

# Seder Hazzanut manuscripts

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By Ir. J.B. Sondervan, 21 August 2025

## Introduction

The Seder Hazzanut manuscripts present detailed guidance on how Chazzanim should conduct themselves in various different circumstances during services in the Snoge (the Amsterdam Portuguese synagogue). They were written and or copied by various Chazzanim since mid 18<sup>th</sup> century for their *personal use*, and therefore not printed. The Chazzanim had the knowledge required for the basic services. Therefore Seder Hazzanut manuscripts only provide notes focusing on exceptional elements for specific days. For this reason the description of e.g. weekdays, if available at all, is very short whilst e.g. the Kal Nidre service is specified in great detail. Services outside the synagogue are out of scope in any of the Seder Hazzanut manuscripts. Thus one will find nothing about e.g. a Berit millah or a Chuppah, which were considered to be private celebrations.

In this note I provide an overview of the Seder Hazzanut manuscripts I found and how they possible relate to each other.

# Seder Hazzanut manuscripts

## Seder Hazzanut manuscripts

We can divide the Seder Hazzanut manuscripts into four groups. The first group has distinct manuscripts which have only one “member” (no copies). The second and third group each have multiple “members” (multiple copies) of one “source” manuscript. Being hand-copied, they are of course not 100% identical. The last “group”, being internet based, has one instance but can be globally accessed (has infinite identical “members”). Finally, there is a group with other manuscripts which are not Seder Hazzanut specific, but do cover some topics.

## Seder Hazzanut groups

- A. The first group has two distinct manuscripts. The oldest Seder Hazzanut manuscript was written by Joseph<sup>[1]</sup> Jesurun Pinto (1729-1782) in 1750, in Portuguese. This manuscript (part 1 and part 2) can be found in the Ets Haim library by catalogue number EH\_48\_E\_01-02. Some parts of the manuscript were published by Prof H. Salomon. The publication *Cadernos de Estudos Sefarditas. Revista Annual 2014* contains pages 8-21. Due to his passing in January 2021, no further publications will follow.
- The second manuscript of this group can be found in the Stadsarchief of the city of Amsterdam, inv. number 334/5.2.5.12, dated 1837-1838. This manuscript is written in Portuguese. The manuscript has two parts, but only the part from Pesach till Rosh Hashanah is in the archive. The other part is missing.
- B. The second group has 6 members. They are not dated, so it is not possible to decide which is the “root”. But from investigating the differences in the manuscripts versions, some order can be assumed. The root is probably an anonymous manuscript in Portuguese. This manuscript can be found in the Ets Haim library by catalogue number EH\_48\_E\_37. This manuscript was anonymously copied “one to one” a number of times. One copied manuscript can be found in the Ets Haim library by catalogue number EH\_48\_E\_36. The conclusion that this manuscript is a copy of the previous manuscript (EH\_48\_E\_37) is based on the observation that the two manuscripts are textual identical, but whilst the first manuscript has many corrections, the second manuscript shows the corrected text only. Another copy in Portuguese can be found in the private collection of Mr. Yaron Davis in Jerusalem. It is identical to the above, and also without corrections, so must be copied of one of the above. In contrast to all other manuscripts in this group, it has a title page: *Livro do Hazan, David de Iman da Silva, das Observacoems s & Costmu<sup>s</sup> de KK de Amsterdam*. Da Silva was born in 1746, appointed as Chazzan in 1772 and died in 1808. This dates the manuscript to the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.
- The sp far last identified copy in Portuguese can be found in the Stadsarchief of the city of Amsterdam, inventory number 334A-2873 (190B). It is not dated, nor has an indication who wrote it. But looking at the paper and the handwriting it probably is from a later date than the other versions (probably 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century).

The Portuguese text was translated to Dutch. The resulting Dutch manuscript can be found in the Ets Haim library by catalogue number EH\_49\_B\_23<sup>[2]</sup>. This manuscript is anonymous

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<sup>[1]</sup> In the Ets Haim library his name is Josuah. Prof H Salomon found this to be incorrect. It should be Joseph. In the book he abbreviates his name to Jos<sup>h</sup>, which indeed can be both, see *Studia Rosenthaliana* Vol. 13, No. 1 (JANUARY 1979), pp. 18-29. Indeed, Joseph can be found in the community records, Joshua can't (Ouderkerk burial card 11993).

