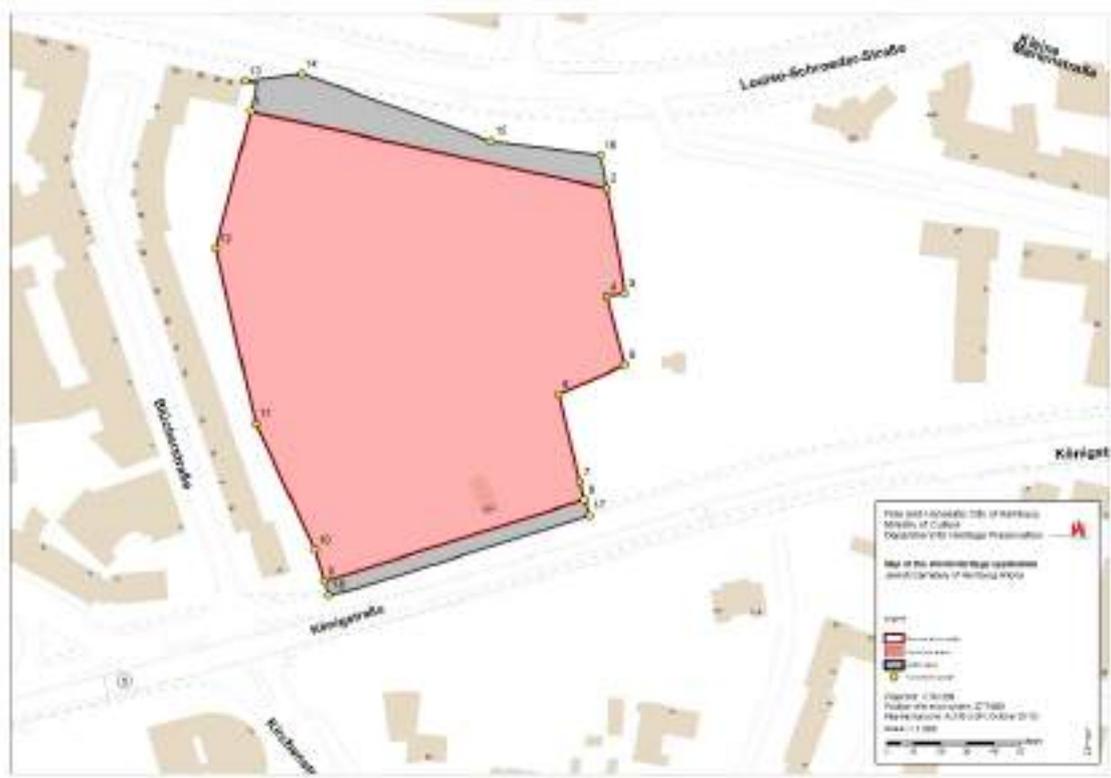


Fig.248 Nominated property (marked in red), buffer zone (grey)

To ensure as much compatibility as possible between the Hamburg Heritage Protection Act and the UNESCO Convention, the boundaries of the nominated property corresponds completely with that of the area already legally covered by the Hamburg Heritage Protection Act. This shall ensure as much correlation between existing fundamental state laws and the objections named above.

As called for in the Operational Guidelines, Sections 103 and 104, a buffer zone was designated for the nominated ensemble, albeit only a very small one. Narrow strips of land north and south of the nominated site of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona have been designated as buffer zone. These are strips of land which were separated from the cemetery in the late 19th and early 20th century. By designating these strips of land as buffer zone, the cemetery's historic territory shall be protected. The current boundaries on the east and north of the site correspond to the historic boundaries of the cemetery.

As the cemetery, or rather the two former separate cemeteries, have always been bordered by building development or enclosures and therefore were mostly not visible, in terms of site preservation, protection of the visual integrity by an extended buffer zone is not necessary here, particularly as, in accordance with Hamburg's Heritage Protection Act, the surroundings of the registered ensemble Jewish Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona are subject to protection, and as such, any development is subject to approval by the Department for Heritage Preservation.

#### **5.c.6 *Written Adoption of the nominated property and the buffer zone***

As it is of great importance for the safeguarding of the nominated site that its boundaries (nominated site and buffer zone) be recognised by all parties involved in the planning and land-use processes in and around the nominated area, the nominated site and its buffer zone should be, in terms of the greatest possible transparency for all involved, be "adopted in compliance with Section 5 paragraph 4 of the German Construction Code. The nominated site and its buffer zone shall be recorded accordingly in the Zoning and Land-Use Plan.

#### **5.d Existing plans related to municipality and region in which the proposed property is located**

In accordance with the federal, tripartite organisation of Germany – Nation, Länder, Municipalities – the statutory planning is governed on three levels. In the City State of Hamburg, the Land (federal state) corresponds to the municipality so that the middle level of planning, the state planning, is omitted. Statutory planning for Hamburg therefore stipulates only two planning levels:

In the Regional Planning Act (Raumordnungsgesetz), the Federal Republic of Germany specifies, which higher interests are recognised directly by the federal government (national traffic planning etc.) and which interests must be regulated at the next planning level of the Länder, as well as the process flow. According to German planning laws, the nominated site belongs to the green areas and is subject to the Federal Nature Conservation Act. This obligates the Länder to establish landscape

programmes, in which green area planning issues are defined. Furthermore, the structural works in the area of the nominated site are subject to the German Construction Code. This law specifies that Zoning and Land-Use plans, as well as Local Development Plans must be prepared.

The Länder shall continue the spatial planning in their regional planning codes. In Hamburg, most specifications are implemented directly into Zoning and Land-Use Plans and Local Development Plans, without the state planning level. For green area planning there is, however, a landscape programme, from which the further legal planning specifications, for the green spaces in the Zoning and Land-Use Plans and Local Development Plans, are derived.

All further legal instruments, plans, and framework conditions which play an important role for the protection of the nominated site and its surroundings, shall be subsequently elucidated in detail.

The coordinated protection can be generally illustrated in as followed (diagram planning regulations):



Fig.249: Legislation and Planning Systems at National and State Level

### 5.d.1 *Legislation and Planning Systems at National and State Level*

Alongside the Heritage Protection Act (see 5.c), instruments for urban land-use planning as well as landscape planning play an important role for the protection and the sustainable development of the nominated site. The following national and state planning instruments of

urban land-use planning and landscape planning are especially relevant in the area of the nominated site:

#### 5.d.1.a Construction Code

The Construction Code of the Federal Republic of Germany (Baugesetzbuch), Version from 23 September 2004, last amended on 20 October 2015, forms the legal basis of the urban development planning, which controls the planning of urban development in Hamburg.

The provisions of the Construction Code therefore also play a decisive role in regulating urban building development in the nominated site and the buffer zone. At the same time, the Construction Code appoints the instruments for the protection of the future World Heritage site: the urban development planning, regulations on conservation and design, and further levels of action.

Significant for the nominated site are the zoning and land-use plans (preparatory urban development planning) and the local development plans (binding urban development planning). Unlike the area states, the city state Hamburg does not have a spatial plan. Here, the zoning and land-use plan has the direct function of the higher-ranking land use planning.

As the nominated site is a green area in terms of planning law, the provisions of the landscape programme, set up in accordance with the Hamburg Act on Nature and Landscape Conservation; apply to the urban land-use planning, which control the development of green areas and open spaces.

#### 5.d.1.b Federal Nature Conservation Act and Hamburg Act for the Implementation of the Federal Nature Conservation Act

A primary objective of the Federal Nature Conservation Act (BNatSchG, applicable in Hamburg) from 29 July 2009, last amended on 4 August 2016 and supplemented by the Hamburg Act for the Implementation of the Federal Nature Conservation Act (HmbBNatSchAG) from 11 May 2010, – most recent amendment taken in account: Section 18a inserted by law from 23 December 2011, Official Hamburg Gazette (HmbGVBl. 2012, p. 3), – is the “permanent protection of diversity, originality and beauty” (Section 1, paragraph 4) of nature and landscape, requiring in particular “the preservation of all green areas in the populated area” for its implementation. To implement the legislation’s objectives and to bring these to all levels of town planning, the law requires the setting up of a Landscape Programme which formulates specific and binding requirements for future planning. The preface states as follows: “The Landscape Programme is the [...] contribution regarding the planning of free space in urban development, and has [...] the task, [...] to ensure the preservation of green and open spaces. Corresponding to the provisions of the Nature Conservation Act, the Landscape Programme provides objectives and measures on how nature and landscapes should be protected, maintained and developed in populated and unpopulated areas.” (Hamburg Landscape Programme of 12 June 1997, reprint April 2013, Preface).

#### 5.d.1.c Hamburg Landscape Programme

The preface to the Hamburg Landscape Programme from 12 June 1997 (revised April 2013), states: “The Landscape Programme is the [...] contribution regarding the planning of free space in urban development, and has [...] the task, [...] to ensure the preservation of green and open spaces. Corresponding to the provisions of the Nature Conservation Act, the Landscape Programme provides objectives and measures on how nature and landscapes should be protected, maintained and developed in populated and unpopulated areas.”

In the Landscape Programme for the City of Hamburg, the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona is listed as “green area, limited usability - cemetery”, and as part of Altona’s green corridor. These green areas are of great importance, on one hand for the regenerative uses attached to them, and on the other it is especially the historical green areas which convey identity to the grounds. Altona’s Königstraße Cemetery is therefore particularly well protected in its current structure and substance by the designation in the Landscape Programme. The Explanatory Report states: “One of the most important green links found in the inner-city area is the Altona Green Corridor, which connects the Altona-North district over small parks, as well as the discontinued Norderreihe Cemetery, and the Königstraße Jewish Cemetery with the Elbe. The Green Corridor has been decimated by development in recent years. The heart of this green link must be secured long-term and augmented with small cross connections in the adjacent neighbourhoods.” (Landscape Programme Explanatory Report, p. 117).

Unlike in many area states, in Hamburg the Landscape Programme does not make provision for the development of plans for green areas. The provisions of the Landscape Programme are adopted in the zoning and land-use plans and local development plans.

#### 5.d.1.d Zoning and Land-Use Plan

In accordance with Section 1 Paragraph 3, and Section 5 et seqq., of the Federal Construction Code, the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg has produced a zoning and land-use plan for the entire city, including the nominated site and the buffer zone, as part of the urban land-use plan. The zoning and land-use plan determines the construction opportunities as well as the type of use for properties which arises from the intended urban development. It forms the basis of future urban planning and is binding on authorities and bodies responsible for public interests.

In the publication of the valid version of the zoning and land-use plan dated 22 October 1997, Official Hamburg Gazette (HmbGVBl.), p. 485), the nominated site and its buffer zone is portrayed as a “green area”. This classification is used for general public parks and for cemeteries which are no longer used for burials. In terms of planning law, the nominated site is therefore protected from building development and/or change of use.

##### *5.d.1.d.1 Local Development Plan*

The local development plan is prepared on the basis of the zoning and land-use plan and regulates the type and extent of constructional and other use of the ground or the properties. Apart from the type of development, the framework for other areas including public parks and cemeteries is also determined. Local development plans are prepared following a process in accordance with the Federal Construction Code (BauGB). This ensures that all interests are

taken into consideration at the planning stage. As the preparation of local development plans is often very lengthy, these are not yet available for all parts of the city.

So far, there is no Local Development Plan for the area of the nominated site. Therefore the provisions of the previous district development plans of 1953, whose determinations were carried over into the zoning and land-use plans, apply. In the district development plans, the nominated site is depicted as “area to be kept free of any building development”.

#### 5.d.1.e Hamburg Building Code (HBauO)

The Hamburg Building Code of 14 December 2005 (as last amended on 17 February 2016) contains general building regulations, regulates the building requirements of land and buildings and contains provisions on design and construction as well as building products and methods, walls, ceilings, roofs, escape routes and technical building equipment. It also stipulates the purposes for which buildings may be used. As the nominated site is a green area, the provisions of the Hamburg Building Code only apply to the visitor centre, the Duckesz House.

#### 5.d.1.f Informal Planning Criteria

##### *5.d.1.f.1 Maintenance and Development Concept of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona*

The basis of the continuous garden maintenance at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona is an environmental maintenance concept which the city of Hamburg commissioned in 2015. Based on a historic examination of the cemetery by Katrin Lesser (2009) that is already available, the green planning objectives and concrete measures for the long-term maintenance of the site have been formulated in a second stage and illustrated in plans and texts. The following points were particularly important:

- Design of a new route system suitable for the number of visitors expected;
- A detailed catalogue of measures for the maintenance of the existing shrubs, taking into account the latest knowledge regarding the conservation of gravestones;
- Instructions for lawn maintenance, whereby the special requirements of the conservation of masonry are also considered.

The maintenance concept consists of an explanatory text and various plans. The text section includes, amongst others, the catalogue of maintenance measures for the shrubs. Various plans depict the following contents:

1. Overview map in the scale of 1:500, featuring the paths and the development of the entrance area, as well as a possible location for a larger visitor centre if required after the inscription to the UNESCO World Heritage List;
2. Route plan in the scale of 1:200, featuring the future pathways and new locations for benches;
3. Plan for the tree maintenance in the scale of 1:200 (preservation of trees, clearing, planting, maintenance);

4. Plan for lawn maintenance in the scale of 1:200, featuring the lawn areas and written instruction on their maintenance.

## **5.e Property management plan or other management system**

In order to ensure the preservation and management of the World Heritage-nominated Jewish Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona, and to provide a broad foundation for its sustainable development, a management plan was prepared which is aimed at representatives of the authorities involved in the future World Heritage site's administration, its property ownership, tourism, and the public.

The goal of the management plan is to safeguard the outstanding universal value and ensure the authenticity and integrity of the nominated site, and to reconcile these requirements with a sustainable development of the nominated site. For this purpose, goals for protection and management were defined, areas of conflict and synergy identified, the need for action evaluated, and priority measures and projects determined.

The management plan is divided into the following three parts:

- ▶ Part I - Description
- ▶ Part II - Administration of the World Heritage Site – Coordination and Organisation
- ▶ Part III - The Future of the World Heritage Site

### **5.e.1 *Part I Management Plan: Description***

This section explains the site and its historical development, the nominated ensemble and the buffer zone, as well as its World Heritage characteristics (outstanding universal value, authenticity and integrity). On this basis, a discussion shall be held on the preservation and management goals as well as the legal instruments (see 5.b. - 5.d.) to safeguard and sustainably further develop these World Heritage characteristics.

With this in mind, the essential protection objectives are formulated within the following three pillars:

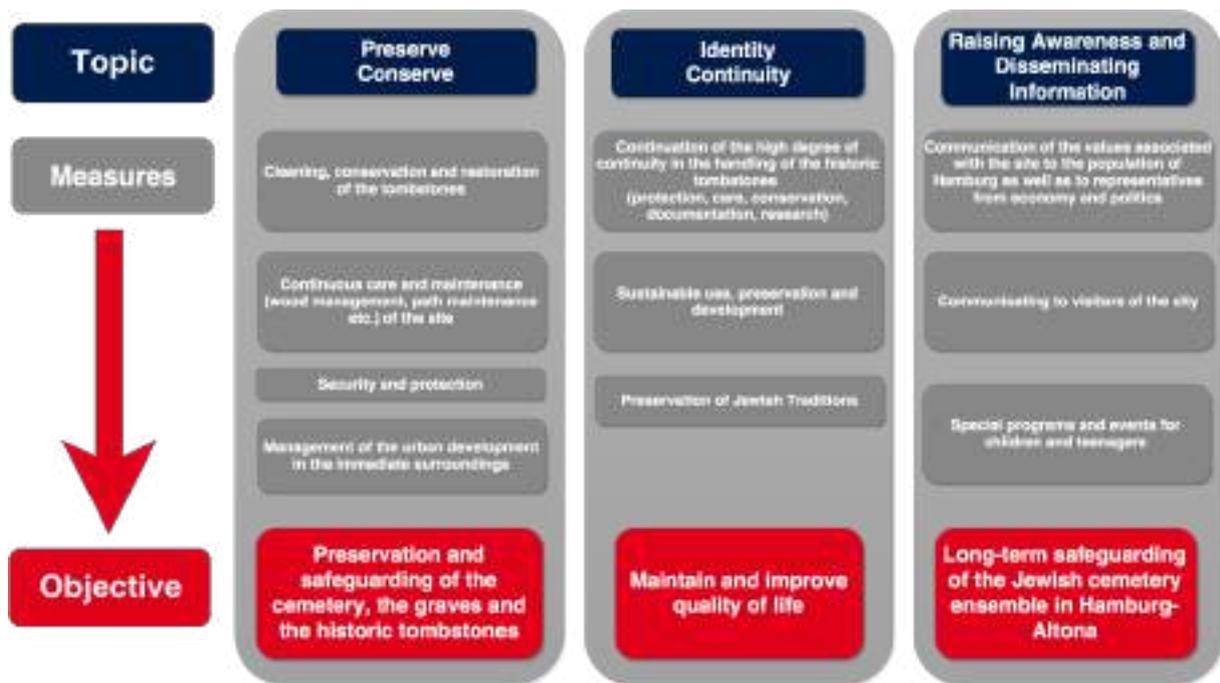


Fig.250: Three-pillar model of the protection objectives of the ensemble “Jewish Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona” submitted for nomination

Preservation and conservation:

Preservation and safeguarding of the cemetery site, the graves and the historic gravestones by:

- ▶ Cleaning, conservation and restoration of the gravestones.
- ▶ Continuous care and maintenance of the site (garden maintenance, path maintenance etc.).
- ▶ Safeguarding of the cemetery premises.
- ▶ Management of the urban development in the immediate surroundings of the nominated site.

Identity and continuity:

Preservation respective to higher quality of life for Hamburg’s inhabitants by safeguarding a unique and identity-creating testament to the city’s cultural development history by:

- ▶ Continuation of the high degree of continuity in the handling of the historic gravestones (protection, care, conservation, documentation, research).
- ▶ Sustainable use, preservation and development of the nominated site.
- ▶ Preservation of Jewish traditions.