<sup>[2]</sup> An annotated transcribed version can be found on the [website](#)

## Seder Hazzanut manuscripts

too, and not dated either. However, being it a translation to Dutch indicates that it was written somewhere in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. At that time, under the influence of King Louis Napoleon (brother of the French emperor, king of the Netherlands from 1806-1810), the Dutch language was enforced, replacing the Portuguese language<sup>[3]</sup>. This assumption was confirmed by Mr. M. van Duijn, Curator of (post-medieval) Western Manuscripts and Archives at the Leiden University Library who wrote that although it is difficult to precisely date a manuscript, based on the handwriting it should be written around 1800<sup>[4]</sup>. This document has a very small number of corrections. These corrections can be found in EH\_37 as well, but in EH\_36 the text is correct from the start. This leads to the conclusion that the Dutch manuscript EH\_23 was written after EH\_37 but before EH\_36<sup>[5]</sup>, thus between these two Portuguese manuscripts.

The last member of this group was written around 1910 by Chazzan J.D. Blanes. He made a copy of the Dutch version, but modernized the language and also added some general topics at the end. The original manuscript cannot be found, but a copy exists in the Stadsarchief of the city of Amsterdam, inventory number 334A-2873 (190B).

- C. The third group has 5 members. It starts with Imanuel van (son of) Moses Oëb Brandon (1834-1893), who wrote a Hebrew Seder Hazzanut manuscript in 1866 in two parts. The first part follows the calendar and the second part covers general topics related to the services. This manuscript got lost after ww2<sup>[6]</sup>. In 1892 Brandon translated this Seder Hazzanut to Dutch. This manuscript can be found in the Ets Haim library by catalogue number EH\_47\_D\_45.

There are three copies of this manuscript:

- A copy written by Adam Querido (1874-1936) around 1930, which can be found in the Ets Haim library by catalogue number EH\_48\_D\_13. This manuscript was entirely copied from the Dutch version and is identical to it, but Querido modernized the language and moved the Pregãos (announcements) to an appendix. The manuscript has a sticker that dates 1937. That is probably the date it was given to Ets Haim, as Querido died in August 1936. In contrast to the other writers Querido was not a Chazzan but had a nice voice. After his retirement as a pharmacist he became caretaker of the Ouderkerk aan de Amstel cemetery.
- A copy written by Abraham (Bram) Lopes Cardozo (1914-2006) around 1937. In this manuscript the first part was copied from Brandon's original Hebrew (lost) version and the second part from later the Dutch version. He used the notebook from left to right for the Dutch part, and from right to left for the Hebrew part. Cardozo added to his copy of the manuscripts some indications of basic melodies, using a numbered musical notation. Musical notation is not found in any of the other manuscripts. The manuscript is in private possession of family Lopes Cardozo in New York. There are a

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<sup>[3]</sup> See Het Beth Haim in Ouderkerk aan de Amstel, L. Hagoort 2005, ISBN 90-6550-961-9, page 177.

<sup>[4]</sup> On page 23 is written "op de Theba zegt hij ... הנותן aan de Staaten". This implies that the blessing for the government was referring to the "Staat"en". The "Staten van Holland" indicates that the manuscript was written before 1806, and probably even before 1795 (dr Bart Wallet).

<sup>[5]</sup> Compare the corrections in EH\_37, EH\_36 & EH\_23 on pages 34, 42 & 46 and on pages 38, 48 & 53 respectively

<sup>[6]</sup> A facsimile of page 62 of this document is printed in Meijers (1949) on page 179. This text is identical to the text in Cardozo on page 61-62

## Seder Hazzanut manuscripts

few incomplete photocopies of this document. The only complete photocopy resides with the author of this article.

- A printed copy of the Dutch Brandon manuscript was published in the *Encyclopaedia Sefardica Neerlandica* by dr. J. Meijer(1912-1993) in 1949. He used the modernized version of Querido, but reinserted the Pregãos where used, thus taking them back from the appendix. In this version he printed most Hebrew texts phonetically, probably because short after the ww2 it was hard to find enough Jewish printers. Meijers' encyclopaedic version was also published in very limited edition as a separate booklet, used in Snoge.