Raising awareness and disseminating information:

Long-term and sustainable safeguarding of the Jewish cemetery ensemble in Hamburg-Altona by:

- ▶ Communicating the values associated with the nominated ensemble to the population of Hamburg as well as to representatives in business and politics.
- ▶ The relaying of the values connected with the nominated ensemble to visitors to the city.
- ▶ Special programs and events for children and teenagers.

### **5.e.2 *Part II Management Plan: Administration of the World Heritage Site - Coordination and Organisation***

An efficient and well-integrated management system is absolutely crucial to ensuring that the future UNESCO World Heritage site be preserved for the long term. In Part II of the Management Plan, the coordination and organisation of the required World Heritage management is therefore described in detail. It also lists the key players who will be involved in the management of the site.

#### **5.e.2.a *Coordination of Cultural Heritage Management***

The Department for Heritage Preservation as part of the Hamburg Ministry of Culture will be responsible for coordinating the management of the proposed World Heritage site. There is already a World Heritage coordinator in Hamburg, who is responsible for the coordination of the UNESCO World Heritage site “Speicherstadt and Kontorhaus District with Chilehaus”. Should the nomination of the ensemble “Jewish Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona” for inclusion in the World Heritage List be successful, the management of this site will also be carried out by the World Heritage Coordinator.

The aim of the World Heritage management in respect of the World Heritage, Coordinator’s role is to facilitate smooth communication with the regional authorities, property owners and other stakeholders listed below, and to liaise with national and international institutions so as to safeguard the quality of the future World Heritage site. In the event of overlapping interests, the World Heritage Coordinator will also play an important role in conflict management.

The scope of the World Heritage management explicitly covers not only the World Heritage area itself, but also its buffer zone. This is necessary to facilitate communication in this area as well, and enable the identification of any potential conflicts at an early stage, so that the required quality assurance of the World Heritage site can be effectively safeguarded.

#### **5.e.2.b *World Heritage Coordination and the Inter-Ministerial Steering Group***

The World Heritage Coordinator will work closely with those responsible in other ministries as well as with the property owners and other relevant stakeholders. For this purpose, it is proposed to set up an inter-ministerial steering group which will meet at regular intervals.

The World Heritage Coordinator will also facilitate close communication with the World Heritage Committee through its secretariat, the World Heritage Centre. Similarly, he or she will also liaise closely with the Advisory Bodies of the World Heritage Committee, in particular ICOMOS. If necessary, the World Heritage Coordinator will also brief bodies at national level, such as the Federal Foreign Office or the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder in the Federal Republic of Germany.

A further task of the World Heritage Coordinator will be to closely interlink the World Heritage Management with representatives of various local and regional interest groups, as well as the general public. In this context, the coordination and implementation of educational measures and tourist offerings in and around the proposed World Heritage site play an important role.

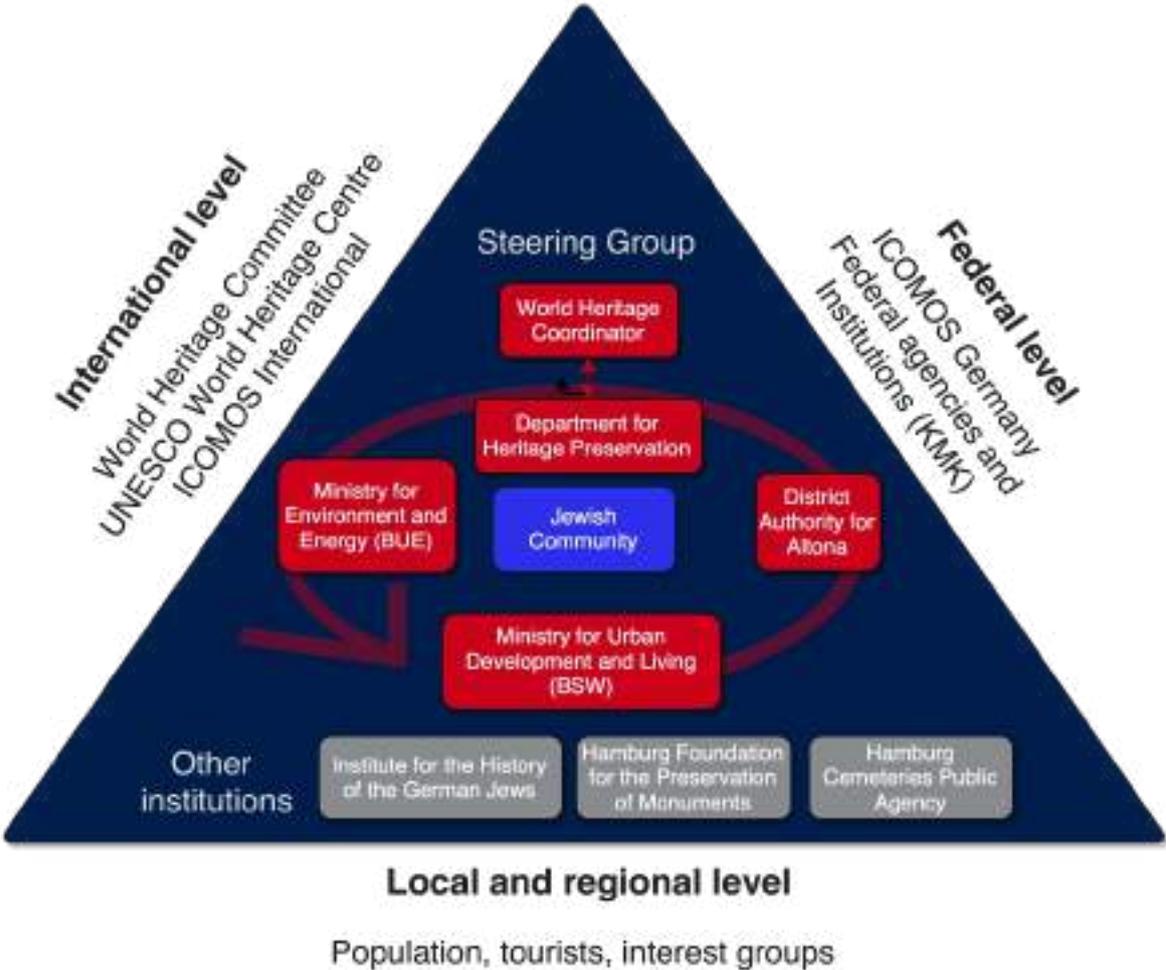


Fig.251: The Principle of World Heritage Management

5.e.2.c Stakeholders, Ministries, Authorities and Interest Groups

The tasks of protecting and managing the proposed World Heritage site overlap with the competences of the following ministries, property owners, institutions and interest groups:

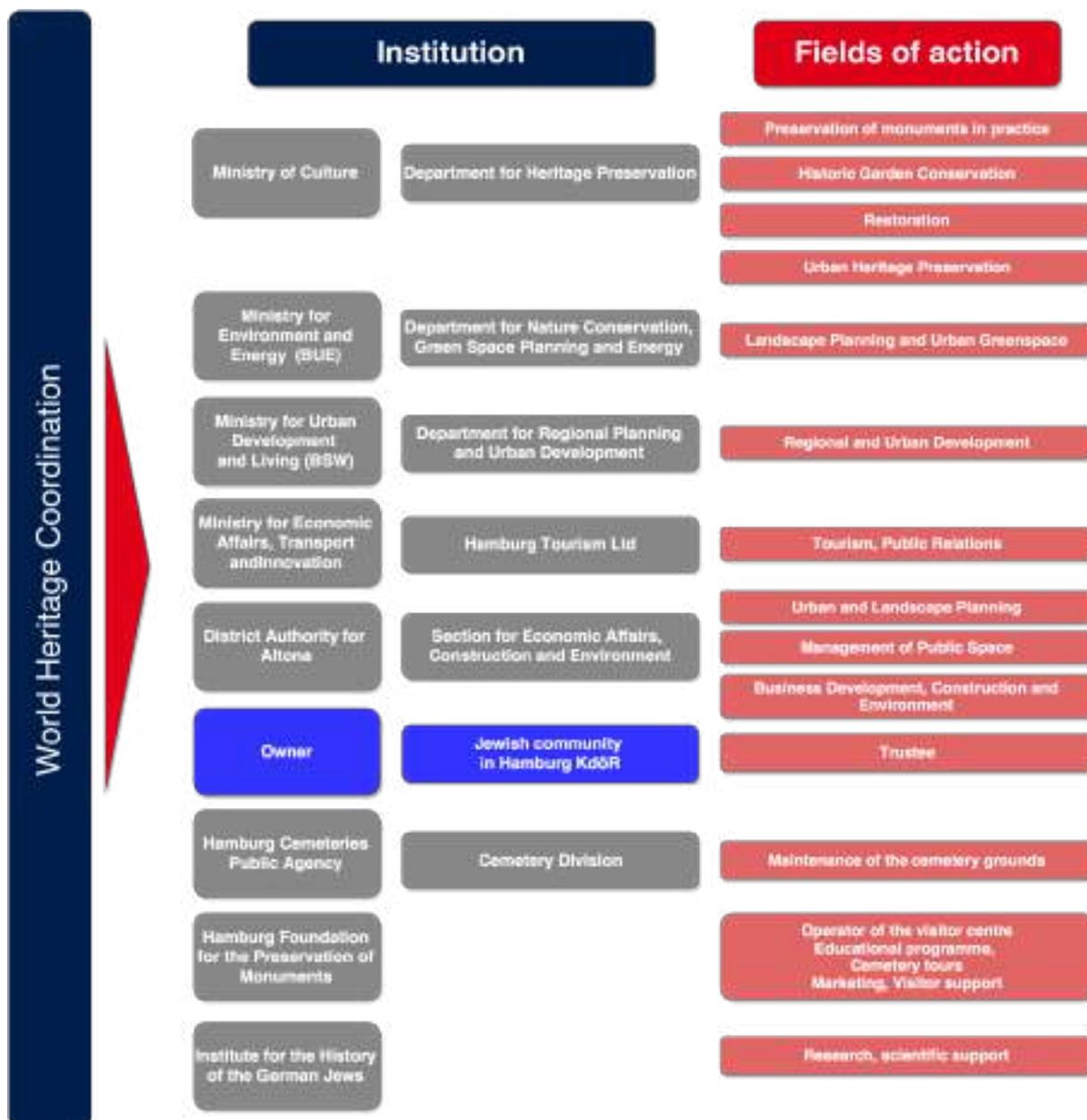


Fig.252: Those involved in World Heritage Management and their responsibilities

#### 5.e.2.d Monitoring and Quality Assurance

The World Heritage Coordinator will also be responsible for the regular monitoring and quality assurance in the prospective World Heritage site. These will include, in particular, the activities listed below:

##### 5.e.2.d.1 Regular Reporting

In accordance with Article 29 of the World Heritage Convention and Sections 169 to 176 of the Operational Guidelines (2015 version), in which the States party to the World Heritage Convention undertake to submit regular reports, the World Heritage Coordinator will prepare a report on the state of conservation of the prospective World Heritage site.

#### *5.e.2.d.2 Reactive Monitoring*

In the event of exceptional circumstances, in particular if there are specific threats to the proposed World Heritage site's *outstanding universal value*, authenticity and integrity – for example, due to new constructions affecting the protected property – the World Heritage Coordinator will ensure that special reports are submitted to the World Heritage Committee, as required under Section 172 of the Operational Guidelines. These shall be submitted to the World Heritage Centre at the latest by 1st February following the occurrence of the exceptional circumstances concerned.

Should reports pursuant to Section 174 of the Operational Guidelines be submitted to the World Heritage Centre from third parties, raising questions about the state of conservation, then the World Heritage Coordinator will support the World Heritage Committee in its investigations. If the World Heritage Committee so requests, then ICOMOS, as the competent Advisory Body, will also be involved in this procedure.

Pursuant to Section 176, the World Heritage Coordinator can also involve the UNESCO advisory bodies in cases of conflict for the purpose of moderation.

#### *5.e.2.d.3 Preventative Monitoring*

The German national ICOMOS committee has set up a monitoring group, which has oversight of World Heritage sites in Germany. The members of the monitoring group observe current developments in the World Heritage sites, carry out on-site visits and draft annual reports, which may, if appropriate, trigger the “reactive monitoring” procedure, as outlined in Section 5.e.2.d.2.

The monitoring group's primary objective is to contribute to avoiding conflict over World Heritage sites. The World Heritage Coordinator is therefore encouraged to cooperate closely with the German national ICOMOS Committee and in particular the competent members of the monitoring group.

#### *5.e.2.d.4 Conflict Management*

The central role in conflict management is carried out by the World Heritage Coordinator. The World Heritage Coordinator is responsible for facilitating smooth coordination between the various different players, and, if necessary, seeking advice from the World Heritage Centre and the Advisory Bodies. Nevertheless, the overriding objective should still be to resolve any conflicts of objectives at local level.

Over and above these mechanisms and institutions, it is also possible to draw on the experience and expertise of the Heritage Council, if required, in order to avoid conflicts in and around the future World Heritage site.

### **5.e.3 *Part III Management Plan: The Future of the Nominated Site***

The goal of PART III of the Management Plan is to demonstrate the essential directives for the preservation and sustainable development of the World Heritage site, and to ensure that the sustainable use has no negative impacts on the property's outstanding universal value, its integrity and/or its authenticity.

After first the existing foundations for planning and action and possible risks with regard to the preservation of the World Heritage site as well as measures for their prevention were determined and performed, the Department for Heritage Preservation developed strategic measures and priority projects to transpose the existing foundations for planning and action into concrete project lines. As orientation within these project lines, three thematic focal areas of action: “Preservation and Conservation“, “Identity and Continuity“ and "Raising Awareness and Disseminating Information“ served for the definition of the enshrined protection and key objectives.

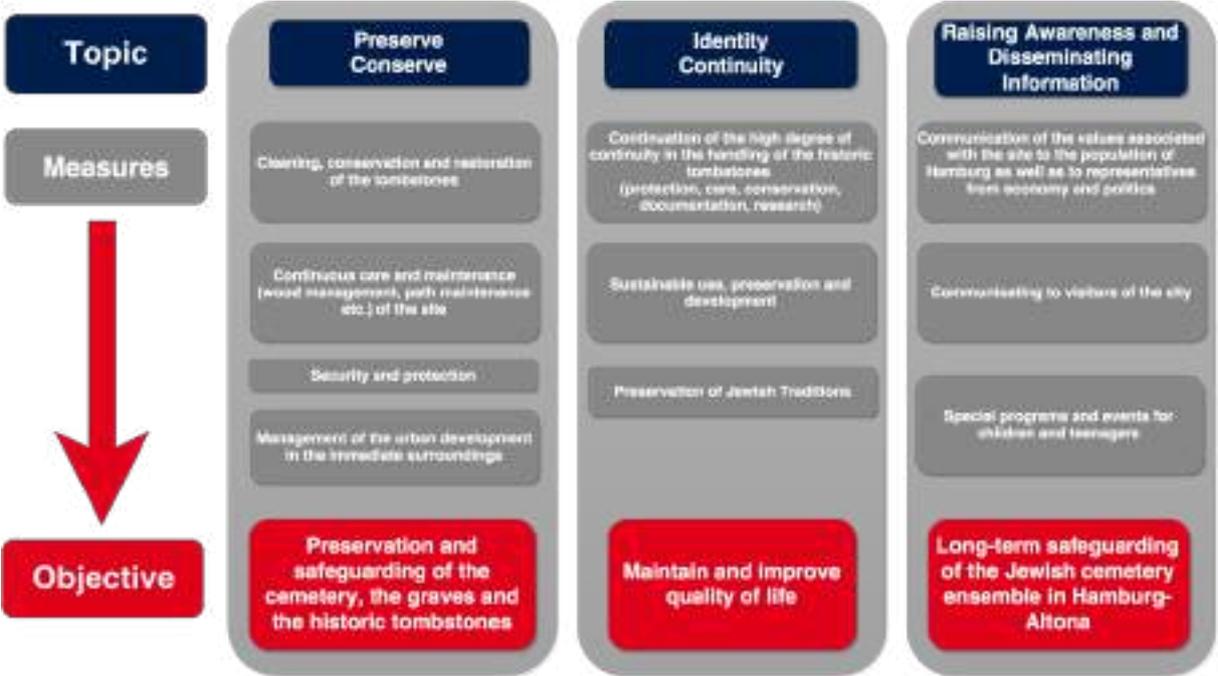


Fig.253: Three-pillar model of the protection objectives of the ensemble “Jewish Cemetery of Hamburg-Altona” submitted for nomination for UNESCO

5.e.3.a Preservation and Conservation

The World Heritage Convention requires the preservation and safeguarding of protected objects in existence and value. The preservation of the gravestones and the maintenance and security of the cemetery as a whole therefore has the highest priority. To this end, the following measures are planned:

5.e.3.a.1 Conservation and Restoration of the Gravestones

The preservation of the gravestones is an important task in the preservation of the nominated site. An examination of reactions and weathering processes is a prerequisite to a meaningful and effective concept development of conservational and restorative measures for the gravestones. For this purpose, test stones made of different materials were already erected a few years ago, by means of which both the level of weathering over a long period of time as well as the exact type of surface changes could be analysed, without damaging historical stones by examination. On the basis of these results, a concept will be designed in the future for further conservation of the stones, possibly also using chemical methods (impregnation, deacidification, etc.). The results are recorded by continuous monitoring.

The first evaluation of data from measurements over the last 12 years has concluded that, within the observed time period, pollution made no impact to speak of on the weathering of the cemetery's gravestone inventory.

Independent of the results of the weathering study, all measures, which would mean an improvement or a preventative effect in regard to the gravestones, were already starting to be implemented several years ago. These fall under the term "preventative conservation" and shall be continued in the coming years. This also includes, for example, raising the Sephardic tomb slabs on a bed of loose gravel, regular removal of foliage with the appropriate tools for the care of the stone surfaces or careful cleaning of the stones. Further measures may be added such as arranging the marble slabs on a slight tilt, so that rainwater can run off more quickly, noticeably reducing erosion. Preventative conservation also includes measures toward the development of a thin, uniform tree population, which should be implemented in the coming years.