There are two known copies of this booklet with post war annotations. The first booklet was owned by Chaham S. Rodrigues Pereira (1887-1969) and the second was owned by Chazzan S. Nunes Nabarro (1920-1994). As the booklets were maintained by different people, the annotations in both booklets are not 100% identical. In 2013 the booklet of Chazzan Nunes Nabarro was photocopied and distributed amongst various potential users.

- D. The last and most recent Seder Hazzanut is web-based. Development started in 2005 by the author of this article and was completed in 2023. Although complete with respect to the scope, content is still being added, like sheet music etc. Whilst all previous Seder Hazzanut manuscripts focused only on “what in the synagogue”, this version adds “how” (recordings & sheet music), “why” and “services outside the synagogue”. Furthermore it assumes less basic knowledge and therefore goes into much greater detail. Whilst the ‘traditional’ Seder Hazzanut manuscripts were written in the language common to the Chazzan (Portuguese, later Dutch) the web-based version is in English. The major difference with the previous versions is that this is not a manuscript for personal usage by the Chazzan who wrote/copied is, but web based and thus open to a much wider audience. Furthermore, being a website rather than a book, audio and video was added as a further level of documentation and education.

### Structure of the groups

All manuscripts follow the calendar, being it in a different order.

The members of the first group (group A) of Seder Hazzanut (Pinto and anonymous) manuscripts have two parts. The first part goes from Rosh Hashanah till Pesach (in the anonymous manuscript missing) and the second part from Pesach till end of the month Elul. In the back of Pinto part 2, on pages 108-129, some non calendar related topics are described, like the Mishmarah (fast, the day before Rosh Chodesh), the Berit millah, the Chuppah and more (“*Diversos anotacoems para Governo de hum Hazan*”).

The second group (group B) only describes the services by the calendar, starting from Rosh Hashanah and ending with the month of Elul.

The third group (group C) has two parts. The first part starts with Shabbat and Rosh Chodesh and then follows the calendar, starting from Pesach and ending with the month of Adar. The second part deals with items not related to specific dates, but to the services more in general, like who is entitled to say Kaddish, dividing Mitzvot and which Kle kodesh (ornaments) to use when. The Cardozo copy adds some basic information on melodies.

## Seder Hazzanut manuscripts

The forth group (group D) has no specific order, as that is not relevant on a website. In contrast to the manuscripts which focus only on the main services in Snoge, the website describes all services in- and outside the Snoge in great detail. It includes a detailed description of the working days and all Festivals, services related to Avelut (mourning) and Limud (learning) for special occasions & festivals and Minhagim at home. It adds recordings for all services, the Neginot (cantillations) and recordings of all Parashot, Haftarat and Megilot. Where found, sheet music is added with a recording, if that exists and these are 'hyperlinked' to the web page where the melody is used in the service. In many places background information is added.

In the development of Seder Hazzanut we can see the development of our community. It started with a Portuguese manuscript (de Pinto) mid 18<sup>th</sup> century and for the Chazzan only. It changed to Dutch in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century where the first manuscript still uses Portuguese terminology. Toward the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the terminology was also translated to Dutch (Brandon), adjusting to the Dutch society. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century no new manuscripts were written, but the Brandon manuscript was modernized (Querideo & Cardozo), and printed (Meijer). In the 21<sup>st</sup> century the language changed to English and the information was published on the Internet in a multi media way, rather than on paper (Sondervan). Further, Seder Hazzanut is now targeting not only the Chazzanim, but all who are interested in our very special Minhagim (customs), wherever they are. It also serves as a means to preserve the Minhagim (customs) of a community which was heavily diminished by the Shoah (Holocaust) and is struggling to survive.

### Other manuscripts

Recently some manuscripts were found which are not Seder Hazzanut manuscripts but also describe parts of the services and thus are relevant for a comparison. It can be expected that more of such manuscripts will surface.

### Sefer Cheshek Shelomo

The manuscript ספר חשק שלמה was written in 1767 by Selomoh Saruco (1712-1784), Chacham of the Portuguese community Honen Dal in The Hague. It is very different from the Amsterdam Seder Hazzanut manuscripts, as is less into "what to say" as the others are, but more into "why we say". It starts with the none-festive days and then follows the calendar, starting from Rosh Hashanah. At the end, a few responsa are noted. It can be found in the Ets Haim library by catalogue number EH\_47\_A\_20.