Exchanging information and experiences with other institutions is also very important for further actions, particularly in regard to measures towards the reduction of chemical decay. Therefore, a regular exchange with the owners of other cemeteries will be pursued.

Moreover, restoration work has been carried out on many stones in the past, likewise, many stones have been safeguarded through appropriate measures. These measures include simple methods such as cleaning, drainage or resetting. Individual stones, however, were treated using further measures, such as: Supplementing, recomposition of broken pieces or special cleaning to remove algae and mosses. These measures can be summarised by the term "preventative restoration". They must be continued in the same way.

#### *5.e.3.a.2 Continual Garden Maintenance of the Nominated Site's Green Spaces*

The garden maintenance of the cemetery contributes substantially to the appearance of the grounds, but is also very important for the preservation of the gravestones. Tree seedlings, for example, must be removed before they grow sufficiently large to cause damage to the gravestones. At the same time, attention should be paid to number of larger trees, there should be a sufficient number on the grounds to create a light shade over the gravestones, because a stable, even microclimate is one of the most important prerequisites for their preservation. The care of the lawn areas is also important, as is the removal of foliage and deadwood.

General maintenance of the premises shall be carried out by Hamburg Cemeteries Public Agency. This is currently correctly implemented from a technical point of view, but not yet with any basis in terms of planning. In order to be able to better organise the maintenance and professionally retain the same levels long-term in the future, a maintenance concept was created in 2015, which was agreed to by the Department for Heritage Preservation. The measures defined there shall form the basis for future maintenance in the following areas: care of lawns and trees, path construction and maintenance, winter maintenance. The maintenance plan will ensure that the measure will be continually carried out in the same manner. At the same time, long-term gardening maintenance supports the preventative conservation of the gravestones. The development of an even tree population, for example, is of great importance, because the shade from a continuous canopy of foliage is important in balancing out greater differences in temperature.

Long-term measures must also be formulated for the maintenance of the cemetery's physical structures, in order to determine the need for refurbishment and prevent greater damage in good time. These were also taken into account in the maintenance concept.

#### *5.e.3.a.3 Safeguarding of the Cemetery Premises*

The cemetery grounds, its graves and tombstones are legally protected by the Hamburg Heritage Protection Act; its immediate surroundings are subject to legal protection according to the Hamburg Heritage Protection Act. The cemetery grounds are therefore protected from destruction and also from effects which could be caused by structural changes in the immediate vicinity.

The cemetery is, however, not just to be seen as a solitary object, as it is found in the centre of a large city, and is therefore integrated in further urban development plans. Heritage preservation ensures that the area's status is appropriately enshrined also in other plans.

Until now, however, there is no development plan for the cemetery and its immediate surrounding areas in which the protected status of the area and its immediate surroundings is also defined in the urban development planning. It is therefore intended that a development plan be promptly drawn up for the entire area between Blücherstraße, Königstraße, Louise-Schroeder-Straße and Nobistor.

#### *5.e.3.a.4 Management of the Urban Development in the Immediate Surroundings of the Nominated Site*

To ensure that urban development in the area of the cemetery is considered and included early in higher-level plans in accordance with its protected status, for example in traffic plans, the cemetery must be registered in all respective plans from which departmental planning arises (such as Land-Use plan, Landscape Programme) as protected area, as cultural landmark and as UNESCO World Heritage site. Additionally, the competent authorities responsible for the higher-level planning and the District Authority for Altona, which is responsible for the detailed planning in the area, must be notified of the area's significance and status. This should be carried out by the World Heritage Coordinator and the residing urban development monument preservation authority. Regular monitoring between the specialist authorities and the District Authority for Altona has already been established, through the protection of the cemetery and the talks which have already been held regularly for years between the Department for Heritage Preservation and the other planning offices (monthly talks between the Department for Heritage Preservation and the District Authority for Altona/Building Department; and monthly talks between the Department for Heritage Preservation and the Ministry for Environment and Energy as well as the Ministry for Urban Development and Living).

#### *5.e.3.b Identity and Continuity*

The guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention state that a multitude of uses of the World Heritage objects is possible, if they are ecologically and culturally sustainable. For this, the resolutions made in 1992 at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro are decisive, where 180 countries have undertaken to implement an action programme for the 21st century. This action programme - the Local Agenda 21 or LA 21 - attempts to find the balance between economic, social and ecologic demands in relation to development issues. In the case of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, this primarily affects the securing of as wide an access as possible for the general public.

### 5.e.3.c Raising Awareness and Disseminating Information

Admission to the World Heritage List is accompanied by the obligation to communicate the notion of World Heritage and to announce the World Heritage site to the wider public. This aspect is also significant, in order to achieve a raising of awareness in the public for the interests of world heritage in general and, in particular, the qualitative care of historical-cultural heritage. The third building block of envisaged projects broaches the issue of work on education and communication. The following steps were contemplated:

Expansion of the planned World Heritage Information Centre

Visitor Centre Eduard-Duckesz House

Creation of a foundation to support the preservation of and communication regarding the World Heritage site

Embedding and interlinking of the work on education and communication in the local and international context.

## 5.f Sources and levels of finance

The nominated site is a legally protected monument in accordance with the Hamburg Heritage Protection Act. From the Hamburg Heritage Protection Act from 5 April 2013, Official Hamburg Gazette (HmbGVBl.), p. 142) arises an obligation by the property owner, “to preserve a monument in a reasonable and appropriate condition, to protect it from threats and to arrange repairs” (Section 7, paragraph 1). The maintenance would therefore fall on the property owner, which is the Jewish community in Hamburg KöR.

In this case, however, the City of Hamburg is providing financial support for the preservation and maintenance within the scope of the valid contracts. In Article 8, paragraph 2 of the “Law on the contract between the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg and the Jewish community in Hamburg, which has been agreed on 20. June 2007, the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg has undertaken to bear the proportional costs for the maintenance and preservation of the closed Jewish cemeteries, within the scope of an agreement between the Federal Government and the Länder dated 21 June 1957.

It is therefore secured on a long-term basis that sufficient financial funds are available for the maintenance and preservation of the cemetery grounds. Currently, the cost for the continuous maintenance is approximately € 21,500.00.

Hamburg Cemeteries Public Agency (Hamburger Friedhöfe AöR) are responsible for carrying out these measures. The Jewish Community as the client and the Department for Heritage Preservation as professional supervisory authority are involved in these measures.

The above agreement, however, only relates to the maintenance and preservation of the cemetery grounds, and not the gravestones. The city of Hamburg has, however, also provided financial support for the maintenance and preservation of the gravestones in the past.

Thus, in 1990 the citizens of Hamburg approved, for the purpose of restoration work, 500,000 DM (approximately 250,000 EUR) for the Jewish community.

In 2007/2008, the Department for Heritage Preservation in Hamburg resolved, together with the Jewish Community, to carry out a further extensive restoration programme over a period of ten years. The financing is ensured from funds of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg. Since then, approximately 50 to 120 stones have been restored every year. It is intended to continue this restoration programme beyond 2018.

The procurement of the work is the responsibility of the Jewish community; the professional supervision rests with the Department for Heritage Preservation.

### **5.g Sources for expertise and training in conservation and management techniques**

The preservation and maintenance of the Altona Jewish cemetery is ensured in that the care of the monument inventory is carried out by trained qualified personnel from the Hamburg Department for Heritage Preservation, where experts from many different disciplines are available: The interests of urban development and construction activity in the surroundings of the cemetery fall within the scope of the Urban Heritage Conservation. The planning of green areas and the continuous care of the site is carried out by the historic garden conservation. Issues for the preservation, conservation and restoration of stone are addressed by the competent conservation department.

The restoration division of the Hamburg Department of Heritage Preservation works closely with the “Norddeutschen Zentrum für Materialkunde von Kulturgut ZMK e.V.” (Northern German Centre for Materials Science and Cultural Property ZMK e.V.). The association’s goal is the promotion of scientific, hands-on research for the preservation of art and other cultural assets. This includes in particular:

- a) supporting the development of conservation and restoration concepts,
- b) creating, maintaining and providing access to materials databases,
- c) applied analysis of findings from German and international research,
- d) long-term, scientific maintenance, documentation and supervision of preservation measures on selected objects (long-term monitoring - research on consequential damages),
- e) studies on the tolerability of substances, adhesives and restoration materials (effectiveness test),
- f) execution and coordination of hands-on examinations for the research and the preservation of cultural assets,
- g) contributions to education and advanced training

The association’s interdisciplinary scientific work is carried out in close collaboration with the historic preservation departments of the Länder Bremen, Hamburg, Niedersachsen, Schleswig-Holstein and Lübeck, universities, museums and other partners.

The members of the Heritage Council, which as independent expert advisory board according to Section 3 of the Hamburg Heritage Protection Act, the competent authority, also issue opinions on fundamental questions on protection and preservation of historical monuments.

Plans for basic maintenance and in part for monitoring shall be given to offices and restoration firms with experience in historic preservation. Hamburg has an abundance of architects, conservators and qualified engineers with such experience. Many Hamburg colleges and universities offer research and education in this field. There are also sufficient numbers of suitable specialist construction companies available for tender in the Hamburg area for the landscaping work.