### Over de Ceremoniën

Manuscript EH-617NV1206<sup>7</sup>, called "Over de Ceremoniën binnen de Particuliere Synagoge". This manuscript describes how to manage services in the Synagogue: who is entitled to do what and when. This manuscript can be dated to be written between 1810 and 1813, based on the fact that the Hanoteen (blessing for the government) refers to the "Keijzer"<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> An annotated transcribed version can be found on the [website](http://www.chazzanut-esnoga.org)

<sup>8</sup> Emperor Napoleon ruled the Netherlands in the years 1810-1813, see also note 4

# Seder Hazzanut manuscripts

## About usage of Seder Hazzanut

As mentioned in the introduction, the various Seder Hazzanut manuscripts were written for the personal usage of the Chazzan. Therefore these were not printed. It is obvious that in the period between the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and ww2 at least three different Dutch manuscript versions were used: the modernized anonymous old Dutch version by Blanes, the modernized Brandon version by Querido and the Hebrew/Dutch Brandon version by Cardozo.

After ww2, Mr Jaap Meijer printed the modernized version of Querido in his *Encyclopaedia Sefardica Neerlandica* (Amsterdam, 1949). Due to it being printed it was available in larger quantities and the therefore became the de facto standard. As of about 1980 our community had no official Chazzan and services were, and are, carried out by numerous of members. To my opinion, the printed version of Meijers saved our Nusach (custom) from being forgotten and replaced by “main stream Sephardi” Minhagim (customs), as unfortunately happened in many other Kehilot (communities). The same holds for the audio on the website which to a large extent is based on the recordings made by Chazzan Nabarro in the 1960s.

## Comparison

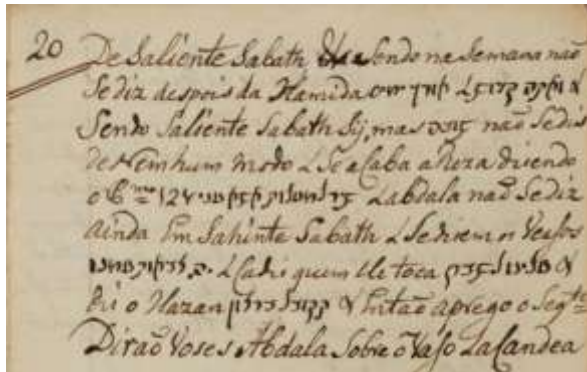
In a [comparison study](#) between the various manuscripts by the author of this article, the Meijer edition was used as the basis for comparison.

Ir J.B. Sondervan, update 21 August 2025

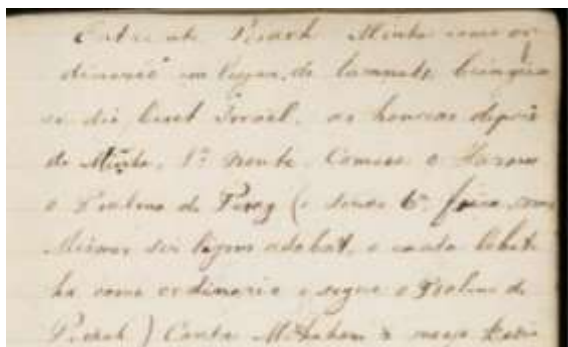
## Facsimile

### Seder Hazzanut group A

Page: Arvit at the end of Yom Kipur when it was a Shabbat



EH\_48\_E\_01-02 page 20 (1758)



334/5.2.5.12 page 1 (around 1837)



## Seder Hazzanut manuscripts

### Seder Hazzanut group B

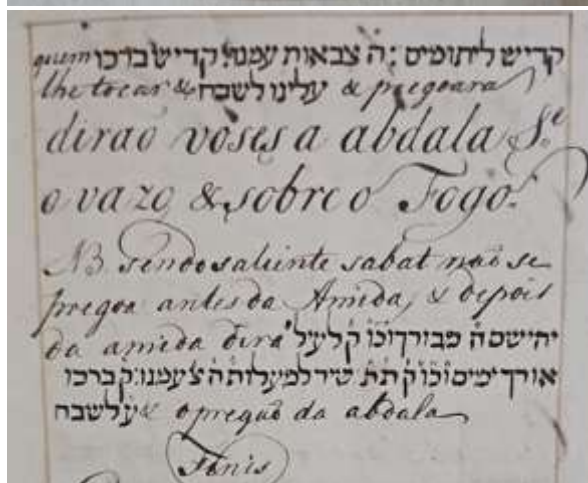
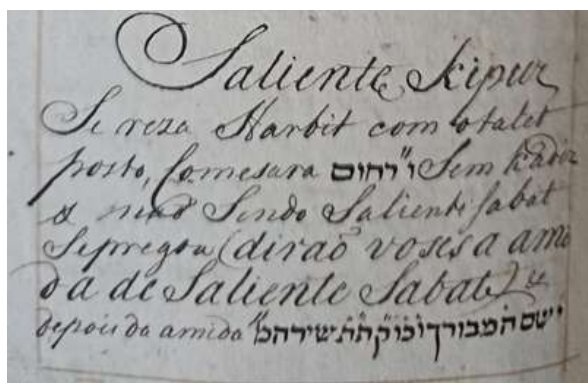
Page: Arvit at the end of Yom Kippur



EH\_48\_E\_37 page 16 Portuguese  
with corrections  
(both around 1800)



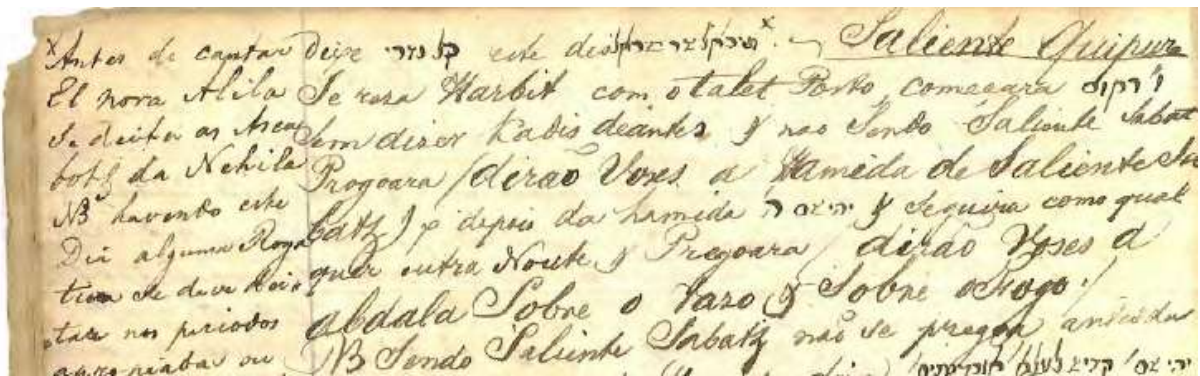
EH\_48\_E\_36 page 19 Portuguese  
correct (starts on bottom previous page)



B3 (da Silva) page 20-21, Portuguese correct, obviously written after EH\_48\_E\_37



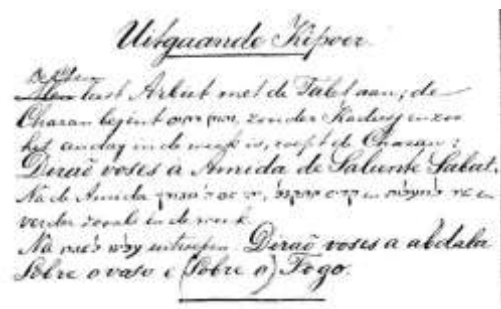
## Seder Hazzanut manuscripts



334A-2873 (190B) (pages not numbered)



EH\_49\_B\_23 page 20 Dutch translation  
(around 1800)

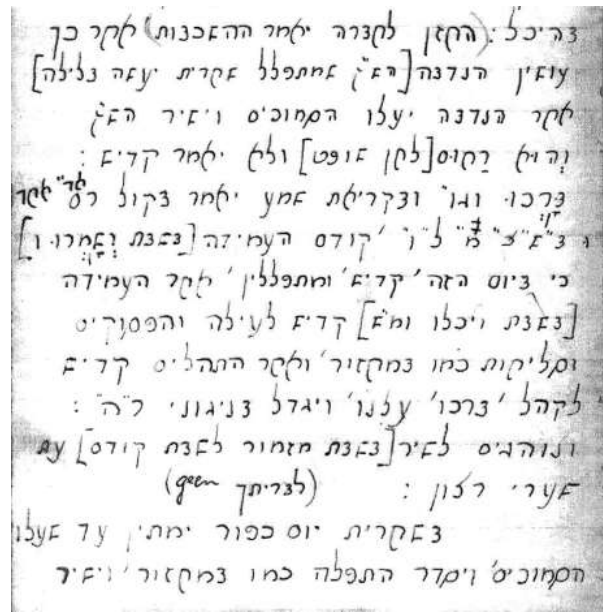


334A 4482 (2641) page 13 Dutch  
(around 1910)