## **5.h Visitor facilities and infrastructure**

The cemetery is freely accessible to all visitors during opening times. It is currently open three afternoons per week. The opening times are posted at the entrance, and can also be found online. The cemetery is closed on legal and Jewish holidays.

Public tours are held every Sunday at 12:00 noon, reservation is not necessary. They are carried out by the Hamburg Monument Foundation. Group tours – in many languages – can be requested at the Hamburg Foundation for the Preservation of Monument. This includes many tours for school classes and additional school programs. For greater convenience, these may be reserved directly through the Museum's services. The cemetery is visited by congresses and seminars as part of their scientific education. It has also been included in state visits by foreign dignitaries, for example from Portugal and Hungary.

Tours are normally led by graduate and post-graduate students of modern history who are instructed by the Managing Director of the Hamburg Foundation for the Preservation of Monuments, who also arranges guided tours. The cemetery is also visited by guided groups as part of other events, for example for tours of the district or themed city tours. The Jewish community has their own visitor programme, particularly for religious visitors who wish to visit the graves of the rabbis.

So that no tours are conducted by untrained guides, an agreement has been made with the City of Hamburg, that the cemetery is shown and generally introduced as part of the neighbourhood tours, but with reference to special tours for more information.

The visitor centre, Eduard-Duckesz House, which belongs to the Hamburg Foundation for the Preservation of Monuments, is available to visitors. The building has heating facilities. The approximately 90 square metre building, which is situated inside the boundaries of the cemetery area but not on the burial grounds, and which is accessible during opening hours, contains a lecture room, a reference library, a room for conservators, as well as a computer workstation for further research, such as from the following databases:

- [www.juedischer-friedhof-altona.de](http://www.juedischer-friedhof-altona.de), maintained by the Eduard Duckesz Fellow containing: databases for all Jewish cemeteries in Hamburg
- <http://www.steinheim-institut.de/cgi-bin/epidat>, maintained by Dan Bondy and the Thomas Kollatz/Steinheim Institute

The Visitor Centre's lecture room has glass walls on three sides and also offers a good view of the grounds to kohens, i.e. religious visitors who may not enter the cemetery, due to their rank. The lecture room also holds a rotating permanent exhibit on the cemetery's history and art. It also holds further informational materials.

The sanitary facilities in the Visitor Centre are accessible to disabled persons.

The cemetery is well marked and easy to reach with public transportation (city rail, bus). It's central location in Altona affords visitors immediate proximity to a sufficient number of establishments such as lodgings and provisions.

## **5.i Policies and programmes related to the presentation and promotion of the property**

Admission to the World Heritage List is accompanied by the obligation to communicate the notion of World Heritage and to announce World Heritage sites to the wider public. This aspect is likewise a significant component in raising awareness in the public for the interests of world heritage in general and, in particular, the qualitative care of historical-cultural heritage.

### **5.i.1 *World Heritage Information Centre***

After the successful nomination of the ensemble "Speicherstadt and Kontorhaus District with Chilehaus" in 2015, the erection of a World Heritage Information Centre (WIZ) was planned, which shall take over the duties of public relations, education, tourism and visitor guidance. It is planned to provide there also information on the numerous information centers already available on the North Sea coast, as well as the National Park "Wattenmeer", part of the World Natural Heritage "Wattenmeer", which was already included in the UNESCO World Heritage List.

This Information Centre can also be used to dispense information about the Jewish Cemetery in Altona.

### **5.i.2 *Visitor Centre Eduard-Duckesz House***

For information purposes, the visitor centre Eduard Duckesz House, which belongs to the Hamburg Foundation for the Preservation of Monuments, is already available to the visitors of the Hamburg-Altona Cemetery and the public, accessible during the cemetery's opening hours and containing a reference library, which offers information on the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona and Jewish history. The Visitor Centre's lecture room also holds a rotating permanent exhibit on the cemetery's history and art. It also has a computer workstation for further research.

### 5.i.3 *Embedding and Interlinking of the Work on Education and Communication in the Local and International Context*

For a broad securement of the work on education and communication, close networking with further tourist offers in Hamburg are of great importance. This applies more so, given that the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg is already heavily geared towards tourism. In 2015, Hamburg recorded 12.6 million overnight stays and 86.2 million day visitors. With *Hamburg Tourismus GmbH* which represents and coordinates the marketing for tourism in Hamburg, a firm organisational framework is already in existence here.

► The use of the “UNESCO logo” is expected to contribute to increase the recognition value and significance of World Heritage as well as the awareness of the opportunities and obligations that arise within the scope of its preservation. The UNESCO logo is intended to be applied in relevant (Internet) presentations as well as in suitable places at the nominated site, in particular in its areas of access, as well as in further locations of World Heritage information.

► As it is of crucial importance for the education and communication work to reach young people, close collaboration with UNESCO project schools is encouraged. Within the meaning of the programme *World Heritage in Young Hands*, which, through educational activities, aims to draw young people’s attention to threatened world heritage and show them the opportunities to contribute to its preservation, the UNESCO project schools in Hamburg (Helene-Lange-Gymnasium, Schule Altonaer Straße, Gymnasium Allermöhe, Gymnasium Grootmoor and Technische Fachschule HEINZE) shall be closely involved in the education work.

► A further segment of the integration in education and communication work is the cooperation with scientific institutions. With the University of Hamburg, the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg boasts a renowned university. Experts of the Institute of the History of the German Jews at the University of Hamburg, as well as experts of the Salomon Ludwig Steinheim Institute for German-Jewish History at the University Duisburg-Essen, with which Hamburg has a close exchange, have already been involved in the preparation of the nomination documents of the future World Heritage ensemble. This relationship shall also continue and intensify in the future.

► In order to improve the perception of the Jewish cemetery in Hamburg-Altona as a place of communication and a meeting point, it aims to take part in the events of World Heritage Day, which takes place once a year on the first Sunday in June at a different World Heritage site in Germany.

► In Hamburg, European Heritage Day is now already observed regularly. It serves to raise the awareness of the public on issues regarding the protection of historic monuments; the cemetery had 450 visitors on this day in 2015. In the event of a successful nomination, it is therefore intended that the nominated site be prominently included in the future Heritage Day activities.

► In 2016, Hamburg joined *UNESCO-Welterbestätten Deutschland e. V.* in order to integrate the World Heritage site “Speicherstadt and Kontorhaus District with Chilehaus”, inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2015, into the existing network of the representation of

the interest of German World Heritage sites in terms of tourism. This relationship can also be used for the Hamburg-Altona cemetery.

► The *Lübeck Declaration* promotes a thematic networking of individual World Heritage sites and a strengthening of the national and international cooperation of individual World Heritage sites.

► These general measures are accompanied by the following activities regarding promotion and public relations:

#### **Websites**

[www.juedischer-friedhof-altona.de](http://www.juedischer-friedhof-altona.de), maintained by the Eduard Duckesz Fellow/IGDJ

[www.eduard-duckesz-haus.de](http://www.eduard-duckesz-haus.de), maintained by the Hamburg Foundation for the Preservation of Monuments

[www.igdj-hh.de](http://www.igdj-hh.de), maintained by the Institute for the History of the German Jews

#### **Projects, Seminars, Lectures, Exhibitions**

The Eduard Duckesz Fellow regularly holds seminars and lectures on Hamburg's Jewish cemeteries. These are held at IGDJ (Institute for the history of German Jews) and in Jewish community venues.

Projects, seminars, lectures, exhibits in cooperation with the Hamburger Geschichtswerkstätten (Hamburg History Workshops), the Hamburg Jewish community, the University of Hamburg, Hamburg schools, etc.

Cooperation and exchange with the Jewish communities of Curaçao, Barbados, Surinam, Amsterdam and Istanbul

### **5.j Staffing levels and expertise**

The Hamburg Department for Heritage Preservation has at its disposal specialists with graduate and post-graduate degrees in architecture, garden and landscaping architecture, art history, civil engineering and conservation, who make independent decisions and assume responsibility regarding the allocation of duties.

The Institute for the History of the German Jews (IGdJ) is also available to provide professional support for the cemetery. It was opened in 1966 as the first research facility in Germany dedicated exclusively to German-Jewish history. As a foundation of civil law, the institute is supported by the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg.

The institute's main duties primarily include research on the history of Hamburg's Jews and the examination of Hamburg's historical and current Jewish cemeteries, the publication of own and outside scientific studies, and the promotion of young scientific talent. The scientists of this independent research facility teach at the University of Hamburg. The institute holds conferences, congresses and guest lectures in close cooperation with German and international research institutes.

The Salomon Ludwig Steinheim Institute for German-Jewish History e.V. (STI), founded in 1986 at the University of Duisburg-Essen, examines the history and culture of Jews in the German-speaking areas as German-Jewish history from the early modern period up to the present. The institute's areas of research include religion, literary and cultural history, regional, economic and social history, and anti-Semitism. The institute's quarterly magazine *Kalonymos* deals with current topics and offers reviews and tips on notable books, alongside reports on research work from within and outside the institute.

The institute, a founding member of the Johannes-Rau-Forschungsgemeinschaft, has a considerable library and many photo archives and collections, and regularly holds in scientific lecture series, symposiums and conferences, in cooperation with international groups. It maintains good cooperative relations with the University of Duisburg-Essen and with Essen's Old Synagogue – House of Jewish Culture.