## Seder Hazzanut manuscripts

### Seder Hazzanut group C

Part 1, page: Kal nidre



Brandon page 62

(Hebrew version only surviving page)

(1866)

Copy Cardozo page 61 (complete)

(1938)

optocht naar den Hechal. De Assistent V. leest de Ascabot der Overledene *Chagamiem* en daarna het Elf maanden Register en algemeen Has-kaba: Dos todos os difuntos desta Kahal Kados Talmoad Tora.  
Vervolgens: „Nedaba” door den Rustenden V. en op bevel van den President, begint de V. nadat de Rabbijnen hem ter zijde staan het avondgebed beginnende met *Wehoe Rachoem* zonder Kadies op wijze van *Sjofeet*. Na het zelve *Barechoe* als op R.H.  
Na het eerste vers van *Sjemang* herhaalt de V. met luiden stem *Hasjim echad* en laat na de Kahal volgen: *Baroech etc.*  
Voor het Amida zegt men: op Sabbat *Wesja-meroe* gevolgd door *Kie bajom haze* en leest

Same page in Dutch

Meijer's printed version of Brandon, page 189, (1950)



## Seder Hazzanut manuscripts

### Seder Hazzanut group D

Shabbat page: the bulleted list provides navigation to Shabbat topics, the top navigation to other topics (2005-2023).

Seder Chazzanut Amsterdam		
Home	All material	Sheet music
High Festivals	Minor Festivals	Public Fast
	By month	Miscellaneous
Immediately, by another chazzan	55-58	ערבית והוא רחום – שומר עמו ישראל לעד, אמן קדיש לעילא
If kippur was on a working day the chazzan announces before the עמידה "Diraō vosses a amida de saiente de Shabbat" One should say the עמידה of Shabbat and		קדיש pregaō
	58-61	עמידה
	61	יהי שם
If kippur was on Shabbat	61-62	קדיש לעילא אורך ימים אשכנעו & ואתה קדוש
Chazzan	62	קדיש תתקבל שיר למעלות
If there are multiple abelim		קדיש יהא שלמא ה' צבקות
Chazzan, if, multiple abelim Chazzan or one (single) avel more on Ailoni		קדיש יהא שלמא, ברוס עלינו
After עלינו he announces "Diraō vosses a		קדיש pregaō

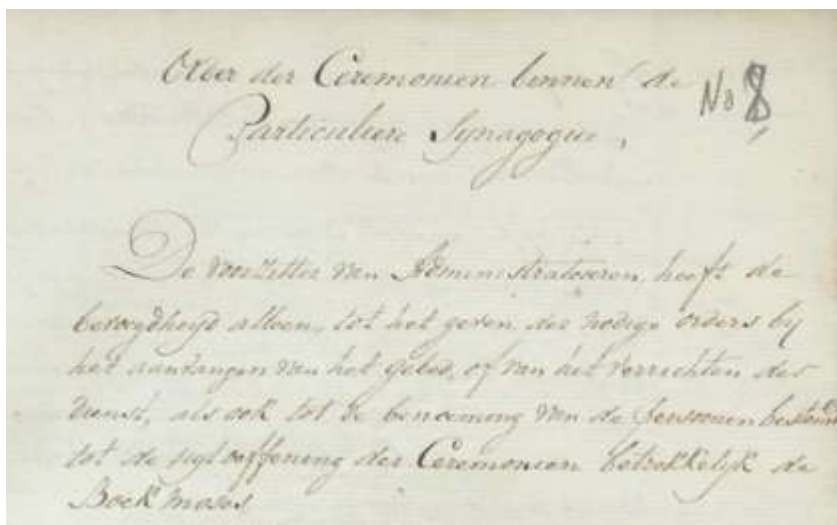
Arvit at the end of Yom Kippur



Other manuscripts



EH\_47\_A\_20 (1767)



EH-617NV1206 first page (1810-1813)