A focal research point for decades is the Inventory and documentation of Jewish cemeteries, particularly those in Germany. Their findings, beginning with the documentation of the Ashkenazi part of the Königstraße Cemetery in Hamburg-Altona, have been presented online in the Epidat Database since 2002. The database meanwhile (as of January 2016) holds 159 inventories with about 32,000 inscriptions and more than 66,000 images.

The Visitor Centre Eduard Duckesz House, directed full-time by Irina von Jagow, within the scope of her management activities for the Hamburg Foundation for the Preservation of Monuments, offers professional tours of the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona led by Frau von Jagow and a team of 6 freelance guides.



## 6 Monitoring

Since 1960, the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona is listed as a protected monument and is thus professionally maintained by the Department for Heritage Preservation (Denkmalschutzamt) of the Ministry of Culture of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, in close cooperation with the Jewish community in Hamburg K.d.ö.R within the scope of the relevant approval procedures. The mutual understanding between the owner, the Department for Heritage Preservation and the other authorities shall be supported by the World Heritage Coordinator and intensified further in the future.

### 6.a Key indicators for measuring state of conservation

Due to the continuous restoration and maintenance measures, the cemetery is in a good overall condition, suitable for monument protection. To secure the preservation of the cemetery in the future, and to ensure that repair, maintenance, and stone restoration continues and is carried out in accordance with principles of monument preservation, key indicators have been formulated for monitoring purposes. During regular monitoring, the respective conservation status shall be checked on the basis of the indicators, then documented. Appropriate measures shall also be determined.

Against the background of the above issues, the following key indicators were defined, to be evaluated at regular intervals, so as to avoid any conflicting objectives:

<b>Indicator</b>	<b>Frequency of examination</b>	<b>Location where the records will be kept</b>
Structural enclosure	As required	Department for Heritage Preservation
Level of maintenance of the cemetery area	Quarterly	Department for Heritage Preservation
Infrastructure of the cemetery	Annually	Department for Heritage Preservation
Condition of the tombstones	Bi-annually	Department for Heritage Preservation
Development of tourism	Annually	Hamburg Tourismus GmbH
Developments in the buffer zone	As required	Department for Heritage Preservation

## 6.b Administrative arrangements for monitoring property

Contact with the competent authorities will be made through the Department for Heritage Preservation of the Ministry of Culture of Hamburg. A World Heritage Coordinator within the Department for Heritage Preservation shall coordinate the steering group across competent authorities. All authorities listed in Chapter 5 can be reached as follows::

Position and department	Current contact (2016 version)	E-mail address and telephone number
Director of Department for Heritage Preservation	Kellner, Andreas	<a href="mailto:Andreas.Kellner@kb.hamburg.de">Andreas.Kellner@kb.hamburg.de</a>
World Heritage Coordination, Department for Heritage Preservation	Paulowitz, Bernd	<a href="mailto:Bernd.Paulowitz@kb.hamburg.de">Bernd.Paulowitz@kb.hamburg.de</a>

## 6.c Results of previous reporting exercises

Extensive restoration and surveying measures were carried out on the property over the years, including several photographic documentations, which very impressively record the condition of the grave monuments over time. These different projects are listed in the schedule below. Reports and documents in connection to these measures are available. All examinations, actions that were carried out, and reports compiled within the scope of the work on this nomination dossier, were collated and shall serve as the future basis for further monitoring. They are kept at the Department for Heritage Preservation of the Ministry of Culture of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg.

Additionally, reference is made to Chapter 4.a, "Present Conservation Status", in which the condition of the stones is described in detail based on the examinations and reports mentioned here. Available databases and current research projects are also listed in Chapter 7.

Year	Measures carried out
1942 – 1944	Photographic documentation of the entire inventory, recorded in 1954 and 1958-1960
1982-1995	Procurement for restoration measures was arranged exclusively by the Jewish community, only later by the Department for Heritage Preservation of the City of Hamburg.
1984 – 1987	Report on the Königstraße Jewish Cemetery; recording of inventory, location of all gravestones in the Ashkenazi and Sephardic parts as well as the creation of a maintenance works
1990 – 1991	Restorative and conservational measures in the Sephardic cemetery grounds

1990 – 1991	Report on the restoration of gravestones on the Portuguese part
1990 – 1991	Analysis of 1,620 grave monuments, which are entered on the 1987 map (see above) by means of a form without photo documentation, labelling of 332 tombs
1991	Mapping according to rock type and labelling of tombstones with fractures / Sephardic cemetery grounds
1991	Creation of two replicas: tomb of Rabbi Jonathan Eibeschutz and Rabbi Jakob Israel Emden
1991	Creation of three replicas and two relief plaques / Sephardic grave monuments
1992	Restoration and conservation measures in the Sephardic burial site
2001	Analysis of 50 marble gravestones / Sephardic cemetery grounds
2001 – 2004	Plan creation of Ashkenazi graveyard, photographic recording of Ashkenazi gravestones (without Hamburg field)
2001 – 2006	Creation of a database based on plan creation (see above) of Ashkenazi gravestones
2001 – 2004	Coordination of the research project DBU funding project no.: 18465 of the German Federal Environmental Foundation, Final Report from October 2003
2001	Report on the vegetative growth on the gravestones
2002	Report on the vegetative growth on the gravestones
2002	Damage analyses of marble tombs from the 17th Century
2002	ZMK (Centre for Materials Science of Cultural Heritage), Königstraße Project, materials testing, preservation recommendations. Weathering, stone conservation. Inventory, planning.
2003	Situation in regard to atmospheric pollutants at the Königstraße Jewish Cemetery in Hamburg
2003	Precipitation analysis
2003	Ultrasound analysis on marble tombstones, analysis report
2003	Analysis of damage assessment of four gravestones with a view to cleaning and conservation at a later date
2003	Description of weathering damage on marble tombstones, 30 December, 2003
2003	Description of individual gravestones – Sephardi / 53 marble + 2 limestone monuments
2003	Report on harmful effects from biofilms
2003	Examinations on the condition of the gravestone of Daniel Abensur (site plan no. 2023 / Ohel)
2003	Charting of damages to gravestones on the basis of fabric
2003	Petrophysical characterisation of restoration mortar for possible gravestone moulding
2003	Two copies from replacement mortar which were previously examined and/or scientifically analysed by GZG (Göttingen Centre for Geoscience), University of Göttingen
2003	Excavation of 15 grave monuments at the Königstraße enclosure + Georadar testing / Sephardic burial area
2003	Tests on marbles of the former St. Nicholas' Church in regard to their comparability in origin and condition to the marble gravestones in the Jewish cemetery in Hamburg Altona
2003	Photo documentation of inscriptions from 30 September, 2003 + entry in 1987 site map / Sephardic cemetery grounds
2003	Identification of 15 excavated tombstones primarily near the enclosure bordering Königstraße, Sephardic part

2003	Resetting of the 6 reference objects on 09 December, 2003 numbering + entry in 1987 site map
2004	Samples for exposure experiments
2004	DBU supplement / Model-Based Tests on the Preservation of decayed (environmentally damaged) marble grave monuments of the 17th Century
2004	Summary report on the climate measurements (as part of the DBU project)
2004	Creation of a strip foundation with drainage bed for the tombstone of Selomo Curiel (as part of the DBU project)
2004	Creation of a strip foundation with drainage bed for the tombstone of David Cohen de Lara, philologist and rabbi (as part of the DBU project)
2004	Housing of 4 marble tombstones (as part of the DBU project)
2004	Creation of a drainage surface for the fragments in the Hamburg field
2004 – 2007	Transfer of fragments to the drainage surface in the Hamburg field with photo documentation
2005	Creation of a strip foundation with drainage bed for the horizontal limestone tomb slab of Mose Gideon Abudiente from 1688; cleaning and reconstruction of broken pieces
2006	Stone conservation measures, restoration and resetting of 198 Ashkenazi steles, burial fields S+C
2006	Removal of graffiti from gravestones, burial field C
2007	Restoration and installation of 46 Ashkenazi steles, burial fields C+N
2008 – 2009	Introduction of a drainage bed and the cleaning of 80 grave monuments in the Sephardic cemetery (76 horizontal tomb slabs + 4 ohelim)
2008	Detailed photos of graphic representations on Sephardic gravestones
2008-2011	Restoration and installation of 353 Ashkenazi steles
2009	Identification of 332 grave monuments, Sephardic part
2009	Installation and restoration of tombstone (ohel) of Abraham Cohen Lobatto
2009 – 2010	Memorial Landscaping Concept
2011	Water basin and lion / Sephardic burial area / installation + restoration (water basin made of Cotta Elbe Sandstone / Rococo)
2011	Analysis of basin's sandstone lion in the Sephardic burial area
2011 – 2013	Correction of the new cemetery map from 2010 to include the restoration measures from 2005–2012
2012	Fountain lion from the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona, Königstraße; stone, mortar and pigment analysis
2012	Memorial stone for the Sephardic gravestones / cleaning / restoration completion + construction of a replica + natural stone base
2012	Creation of a natural stone copy of the limestone tomb slab of Mose Gideon Abudiente from 1688
2012	Cleaning of 810 gravestones in the Sephardic graveyard
2012	Restoration and installation of 326 Ashkenazi steles
2013 – 2015	Scientific preparation of the Ashkenazi cemetery's Hamburg field and general preparations
2015	Identification of 175 grave monuments in the Sephardic part
2015-2016	New environmental planning maintenance concept including development concept