# Seder Hazzanut manuscripts

## List of all manuscripts

Minhagim manuscript Ets Haim

20-08-2025

new nr	old nr	Ets Haim / Staatsarchief number	date	language	title	author	when	where	how	why	notes	
A1a	1a	<a href="#">eh-48-e-01</a>	1758	Port	maronite	Joseph Jesurun Pinto	Y	N	N	Y	N	part 1: Ros hassana onwards
A1b	1b	<a href="#">eh-48-e-02</a>	1758	Port	maronite	Joseph Jesurun P into	Y	N	N	Y	N	part 2: Pesach onwards
A2	6	<a href="#">334/5.2.5.12</a>	1837-1838	Port	-	unknown	Y	N	N	Y	N	Staatsarchief; part 1 missing; part 2: Pesach onwards till Tahni
B1	8	<a href="#">eh-48-e-37</a>	<1806	Port	-	unknown	Y	N	N	Y	N	probably < 1795
B2	3	<a href="#">eh-48-e-36</a>	<1806	Port	-	unknown	Y	N	N	Y	N	probably < 1795; copy of eh-48-e-37; probably copied after eh-48-b-23
B3	11	private collection Yaron Davis, Jerusalem	<1807	Port	Uvra de Hazzan	David de Emanuel da Silva	Y	N	N	Y	N	probably < 1795; copy of eh-48-e-37;
B4	2	<a href="#">eh-49-b-23</a>	<1806	Dutch	-	unknown	Y	N	N	Y	N	probably < 1795 acc to Bat Waller, because Händel writes "taten" translation of eh-48-e-37
B5	4a	<a href="#">334A-2873 (1908)</a>	much later copy	Port	-	unknown	Y	N	N	Y	N	Staatsarchief; copy of eh-48-e-37 (which) including notes; looking at the paper and handwriting it is a much later copy. Also for Kal Nidre, "taten" is not mentioned
		<a href="#">334A-2873 (1908) later</a>										
B6	10	<a href="#">334A-2641 (4852)</a>	>1900	Dutch	Seder Chazzanut	J.D. Blanes	Y	N	N	Y	N	Staatsarchief; copy; original missing. Modernised version of eh-49-b-23. Blanes (18-01-1877 to 2-07-1943) was elected chazzan in 1902. On Shabbat Hagadol 1942 he was able to celebrate his 60th anniversary. He was Brandon's successor. Not described Shabbat Nachamu till end of the year
C1	7a	missing	1856	Heb	maronite	Brandon	Y	N	N	Y	N	part 1: calendar; part 2: misc
C2	7b	<a href="#">E11-47-G-45</a>	1892	Dutch	Volledge handwriting	Brandon	Y	N	N	Y	N	part 1: calendar; part 2: misc
C3	3c	<a href="#">eh-48-d-13</a>	<1936	Dutch	Volledge handwriting	Brandon/Quirido	Y	N	N	Y	N	copy manuscript of E11-47-G-45, language modernised
C4	7d	private collection family Cardoso, NY	1938	Dutch/Heb	Volledge... & ...	Brandon/Cardoso	Y	N	N	Y	N	part 1 copy of Hebrew version; part 2 copy of Dutch version + additions
C5	7e	<a href="#">Encyclopaedia rabbinica neerlandica</a>	1950	Dutch	Volledge handwriting	Brandon/Melzer	Y	N	N	Y	N	printed version of eh-48-d-13. Two annotated booklets by Abraham Pereira and Hazzan Nabarro
D	8	<a href="#">Vahaba</a>	>2005	English	Seder Chazzanut Amara	Sandervan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
D1	9	<a href="#">eh-47-d-20</a>	1767	Heb	noted penman	Shelomo Saruk	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Chosen da, the Hague
D2	5	<a href="#">D1-V-1206</a>	1810-1813	Dutch	Orde der anemanten	unknown	N	N	N	Y	N	date acc. to Bat Waller, because Händel writes "taten" looks more to be "neglement van orde"

E11A-1206 & D1-47-D-45 are pending to be uploaded by Ets Haim  
relevant [1645 Menasseh Ben Israel - The dawn of Zion](#)

eh-48-e-01 by Jos<sup>h</sup> Ets Haim writes Jos huah, but that is incorrect

when = when to say  
where = which book/page  
how = e.g. standing, communal singing  
what = name of prayer  
why = which melody  
why = reason for debating minhag

Y = mostly  
N = occasionally

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