	<b>Ongoing projects:</b>
2015-2018	Restoration / relocation measures / introduction of a drainage bed / historic tombstones in the Sephardic burial field including photo documentation in the Sephardic part of the cemetery
2016-2018	Partial reconstruction and resetting of steles in the Hamburg field; resetting of steles on the path to and around the rabbis' tombstones
	<b>Scientific projects:</b>
2000	Biographical Dictionary of the Hamburg Sephardim (Biographisches Lexikon der Hamburger Sepharden): The grave inscriptions in the Portuguese Cemetery on Königstraße in Hamburg-Altona.
2000-2006	Steinheim Institute; inventory and visual and textual documentation of 6,000 tombstones and tombstone fragments from the Ashkenazi part of the cemetery
2013-2014	Monument preservation, inventory, and visual and textual documentation of the tombstones and tombstone fragments of the Hamburg field, on behalf of the Foundation for the Preservation of Monuments
Continuing	Database project of the Eduard Duckesz Fellow and the Hamburg Society for Jewish Genealogy



## 7 Dokumentation

### 7.a Photographs and audiovisual image inventory and authorization form

#### 7.a.1 Photographs image inventory

Photographs which illustrate the nominated property are stored as image files in the format tif or jpg on a separate USB stick inclusive of a list with their numbers, captions and sources (s. also Ch. 7.a.1.a).

UNESCO is entitled to use and disseminate the photographs and images. There is no charge for image rights and use of the images and photographs, or any costs shall be borne by the applicant. However, permission to unlimitedly use and disseminate the photographs and images does not constitute a transfer of rights of the photographs and images to UNESCO for exclusive marketing.

#### 7.a.1.a List of photographs

Photo-number	Caption/Title	Date of Photo	Photo-grapher	Copyright owner	Contact details of copyright owner
Faust-3.jpg	Tombstones of Jacob Hizkiaiu Senior Teixeira, died 1692, and Judit Hana Soares, died 1689, at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona	15.09.1997	Faust, Jürgen	© Department for Heritage Preservation	Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Ministry of Culture Department for Heritage Preservation Große Bleichen 30 20354 Hamburg
Faust-5.jpg	Gravestone of Hana Castro Mendoza, died 1716, at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona	23.02.1997	Faust, Jürgen	© Department for Heritage Preservation	Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Ministry of Culture Department for Heritage Preservation Große Bleichen 30 20354 Hamburg
Faust-10.jpg	Rachel at the well with the sheep, on the tombstone of Rahel Fidanque, died 1702, at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona	15.09.1997	Faust, Jürgen	© Department for Heritage Preservation	Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Kulturbehörde Denkmalschutzamt Große Bleichen 30 20354 Hamburg
Faust-13.jpg	Joseph in the well, on the gravestone of Joseph Haim de Lemos, died 1695, at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona	23.08.1997	Faust, Jürgen	© Department for Heritage Preservation	Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Ministry of Culture Department for Heritage Preservation Große Bleichen 30 20354 Hamburg
Faust-14.jpg	Daniel in the lions' den, on the tombstone of Daniel Jessurum, died 1722, at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona	23.08.1997	Faust, Jürgen	© Department for Heritage Preservation	Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Ministry of Culture Department for Heritage Preservation Große Bleichen 30 20354 Hamburg

Faust-23.jpg	A hand coming from the clouds and felling a tree with an axe; found on Portuguese-Sephardic gravestones at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona	14.04.1997	Faust, Jürgen	© Department for Heritage Preservation	Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Ministry of Culture Department for Heritage Preservation Große Bleichen 30 20354 Hamburg
Faust-38.jpg	Abraham and Isaac, on the ohel of Abraham Cohen Labatto, died 1703, at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona	23.02.1997	Faust, Jürgen	© Department for Heritage Preservation	Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Ministry of Culture Department for Heritage Preservation Große Bleichen 30 20354 Hamburg
IMG_2420.jpg	David with harp, on the ohel of David Namias de Castro, died 1702, at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona	10.05.2016	Kruse, Alexandra	© Department for Heritage Preservation	Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Ministry of Culture Department for Heritage Preservation Große Bleichen 30 20354 Hamburg
IMG_2431.jpg	Abraham and Isaac, on the tombstone of Abraham Fidanque, died 1708, at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona	10.05.2016	Kruse, Alexandra	© Department for Heritage Preservation	Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Ministry of Culture Department for Heritage Preservation Große Bleichen 30 20354 Hamburg
IMG_2474.jpg	Tomb slab and ohel with angels of Abraham Cohen Lobatto, died 1703, at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona	10.05.2016	Kruse, Alexandra	© Department for Heritage Preservation	Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Ministry of Culture Department for Heritage Preservation Große Bleichen 30 20354 Hamburg
IMG_2475.jpg	Ohel with angels of Abraham Cohen Lobatto, died 1703, at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona	10.05.2016	Kruse, Alexandra	© Department for Heritage Preservation	Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Ministry of Culture Department for Heritage Preservation Große Bleichen 30 20354 Hamburg
IMG_2493.jpg	Rachel with the sheep, on the gravestone of Rahel de Fonseca, died 1692, at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona	10.05.2016	Kruse, Alexandra	© Department for Heritage Preservation	Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Ministry of Culture Department for Heritage Preservation Große Bleichen 30 20354 Hamburg
IMG_2525.jpg	Ashkenazi tombstones at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona	10.05.2016	Kruse, Alexandra	© Department for Heritage Preservation	Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Ministry of Culture Department for Heritage Preservation Große Bleichen 30 20354 Hamburg
IMG_2540.jpg	Field of Ashkenazi tombstones at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona	10.05.2016	Kruse, Alexandra	© Department for Heritage Preservation	Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Ministry of Culture Department for Heritage Preservation Große Bleichen 30 20354 Hamburg
IMG_6451.jpg	Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona	10.02.2016	Schwarzburg, Regina	© Department for Heritage Preservation	Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Ministry of Culture Department for Heritage Preservation Große Bleichen 30 20354 Hamburg

IMG_6455.jpg	Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones and ohalim at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona	27.02.2016	Schwarzburg, Regina	© Department for Heritage Preservation	Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Ministry of Culture Department for Heritage Preservation Große Bleichen 30 20354 Hamburg
IMG_6552.jpg	Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona	26.02.2016	Schwarzburg, Regina	© Department for Heritage Preservation	Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Ministry of Culture Department for Heritage Preservation Große Bleichen 30 20354 Hamburg
IMG_6556.jpg	Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona	26.02.2016	Schwarzburg, Regina	© Department for Heritage Preservation	Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Ministry of Culture Department for Heritage Preservation Große Bleichen 30 20354 Hamburg
IMG_6557.jpg	Portuguese-Sephardic ohalim and tombstones at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona	26.02.2016	Schwarzburg, Regina	© Department for Heritage Preservation	Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Ministry of Culture Department for Heritage Preservation Große Bleichen 30 20354 Hamburg
IMG_6559.jpg	Field of Portuguese-Sephardic tombstones at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona	26.02.2016	Schwarzburg, Regina	© Department for Heritage Preservation	Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Ministry of Culture Department for Heritage Preservation Große Bleichen 30 20354 Hamburg
IMG_6572.jpg	The tools of a gravedigger adorn the chest-like gravestone of Semuel Hizkiaou Esteves, died 1704, at the Jewish Cemetery Hamburg-Altona	26.02.2016	Schwarzburg, Regina	© Department for Heritage Preservation	Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Ministry of Culture Department for Heritage Preservation Große Bleichen 30 20354 Hamburg

## 7.b Texts relating to protective designation, copies of property management plans or documented management systems and extracts of other plans relevant to the property

The following attachments to the nomination documents are included:

- ▶ Hamburg's Heritage Protection Act
- ▶ Management plan for the nominated property

## 7.c Form and date of most recent records or inventory property

The competent authority keeps a record of listed buildings and/or monuments in accordance with Section 4, Paragraphs 2 to 5 of the Heritage Protection Act. This register contains an

identification number, a description of the geographical location and a short name for each protected property.

The most recent records and inventories are listed in overview of reports produced (Ch. 6c, Results of Earlier Reports) and the bibliography (Ch. 7e).

#### **7.d Address where inventory, records and archives are held**

Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, Ministry of Culture, Department for Heritage Preservation, Große Bleichen 30, 20354 Hamburg

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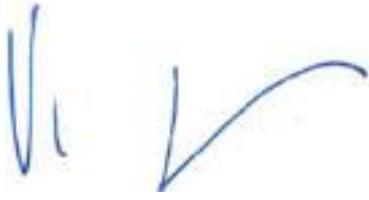
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## 9 Signature on behalf of the State Party

A handwritten signature in blue ink, consisting of a vertical line on the left and a curved line on the right.

.....  
Olaf Scholz, First Mayor

President of the Senate of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg