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## Jews and Judaism in the Hartlib Circle

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The Iewes are said to have a Marke vpon them of infamie; the Men et Women are both said to looke paler et more-dead like then other people et it is certain that all their Women have a vile smel which is like carrion which cometh from their head et nose. Sir Thomas Roe at Constantinopel heard this of the chiefe of them who confessed it to him.<sup>1</sup>

This remark, apparently dating from early 1634, is one of the few comments about Jewish matters written by Samuel Hartlib in his *Ephemerides* during the 1630s. It is doubtful whether Hartlib had encountered real Jews by that time either in East Prussia, where the presence of Jews was negligible until the mid-seventeenth century, or in England, where Jews had been forbidden to live since they were driven out in 1290. However, he had no difficulty in accepting statements of the kind made by Sir Thomas Roe. The repertory of images belonging to Hartlib and his circle regarding the Jews was nourished by stereotypes that had been deeply rooted in European consciousness since the Middle Ages and had become commonly accepted.<sup>2</sup> Rumours about the bad odour of the Jews found their way into Christian European culture from the epigrams of Martial and the writings of Marcellinus, and as early as the sixth century Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus was able to tell about five hundred Jews whose foul odour was removed by baptism: 'Ablitur judaeus odor baptismate divo, Aspersusque sacro fit gregis alter odor.'<sup>3</sup>

The information received by Hartlib in a letter sent to him from Rotterdam on 4 May 1645 regarding the 'Experiment of making stinking water sweete,' most likely referred in some way, perhaps indirectly, to this matter:

for hee that hath the Secrett [of making stinking water sweete] is wholly bent to advance Religious Aimes and would spend what he getteth upon that Object of Gods Glory, which is most eminent viz: to further the conversion of the Iewes and the Gentiles Instruction.<sup>4</sup>

The matter of the bad odour exuded by Jews was combined with another stubborn and no less surprising rumour which spread widely in fifteenth century Spain: that every month the Jews excrete blood like menstruating women, and therefore most of them are pale. During the 1630s, close to the time when Hartlib recorded the remark he had heard from Sir Thomas Roe, that their men and women, 'are both said to looke paler', the Spanish scholar Don Juan de Quiñones wrote a work, which is preserved in manuscript in Lisbon, about the menstruation of Jewish men and their pallor.<sup>5</sup> Of course Roe's statement that he had heard these things from 'the head of the Jews' in Constantinople is dubious, but the claim was apparently familiar in the Ottoman Empire among the Sephardic Jews, who had perhaps heard echoes of what had been written on this subject in early modern Spain.<sup>6</sup>

Most of the other remarks that Hartlib wrote in his journal regarding the Jews referred to converts or the conversion of the Jews. Thus, for example, on 1 July 1635 he wrote: 'A Jew now at Leiden was converted by reading of Practice of Piety [Factoria Practicae Theologiae, Angliae].'<sup>7</sup> Sir Thomas Roe, who knew of Hartlib's interest in the conversion of the Jews, wrote to him on 22 October 1639: '[...] to recommend vnto you this bearer Mr. Brandon, borne a Jew & of rich parents; but being converted, & I beleieve truly to our reformed religion, they [the Jews] have in effect cast him off'. Brandon, who wandered back and forth between London and Hamburg, returned to England and even gained assistance from 'Mr. Durye [...] his great friend', who 'hath much compassion of him'.<sup>8</sup>

In July 1647 Hartlib received a letter in similar spirit, this time from William Adderley, who introduced a man named Mr Mello to him. Mello, too, was 'a converted Christian Jew who can speake severall tongues & write faire, & may be very vsefull if he be imployed according to those talents which the Lord hath sanctified to him [...] he may be vsefull in his generation to glorifye Jesus Christ who hath brought him out of darkness into light'.<sup>9</sup>

Until the end of 1655, when Menasseh ben Israel arrived on his mission to Oliver Cromwell for the purpose of permitting the Jews to return to England, it is doubtful whether Hartlib had met any Jews other than these converts. As noted, Jews did not live openly in London until then, and only a small colony of crypto-Jews of Spanish and Portuguese origin had gathered there. These *marranos*, who had arrived in England from Iberia, continued to present themselves as Roman Catholics and took part in masses in the Spanish embassy. They used to gather in the home of the central figure in this group, Antonio Fernández Carvajal, a wealthy merchant who acted as the agent of Cromwell. There they secretly held Jewish services. Most of these New Christians had never tasted open Jewish life, and all of them took care to hide behind the mask of Catholicism, at least until the affair of the *marrano* merchant Robles blew up in 1656.

This forced them to identify as Jews and in its aftermath Cromwell granted them, although only orally, the right to worship in a private synagogue and to bury their dead in a separate cemetery. However, even after they were permitted to express their hidden Jewish identity, not all of them were in a hurry to do so. Some of them were buried as Christians even after the establishment of the congregation's cemetery in Mile End. Not only did this pattern of living a double life not disappear at the beginning of the Restoration, when the Jews received official and explicit recognition from Charles II, it actually became more common and acute.<sup>10</sup> There is no proof that Hartlib had connections with members of this group at any stage. However, it is possible that the 'Portugal Jew' who possessed a 'medicinal stone', about whom Hartlib wrote in his journal in mid-1655, saying that he cured a man 'in agone mortis et that was given over for dead by Dr. Goddard', was close to the crypto-Jews in London.<sup>11</sup> However, it is doubtful whether Hartlib knew him personally, or that the man was actually Jewish. One gains the impression that he was none other than a Portuguese New Christian, and the matters mentioned in the *Ephemerides*, which Hartlib heard from 'minister Cooper' on 4 August 1655 strengthen this impression: '[...] the lew who had the famed stone (for which the King of Portugal offered him 50. thousand lb. to bee given to my Lord Protector) how by reason of certain debts hee was gone out of England promising to returne'.<sup>12</sup>

In contrast to Hartlib, John Dury had direct contacts with Jews at various stages of his life. Even as a young man, when he lived in Leiden and studied at the Walloon seminary, he could have formed early relations with individual Jews whom he met at the Calvinist university at that time. His trips to the continent between 1631 and 1641 also afforded him the possibility of closely observing real Jewish communities in Germany and the Netherlands. When he settled in the Hague in 1642 as chaplain to Charles I's daughter Princess Mary, and later when he moved to Rotterdam in 1644 as chaplain to the Merchant Adventurers, new channels of contact with Jews in Holland were probably opened for him.<sup>13</sup> At the same time, one gains the impression that until the end of the 1640s, when he began to form a close relationship with Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel, one of the rabbis of the Sephardic community in Amsterdam (whom he had apparently met as early as around 1644), Dury drew his knowledge of the Jews solely through the mediation of Christian Hebraists. In this he was not different from Hartlib, whose access to sources of information about the Jews was even more restricted.

In 1641 Hartlib and Dury made contact with the German Orientalist Johan Stephan Rittangel in the course of his short and unplanned visit to England. Rittangel, who had been appointed professor extraordinarius at Koenigsberg, was viewed by them, correctly, as a most important authority in Jewish matters. In 1642 Hartlib wrote of him that his 'studies and conversation hath beene these twenty yeares wholly spent amongst

the Jewes of the East, and some of the West, to know all the mysteries of their learning, and what course may be taken for their conversion, who speaketh their language more readily then his mothers tongue, and who is perfectly versed in their Authors'. Hartlib viewed him, along with Dury and Comenius, as one of the 'Three special Instruments of the publique good in the ways of Religion, Learning and the Preparatives for the Conversion of the Jewes'.<sup>14</sup> However, his contacts with Rittangel were short-lived, and the hopes that he had pinned upon gaining assistance from his ample knowledge of the Jews were quickly dashed. In 1642 Rittangel published an edition of *Sefer Yetzira* (The Book of Creation) in Amsterdam, with Latin translation and notes. This short mystical composition was written between the first and sixth centuries and became one of the classics of Jewish mystical literature. Two years later, in Koenigsberg, he published a Passover Haggadah with a German translation and notes in Latin. With respect to the extent of his knowledge of post-biblical Jewish literature, both Rabbinic and Kabbalistic, and with respect to his mastery of the Hebrew language, Rittangel was without doubt head and shoulders above the other European Hebraists at that time. However, the dispute that he held with a Jew in Amsterdam in 1642 shows that his arguments against Judaism were rather conservative and lacked the eschatological expectation of the conversion of the Jews in the millenarian age which characterised the thought of Hartlib and his circle.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, at that time, he made contact with several members of the Dutch group that was connected with Hartlib, the most important among them being, without doubt, Johannes Moriaen of Nuremberg, who had settled in Amsterdam in 1637. From there Moriaen kept up a wide-ranging correspondence with Hartlib, made the acquaintance of Menasseh ben Israel, and served as an intermediary between them. Moriaen reported to Hartlib in March 1642 that Rittangel's translation of *Sefer Yetzira*, by presenting the hidden secrets of the rabbis with respect to the Trinity, would help Christians in their polemics against anti-Trinitarians and Jews. However, before long the connections with Rittangel ceased entirely (apparently around 1646), because of the man's difficult character.<sup>16</sup>

The name of Christian Ravius, the well-known Hebraist from Berlin, also occupied a prominent place for some time in the Hartlib circle's educational plans regarding Judaism. However, because these plans were never carried out, contacts with him lasted only a short while.<sup>17</sup> In contrast, ties with Adam Boreel, the Dutch Hebraist and Collegiant, continued at least from 1646 to 1661.<sup>18</sup> His activities to promote the publication of a vocalised Hebrew edition of the Mishnah and for the publication of a translation of the Mishnah into Latin and Spanish received constant encouragement from Hartlib and Dury. The latter wrote about him in late August 1646 with great enthusiasm regarding his devotion 'to spend himself wholly upon the thinges yt are most eminently usefull to the Kingdome of Christ in the Gospell'. From this letter one learns that 'to satisfie

himself in dealing with the Jewes, & to inable others heerafter to deale with them', Borel spent seven to eight years with a Jew, Jacob Judah Leon, whom he hired to study the Mishnah and its main commentaries with him.<sup>19</sup> We shall return to this matter below.

The Dutch millenarist, Petrus Serrarius, a friend of Dury's from their studies at the Walloon seminary in Leiden during the 1620s, also played a key role in the connections that Hartlib and his partners formed with Jews from Holland and other places, from at least 1650 until his death in 1669. Serrarius transmitted important information to Hartlib and Dury about the disposition of the Jews of Amsterdam, especially at the time of the Sabbatean messianic fervour that set the entire Jewish world in an uproar in 1665-1667, and also gleaned information from the Levant about the 'messiah' Shabetai Zevi and the echoes aroused among both Jews and Christians by his actions, including his conversion to Islam.<sup>20</sup> In sum: Hartlib and Dury, and of course Comenius, drew their information about the Jews and Judaism from secondary sources - and in fact until 1648, when Menasseh ben Israel entered the picture, virtually their sole source of information was a group of Protestant Hebraists who were active mainly in the Dutch Republic. They, in turn, were in contact with a small number of Sephardic Jews resident in Amsterdam. Aside from Rittangel and Ravius, all the other Hebraists in this group had rather mediocre knowledge of Judaism, and in any event they were not known as the authors of original scholarly work on the subject. Hartlib and his associates were not acquainted with seventeenth century English Hebraism, which at that time, with the exception of the work of scholars like John Selden, John Lightfoot and Edward Pococke, had not attained serious achievements. As David Katz put it: 'It was recognised fairly early on that much of the work was inferior and that many of the purported Hebraists knew little more than the Hebrew alphabet'.<sup>21</sup> However, particularly in the light of all this, and taking note of the rather marginal concern with Jewish matters on the part of Hartlib and his associates until the early 1640s, the great importance that they bestowed upon the subject of the Jews in their educational plans, at least from 1642 on, is striking. In that year, at the time of the fateful events connected with the beginning of the civil war, the start of the crusade of the godly against Antichrist, Hartlib published his *Englands Thankfulness*. This work, which is permeated with the Puritan enthusiasm characteristic of that period, called for the unification of the Protestant camp in order 'to draw one line in the wayes of propagating Humane and Divine knowledge, that then they could easily ferment throughly the rest of the world with Learning and Reformation'.<sup>22</sup> In this work, the endeavour which must be invested in order to bring the Jews to 'true conversion' to Christianity was presented as one of the most important aims of the Protestant camp and of the English people, along with the efforts to reform education and advance science, and to promote Protestant unity and the reform of churches and churchmen. The footsteps of

redemption, heralding the realisation of God's kingdom, require Protestants to bring the Jews into the bosom of Christ, 'because none are fit to deale with them to bring them to Christ, but Protestants'. The effort is important, in his opinion, 'in the care of building up Protestants within themselves'.<sup>23</sup> However, in order to pave the way for the conversion of the Jews, which was prophesied in the Book of Daniel and in Revelations, it was necessary 'to make Christianity lesse offensive, and more knowne unto the Jewes, then now it is, and the Jewish State and Religion as now it standeth more knowne unto Christians'. Thus the Protestants had 'to perfect within themselves that part of knowledge and learning, which is necessary to prepare a way for their conversion'.<sup>24</sup>

Hartlib and Dury based their view of the place of the Jews in the millenary age on the English Protestant apocalyptic tradition which, from the time of John Bale on, made the Jew into a 'glorious apocalyptic agent', in absolute contrast to the eschatology of Martin Luther, according to which the Jews were destined, along with the Antichrist, Satan, and Gog and Magog, to be objects of the wrath of God.<sup>25</sup>

When he commented on the vision of the seven vials or Judgments in the Book of Revelations, Thomas Brightman maintained that the fifth vial was connected with the destruction of Rome, which was supposed to take place in 1650, whereas the sixth vial, which would come afterward, referred to the conversion of the Jews.<sup>26</sup> Hartlib and Dury drew freely upon Brightman's apocalyptic teachings, which led to a radical rehabilitation of the Jews, as having to fulfill an actual historical function in salvation history. However, they were influenced above all by Joseph Mede, whom Hartlib met in Cambridge during his first visit to England from 1625 to 1626, when Mede was finishing his highly influential work, *Clavis apocalyptica*, in which he argued that after the sixth vial, which signifies the expected conversion of the Jews, will come the seventh and last vial, which signifies Christ's second coming and the start of the millennium. Mede expected 'a parallel development of the Jewish Church and the Christian, which with the conversion of the Jews would unite them in New Jerusalem'.<sup>27</sup>

Hartlib and his circle indeed pinned great hopes upon the period 1650-1656, and at a certain stage they viewed the years 1655-1656 as the time when the conversion of the Jews would be accomplished. They found support for this not only in their interpretation of the Book of Daniel and of Revelations but also in traditions and in persistent anecdotes that all joined together to reinforce their apocalyptic vision. Thus, for example, Hartlib noted in his *Ephemerides*, in 1650, what he had been told by Thomas Goodwin

of a Portugal Iew once arrived at Amsterdam where H. Broughton and old Mr. Forbes were disputing and Broughton being too choleric and not able to beare the blasphemies and hard speeches of the Iew, after

the conference was broke of the Jew came to Mr. Forbes approving his meeknes and to requite that kind disposition would entrust him with a great secret, which was nothing else but a Tradition common amongst the Iews viz. that if their Messias did not come in the year 1650 it should bee taken for granted that the Messias of the Christians was the Messias, which will make all overtures from the Iews about this time the more observable.<sup>28</sup>

As early as 1631 Dury had offered his opinion regarding the need to create a 'meanes to perfect the knowledge of the Orientall tongues and to gaine abillities fitt to deale with the Iewes, whose callinge is supposed to be neere at hand'.<sup>29</sup> But these general ideas, which were meant to prepare the ground for the conversion of the Jews, became a full-fledged programme only in the late 1640s as a result of the Puritan revolution. At that time the conversion of the Jews became one of the central goals that preoccupied Hartlib and his circle, both in their writing and their action: 'a worke as most Divines conceive shortly to bee expected and without doubt at hand, but such as would not only bee a temporall but a true & eternall Honour to them that sought or furthered it'.<sup>30</sup>

In their view, the conversion was to take place by means of divine providence, and they did not regard human intervention of one kind or another for the purpose of its realisation as necessary or desirable. However, although Jewish studies were not conceived as a factor that would hasten the messianic process, they did regard the very awakening of interest in the study of Hebrew in their time as an indubitable sign that the days of the millennium were imminent. Dury wrote on this matter quite explicitly in his letter to Hartlib, on 31 August, 1646:

for no doubt the tyme doth draw neer of their calling; & these preparatifs [Boreel's efforts to publish a Latin translation of the Mishnah and other similar projects] are cleer presages of the purpose of God in his worke [...] & the many wayes wch are now intended for the facilitating of the studie of the Orientall languages amongst Christians is another token of the same purpose of divine Providence.<sup>31</sup>

In a similar spirit, but with a slightly different emphasis, Dury wrote in a letter to Hartlib toward the end of 1647: 'I am still in the same mind I was in long ago concerning the Conuersion of the Iewes; that God will certainly bring it to passe'.<sup>32</sup>

In this letter Dury mentioned the means by which 'the Iewes shall obtaine the mercy of beeing restored again unto God'. According to Dury, the grace that the Gentiles had received would play a decisive role in converting the Jews, for: 'the Riches of God's graces upon the Gentiles shall not only provoke the Iews to Ieaousie & emulation [...] but it shall bee a



Meanes through which Grace will bee conveyed unto them'. This grace would attain 'fulness', the likes of which have never been seen, when the Protestants achieved unity, and purified Christianity was disseminated among those who had not yet received it. All of this was to take place at a stage preceding the conversion of the Jews.<sup>33</sup>

Indeed, among the many educational programmes which Hartlib and Dury developed during the 1640s, in a desire to achieve an extensive reform in education in preparation for the millennial age, the subject of the Jews played a rather considerable part. One of their explicit goals was to prepare the means to create proper conditions for the conversion of the Jews, which was inevitable in any event. According to their approach, for Christians to assume such a weighty task, they would have to know the languages of the Jews and early rabbinical sources. This knowledge would make it easier for them to induce the Jews to acknowledge that the tidings of Christianity were marvelously consistent with the teachings of their major sages and even derived from them. Dury gave explicit expression to this in his *A Seasonable discourse*, which Hartlib published in 1649. As he wrote: 'that the Christian religion doth teach nothing, but that Truth nakedly, which of old was darkly spoken of, and believed by the chief Doctors of the Jewes Themselves, and from the beginning by Moses and the Prophets'.<sup>34</sup>

In 1646 Dury still believed that the most appropriate place to establish a centre to disseminate Jewish sources in translation was the city of Amsterdam, 'where there is a Synagogue of the Lewes, & a constant waye of correspondencie towards the orientall parts of the world; & where there are some alreddie in a public waye intending the promotion of those studies'.<sup>35</sup> Indeed, quite a few of Hartlib's correspondents in Holland, who included, among others, Johannes Moriaen, Justianus van Assche, Godofroid Horton and Petrus Serrarius, were especially interested in Jewish studies. Dury assumed that Ravius, who was held to be well versed in Hebrew sources, could play a major role in his plans, and that the Dutch centre 'will be a place more fit for his abode then any in england'.<sup>36</sup> At the same time, from a series of letters and drafts that have come down to us, we find that even then, along with these plans, Hartlib and Dury began to sketch proposals for the establishment of a Federative University in London, one of whose colleges was to concentrate on Jewish studies. A printed plan from 1647 speaks of three colleges: one Latin, one Greek and one Hebrew (a Utopian dream that was consistent with the other projects which Hartlib was a partner in advancing).<sup>37</sup> In each of the colleges the students would specialise in one of the three languages. In Hartlib's vision, after the establishment of such an institution

all forraigne Protestants of worth in this westerne world could send their sonnes to the University of London and our elder Brethren the Jewes, now, their conversion to the Christian Faith is at hand, some of



you perhaps shall liue to see many of them come out of the East, and also heare them sing David's Psalmes, and Hebrew songs joyfully with us, their westerne English Brethren here in London, when they are all come out of their Captivity, as blessed by the Lord we already are.<sup>38</sup>

In a short anonymous work, which has been preserved among the Hartlib papers, an even more ambitious plan is found. It speaks of the establishment of colonies where Latin, Greek and Hebrew would be spoken, and young people would be sent there to settle and adapt to speaking and writing in those languages. With respect to the Hebrew colony, it would be composed 'of such Iewes as are best learned & to whom the Hebrew Tongue is most knowne & familiar'. The author of this plan had learned that the Jews of Thessalonika in Greece spoke among themselves no language other than 'the pur Hebrew Tongue'. 'If therefore some families of Iewes which use the Hebrew Tongue & noe other amongst themselves were brought together into one village or Towne or Colledge, there would be a lively & perpetuall exercize of the Hebrew Language'. However, the author of this proposal refrained from treating the cardinal question that this type of project ought to have awakened, which is 'whether or noe and how [far] Iewes may be tolerated amongst christians [for] all the well thereof might be prevented by good Lawes'.<sup>39</sup>

In contrast, however, only Christians, not Jews, were supposed to study in the special college 'for Conversions or correspondency of Jews and advancement of Oriental Language and Learning' at the University of London with the eleven colleges as planned by Hartlib.<sup>40</sup> This college was intended to foster the study of those Eastern languages which were needed to read ancient Jewish and Christian sources, and for translations which would make it possible to circulate them among Christians. An additional task that they sought to accomplish was the translation of the New Testament into Hebrew so that Jews could identify their own pure faith in it, the faith that their leaders denied when they rejected the message of Jesus. The names of Boreel, Ravius and even of Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel were mentioned as possible candidates for teaching posts in that proposed institution, but I doubt whether the Sephardic rabbi of Amsterdam was involved in any way in this plan or that he knew about it at that stage. Contrary to the opinion expressed by Richard H. Popkin, I doubt whether he indeed was prepared to come and play the role in which he was cast by Hartlib and Dury.<sup>41</sup>

In *A Seasonable Discourse* Dury wrote in detail about the goals of the college 'for the propagating of Orientall Languages', which he saw as a central element in the great education reform that he was planning. This was to be in the spirit of the educational views that he had developed in cooperation with Comenius and Hartlib, according to which 'the whole way of teaching must be made free, ingenuous and delightful'.<sup>42</sup>

Just as the college ‘towards the advancement of Universal learning’ was intended to help people become more rational, so, too, the college for the study of ‘Oriental tongues and Jewish Mysteries’ was intended to make people more ‘pious’, since the ‘first oracles of God’ were delivered in those languages, and the revelation of the true worship and religion was transmitted to humanity by means of Judaism. Therefore a great blessing would accrue to Christianity if believers were given access to the hidden treasures that were preserved in the Oriental languages. This knowledge would assist Christians in better understanding their own faith. For although they were aware of what they needed for salvation, and they were well acquainted with the new divine message, ‘yet we are then but half-instructed for the advancement of the kingdom to the world, if we have not the old also’.<sup>43</sup>

Furthermore, knowledge of Oriental languages would help the Christians make contact with their Jewish contemporaries so as to bring them to acknowledge the truth of Christianity, which is consistent with the Old Testament. Dury also had concrete proposals for accomplishing his plan: he sought to obtain from the state the sum of £1,000 annually. He also hoped that the state would appoint overseers for the institute and that it would solicit private contributions to purchase manuscripts and to send emissaries abroad. These emissaries would contact Jews and negotiate with them so as to win them over to Christianity. Dury maintained that if this entire project were implemented, ‘it is very evident that the Glory of God [would] thereby be very much advanced, the honour of this Nation greatly upheld, and the reall intentions of Parliament, to propagate Religion and Learning manifested to their praise in this and after Ages’.<sup>44</sup>

This ambitious project was not implemented, and the hopes of Hartlib and Dury were never realised. They themselves never published any Hebrew or Jewish work, nor did they manage to raise the funds needed for the translation project that they envisaged. At the same time, they did not miss any opportunity that came their way to encourage cooperation with others, both Jewish and Christian, in publishing the basic texts of Judaism. The point of departure for their approach was recognition that a considerable portion of the Jews of Western Europe, and especially of the Dutch Republic, with whom they had direct or indirect contact, themselves lacked sufficient knowledge of their Jewish heritage. Hartlib and Dury believed that the correct socialisation of ‘the common sort of Jewes’ will make them know ‘wt the Constitution of their Religion is’, and by that way would make them susceptible of understanding the truth of Christianity.<sup>45</sup>

It is only fair to note that this assumption, that a large number of the Jews of Western Europe, especially the simple folk among them, lacked sufficient Jewish education, was not a fabrication. Until the mid-seventeenth century, most of the Jews of Amsterdam were former *marranos*

who had emigrated from Spain and Portugal, where they had received a Roman Catholic education. Their knowledge of Judaism, from which they had been forcibly separated, was vague and partial. In the new Jewish centre that they founded on their own in Amsterdam, Jewish educational institutions were indeed established. These were intended to facilitate the return of the New Christians to the Jewish religion. But the average level of knowledge of the Hebrew language and of Jewish subjects among the first generation of immigrant *marranos* was rather thin and superficial.<sup>46</sup> The German Jews, too, who emigrated to Amsterdam during the Thirty Years' War were mainly people of limited Jewish education. Most of them were peddlers, livestock merchants and butchers. The tribulations of the war and the disruption of emigration did not of course foster their erudition. Astonishingly, those Ashkenazi Jews, who came from centres where organised Jewish communities and institutions existed, came to depend socially and organisationally upon the new congregation of former *marranos*, who invested significant resources in the education of the refugees from Germany in *bom judesmo* (proper Judaism). Not until the mid-1650s, with the arrival of waves of immigration from Poland-Lithuania, in the aftermath of the Swedish invasion and the wars between Poland and the Muscovites, did Jews begin to settle in Amsterdam and Hamburg who possessed a rich and deeply rooted Jewish heritage.<sup>47</sup>

Certainly the Sephardic community in Amsterdam succeeded in establishing a splendid educational institution, in which innovative educational methods were employed. Studies there were graded and rational (showing no small influence from Jesuit pedagogy), and strong emphasis was placed on the systematic teaching of the Hebrew language. Nevertheless, the activity of this institution, and even its success, could not improve significantly the pale Jewish character of the adult *marrano* immigrants. With respect to the younger generation of pupils, the curriculum and the methods of study in the Amsterdam educational institution could not bring them to impressive achievements in knowledge of Jewish legal literature. In this field they could not compete with the products of the traditional yeshivas in the Ottoman Empire and Poland-Lithuania. Menasseh ben Israel and Jacob Judah Leon, the two most prominent Jews who maintained close and long-standing ties with the Hartlib circle, were indeed the products of Sephardic Jewish education in Amsterdam. Both of them had decent command of the Hebrew language, even receiving appointments as teachers and rabbis. Their command of several European languages (especially in the case of Menasseh ben Israel) and their rather broad theological training permitted them to make connections with representatives of the *République des lettres* of their generation. However, they belonged to a thin stratum of 'clerics' who were active in the Western Sephardic Jewish communities.<sup>48</sup> These were few in number in comparison to 'the common sort of Iewes', who constituted the majority of the communities of Amsterdam, Middelburg and Hamburg.

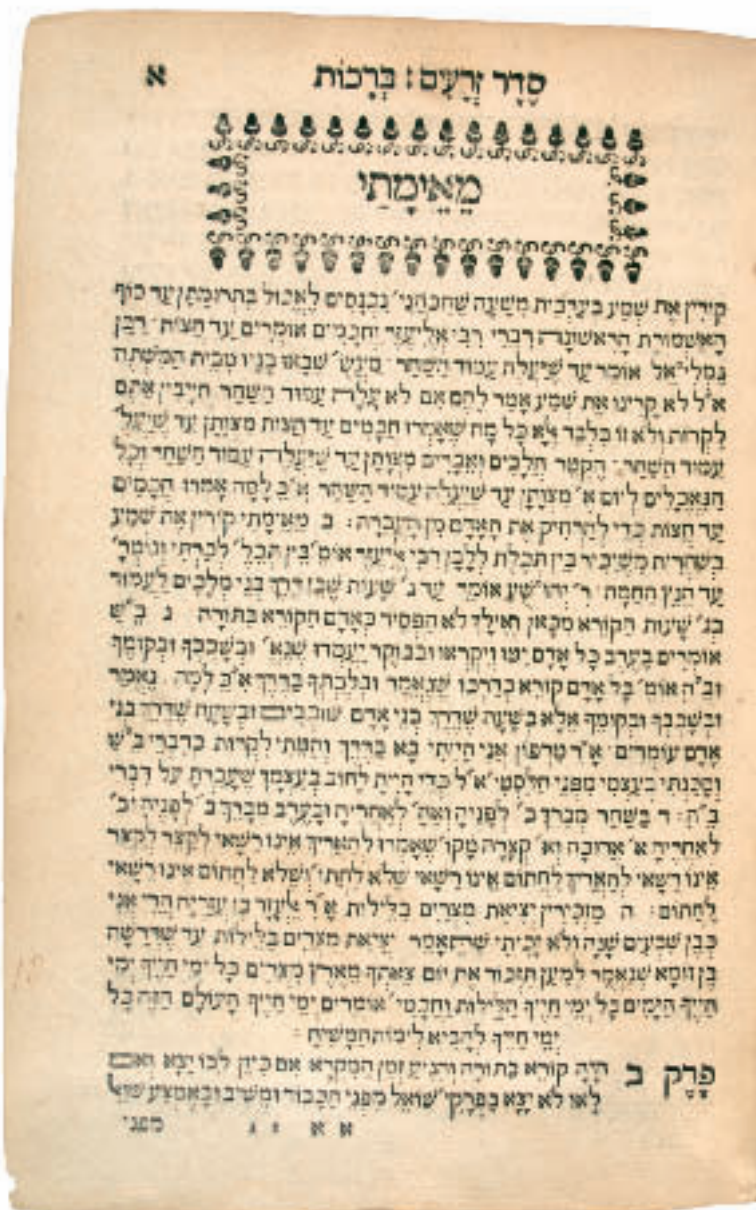
Therefore we need not be surprised by the importance that Hartlib and some of his correspondents attributed to the publication of a vocalised Hebrew edition of the Mishnah in 1646. Without doubt, the intended readership addressed by this edition was principally Jewish, and therefore it was decided to conceal the role played by Boreel in its preparation:

Fig. 1  
Title page of Mishnayot  
with annotations by  
Yomtov Lipman and  
Solomon Adeni.  
(Amsterdam 1646),  
*Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana*,  
Ros. 1899 G 28 (Rok A-1230)





Fig. 2  
 First page of Berakhot.  
 Mishnayot with annotations  
 by Yomtov Lipman and  
 Solomon Adeni. (Amster-  
 dam 1646), *Bibliotheca  
 Rosenthaliana*, Ros. 1899  
 G 28 (Rok A-1230)



‘because if it should be put forth under the name, or by the Industrie of any Christian, it would not be of Credit amongst them’.<sup>49</sup>

Popkin has maintained that ‘even if Boreel did all their work’, he needed a rabbinical ‘cover’ so as to make the book acceptable to the Jews. However, it seems more likely that most of the work was actually done by Jacob

Judah Leon, who not only vocalised the Hebrew text, but also arranged the inclusion of the traditional commentators as an accompaniment to the text. Leon is described in a letter of 1647 as ‘one of the most learned amongst their Rabbies’<sup>50</sup>, a statement that is not consistent with Popkin’s opinion that ‘Boreel [...] was apparently a better Hebraist than the Rabbi’.<sup>51</sup> The part played by Boreel in this project was that of the initiator, in that he employed Rabbi Jacob Judah Leon in Middelburg for more than eight years and paid him for his work. The Jews sought to conceal Boreel’s role as the initiator and publisher, and for that reason the edition was produced in the printing house of Menasseh ben Israel, which was transferred to his son Joseph in that year. Menasseh ben Israel, who, without knowing about Boreel’s enterprise, had also begun a similar project of vocalising the Mishnah, wrote the foreword, which was placed before the introduction by Rabbi Jacob Judah Leon.<sup>52</sup>

It is particularly interesting that for Boreel, Dury and Hartlib, there was a special reason for preparing a vocalised Hebrew edition of the Mishnah. The Mishnah, which was edited and completed in the early third century, contains the elements of the Oral Law, and it is the *halakhic* code that constitutes the basis of the Talmud. It was consolidated at the time of the emergence of Christianity, when it parted ways with Judaism. It seems likely that Boreel and his correspondents in England assumed that in order for them to be able to convince the Jews of the truth of the Christian message, it was important for the Jews to know the ancient rabbinical work which was composed by their spiritual leadership at the time of Jesus and his disciples. Knowledge of this Jewish heritage would, in the opinion of the Hartlib circle, make it easier for the general Jewish public, which lacked an adequate Jewish education, to understand the Jewish elements of Christianity. They could be brought to recognise the elements common both to their Sages and the teachings of Jesus, and it could be proven to them that it was not Christianity which had strayed from the prophetic tradition, but rather the Pharisees, the Sages of the Mishnah, who were active at the time of the appearance of the Christian messiah.

The Hebrew edition was also intended so ‘that the learned sort of Christians upon the same discoverie might bee able to know how to deale with them for their Conviction’.<sup>53</sup> In other words, Christian scholars could, after studying the Mishnah, better respond to their Jewish adversaries. However, in a letter sent to Hartlib on 8 September 1646, Dury already acknowledged that the Hebrew edition of the Mishnah, unless ‘it bee translated into Latin that it will not bee much affected amongst our Hebricians’.<sup>54</sup>

From the correspondence of 1659-1661 between Hartlib and John Worthington, master of Jesus College in Cambridge, we learn that indeed the Hebrew edition of the Mishnah did not enjoy commercial success in the English Christian community. Hartlib did not manage to sell even a single copy of the consignment of three hundred which he had received

from Boreel.<sup>55</sup> The correspondence of Mersenne reveals that the copies that had been sent to Paris and elsewhere met a similar fate.<sup>56</sup> This supports our estimation of the dismal state of Hebrew studies at that time. The enthusiasm of Hartlib and his friends did not inspire a broad public of interested people, but this fact did not discourage their efforts to reach additional readers by means of the Latin edition upon which Boreel was working. In December 1660 Worthington announced in one of his letters to Hartlib: 'I know no two designs so considerable for such like advantages to Christianity, as the publishing this ancient body of the Jewish religion, the Mishneh and also the Alcoran, in a language generally known, as the Latin is'.<sup>57</sup>

Regarding the Koran, it is interesting to note that as early as 1649 Dury referred seriously to the importance of studying this work for the purpose of refuting it. In a letter Dury asked Benjamin Worsley to ascertain from Moriaen or from Boreel in Amsterdam whether Menasseh ben Israel or any of the other rabbis knew 'whether the Lewes have never written any thing against the Alcoran? or against Mahomet to refute his Religion? and if they have controverted with him in former times [...] whether among the Lewes there is no History exstant of the life of Mahomet?'.<sup>58</sup> In this instance, the experience of the Jews in theological disputes with Muslims was supposed to assist the Christians and provide them with additional arguments in their polemic against Islam.

Hartlib and the members of his circle continued to show interest in the Latin translation of the Mishnah, upon which Boreel had been working for years, though their hopes of seeing it completed were foiled. Boreel maintained that there was no reason to publish the Latin translation without the traditional Jewish commentaries, for the Christian public could not understand the text without accompanying explanations. Similarly the translation into Spanish, upon which Templo was working, with guidance from Boreel, could not achieve its goals among Sephardic Jewish readers who did not know Hebrew, because of the difficulty of the text: 'for the words are so few & [...] of uncouth & unaccustomed matters'.<sup>59</sup> It would be incomprehensible unless presented with the classical Jewish commentaries. Thus Boreel died in 1665 without seeing the completion of the project upon which he had worked for more than twenty years.

Rabbi Jacob Judah Leon had meanwhile earned considerable profit from another project, also initiated by Boreel. At the time that both of them were promoting the Mishnah project in Middelburg, Boreel financed the construction of a model of Solomon's Temple, making use of the rabbi's great expertise in this matter. As early as 1642 Jacob Judah Leon composed a work in Spanish on the first Temple, which was published in Holland, and afterward translations into other languages were printed.<sup>60</sup> Worthington had seen the book in French translation in 1661 at the home of Dr Ralph Cudworth, but by mistake he attributed it to the





Fig. 3  
 Rabbi Jacob Judah Leon  
 Templo's broadsheet of the  
 Tabernacle, accompanying  
 his model of the Temple.  
 Hand-coloured poster,  
*Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana*,  
 Ros. A 7-1

Venetian Rabbi Leone Modena.<sup>61</sup> Jacob Judah Leon's fascination with the Temple gained him the appellation, 'Templo'. For millenarians the subject of the Temple was of double importance. At a time when the messianic age was at hand, it was important to inquire into the form and dimensions of the original Temple, which was to be rebuilt upon the arrival of the redeemer. At the same time, since the First Temple had been erected according to divine measurements, and was a kind of microcosm of all of creation, acquiring knowledge of its exact form became a challenge of major importance for those preparing themselves for the commencement of the millennial age.<sup>62</sup> Dury saw the model in 1646 and regarded it as an additional means both for learning more about the Jews and also to convert them to Christianity:

& yt one peece of discoverie of Jewish matters will be an inlett to the manifestation of all other things wch concerne the tenour of their Religion: & so a meanes to raise mens thoughts to mind them, & to

compare their former & latter wayes of worshipping God & to offer unto them yt truth of worship wch is most spirituall, wch the prophets have foretold should be exercised in the Kingdome of the Messias.<sup>63</sup>

When Rabbi Templo moved to Amsterdam, he took the model with him and exhibited it for a fee in his house and elsewhere to large crowds of sightseers. In time his house became a well-known and popular tourist attraction. In the summer of 1661 the syndics of the Sephardic congregation of Amsterdam, in view of the ‘scandal that results from the fact that goyim enter the house of Jacob Judah Leon the teacher on sabbaths and holidays’, decided to forbid him to open his private museum on those days.<sup>64</sup>

However, although Hartlib and Dury showed great interest in *halakhic* and rabbinic literature, and viewed its dissemination and study, both among Jews lacking Jewish education and also among Christian scholars, as a central tool in the effort to bring about the conversion of the Jews, they were particularly fond of the Karaites. That sect, which had split off from Judaism during the early Middle Ages, had flourished greatly, both with respect to their numbers and also to their religious and intellectual productivity, in Islamic countries from the tenth century on. Karaism opposed the Oral Law and the authority of the Talmud, challenging the sacral and central leadership of the Exilarch and the Geonim (the heads of the great rabbinic academies in Babylonia).<sup>65</sup> This opposition continued for generations, and the Karaites persisted in denying rabbinical authority and the source of that authority. Although Karaism was in retreat during the seventeenth century, important Karaite centres still existed in the Ottoman Levant and in Lithuania.<sup>66</sup> Moreover, particularly in that century, Hebraists, especially Protestant scholars, began to display great interest in the nature of the Karaites and their place in Judaism.<sup>67</sup> Dury had learned about them from Rittangel, who had encountered them in Turkey and Eastern Europe and who was ‘above twenty years conversant with them’.<sup>68</sup> In the mid-17th century many Karaite manuscripts were purchased by diplomats and merchants for collections and libraries and began to find their way from Turkey to Leiden, Paris and elsewhere in Western Europe. In his introduction to the book by Thomas Thorowgood, *Jews in America or the Probabilities that the Indians are Jews*, written in 1649, Dury praised the advantage of the Karaites over Talmudic Jews. He defined the main difference between them in outlines identical to that between Protestants and Catholics:

[...] for the Pharisees, as the Papist, attribute more to the Authoritie and traditions of their Rabbis and Fathers than to the word of God; but the Caraits will receive nothing for a rule of faith and obedience but what is delivered from the word of God immediately [...] These two sects are irreconcilably opposite to each other, and as the Papists deale

with Protestants, so do the Pharisees with the Caraits, they persecute and supress them and their profession by all the meanes they can possibly make use of [...]

According to Dury, the Karaites are also preferable to the Pharisaic Jews because of their more spiritual view of the messiah and his kingdom, which is 'little different from what the better sort of Christians truly believe, and professe of these misteries'. In view of all this, and considering that prophecies about the future of Israel in the messianic age were proclaimed before the split between Rabbinic and Karaite Judaism, Dury also brought the latter into the apocalyptic drama, giving them a central place alongside the Ten Lost Tribes, which had supposedly been discovered in the New World. Together, they would lead Israel to the Holy Land - the Karaites from the East and the Tribes from the West. Along with the true Protestants, the Karaites would serve as the holy army to fight the war of God in the Battle of Armageddon: 'the true Protestants with the one troope and the true Caraits with the other'.<sup>69</sup>

Thus, at the end of 1655, during the sessions of the Whitehall Commission which was appointed by Cromwell to discuss the proposal of Menasseh ben Israel for the return of the Jews to England, Boreel, who had arrived in London a short time earlier, suggested, not surprisingly, that the Karaites should also be invited to come. Hartlib, in a letter to Worthington dated 12 December 1655, expressed agreement with the idea 'that the Caraites might be invited hither and encouraged, being such as begin to look towards their engraffing again'.<sup>70</sup> However, when Dury, who had gone even further a few years earlier in order to exalt and praise the Karaites, whom he viewed as proto-Protestant Jews, was asked by Hartlib for his opinion on this subject, he answered unequivocally that the proposal to invite the Karaites, too, could undermine the efforts to bring the Jews to England, for 'to call in the Caraits would fright away these [=the Jews], for they are irreconcilable enemies'.<sup>71</sup>

In the second half of the seventeenth century, the Karaites became an important topic in Protestant discourse in Western Europe, but it was a Catholic, Richard Simon, who was particularly well disposed toward them, regarding them as 'juifs épurés'. More than anyone else he contributed to the identification of the Karaites with proto-Protestantism, and in various Protestant centres people began to view the Karaites as a possible bridge between Christianity and Judaism.<sup>72</sup> However, despite manifest sympathy with the Karaites on the part of Hartlib and his circle, they neither succeeded in making any actual contact with them, nor made any special effort to do so. In fact, they sought to build the bridge between Christianity and Judaism uniquely upon the discourse with Rabbinic Judaism which they sought to develop. In the late 1650s they even entertained the idea that it would be possible to attract Rabbinic Jews to Christianity, who could continue to observe the Laws of Moses and at the same time be

willing to acknowledge that Jesus was the messiah. Dury suggested, in an undated memorandum, that it would be possible to continue observing the commandments of Judaism and yet become a Christian, if one simultaneously believed in the teachings of Jesus:

Wherefore I conclude upon what I have said that the Law of Moses is not yet abrogated or ceased, but that a Jew believing on Christ may remain a Jew and may also in Truth be called a Christian and if I conclude rightly I could wish that this might be publicly taught and maintained as a means to draw the unconverted Jews to Christ who remain to [zealous?] for the law of Moses for probably this being thus taught it might move them more seriously to consider of our savior who was so far from being an Enemy to their Law that hee was a zealous performer and maintainer thereof, and if this be a truth and so necessary a truth how blameworthy shall we be in suppressing thereof and hereby so much as in us lyeth hinder their conversion.<sup>73</sup>

At that time Henry Jessey addressed Dury and Hartlib in this spirit regarding a Jew named Meyer Isaac, who had fled from Poland during the pogroms there and sought employment in England. On other occasions Jessey had made appeals for the poor Jews of Jerusalem and for the Jewish victims of the wars in Poland, in hopes that acts of charity by Christians would inspire them to adhere to the teachings of Jesus. He regarded the welcoming of Meyer Isaac and others like him as a chance to attract Jews who believed in Jesus to pure Christianity:

The bearer, a Jew-borne, being directed unto me by some; and I can understand but little of his language: [yet] Because he seems expert in the Hebrew; and to believe the Messiah is come, & that Jesus is He: and seems plain in his profession, and [saith he] believes not there are 3 Gods, as he thinks Christians do: he saith, he is not a Christian. But he seems to be ingenuous & docible. I entreat you not to be offended with me, that thus I send him to you, to do for him, according to his Petition, what in you is. Compassion to the Banished Jews from Poland, will not be forgotten by the Lord at the day of Recompences.<sup>74</sup>

The late 1640s, when Hartlib and Dury were immersed in formulating their comprehensive educational plans, were also years of intense activity in laying the foundations that were to permit the conversion of the Jews. Both of them encouraged Menasseh ben Israel to engage in diplomatic and propaganda efforts to promote the return of the Jews to England. Rumors about the discovery of the lost tribes in America fired Dury's imagination. He wanted to hear the opinion of the Sephardic Rabbi of Amsterdam regarding the report of the former *marrano*, Antonio de

Montezinos, who related that he had made an astounding discovery in the Andes mountains in 1644, purportedly locating remnants of the lost tribes.<sup>75</sup>

Menasseh ben Israel's response grew until it became a comprehensive treatise on the subject, which was published first in Spanish and Latin. Within a short time it was translated into English, with Dury's encouragement, by Moses Wall, another millenarian who was close to Hartlib and also a friend of Milton.<sup>76</sup> Menasseh ben Israel's treatise, though the messianic motif is central in it, was far more restrained with respect to the arrival of the messiah in the visible future. Menasseh was prepared to say on the subject no more than: 'Though we cannot exactly shew the time of our redemption, yet we judge it to be near'.<sup>77</sup>

Menasseh ben Israel was indeed encouraged by the sympathy he found among the English and other millenarians and also by the fact that they allocated a prominent role to the Jews in the messianic drama, which, in their opinion, was to take place in the near future. But at the same time, it is doubtful that he went out of his way in his writing to express messianic hopes of his own. Menasseh ben Israel sought to gain the greatest possible advantage from his contacts with the millenarians, both from a personal point of view and also with respects to the interest of the Jews. Personally he hoped that his status would be enhanced, that he would succeed in distributing his books, and that he might even obtain an honourable post. His frustrations within his own community were well known, and he believed that delivery might come from the outside. The establishment of a new community in London could have been useful to Sephardic merchants, especially in connection with their colonial trade, and it might have provided Menasseh ben Israel with a golden opportunity to serve as the chief rabbi (a post which he could not attain in Amsterdam) in a place where his reputation was already established among non-Jews.<sup>78</sup>

As late as 1655, in the well-known letter sent by Menasseh from Amsterdam to Paul Felgenhauer, there are no signs of active messianism:

Indeed is the advent of our Lord and Comforter at hand, for whom we have yearned for many generations, our Leader, the Messiah, indeed will He be sent so soon? Now you say that the time is approaching when God, who until now has been angry with us and turned His face away from us, will once again comfort and redeem His nation, not only from this captivity, which is worse than the captivity of Babylonia, from this servitude, which is worse than the servitude of Egypt, in which we long have been rotted away, but also from the injustice in which it is consumed. If only this were the truth, and to the degree that your tidings are good, to the same degree, could I only believe in it as I wish!<sup>79</sup>

Wall's famous translation of Menasseh ben Israel's book was published in 1650 under the title *The Hope of Israel*, and in the following two years two more editions were printed. These included an essay by the translator himself: *Considerations upon the Point of the Conversion of the Jews*. Compared to the relative caution of the rabbi from Amsterdam, Wall, who corresponded with Hartlib between 1652-1659, was penetrated with fervour regarding the messianic certainty: 'this present age will see those things fulfilled which we have waited and prayed for. [...] So I say, since Christ, no period of time so like to be that, in which the Jews shall be called, as this in which we live'. The conversion would take place 'in an extraordinary way'.<sup>80</sup>

In a dispute held with Sir Edward Spencer in 1650, Wall again stated emphatically that, 'the maine of their conversion will be from Heaven and extraordinary; though the Gentiles by provoking them to emulation, and also by their gifts and graces, may some way be auxiliary to them'.<sup>81</sup> Wall's essay was one of the most philo-Semitic documents composed by anyone in the circle associated with Hartlib. Wall did not spare words in bringing out the virtues of the Jews: 'they have the same Humane nature with us', 'their root is holy, though now the Branches be degenerate and wilde', 'they were children and we were Doggs, and we Doggs have got the Childrens meat before their bellies were full'. God had neither broken nor cancelled his covenant with them, but only 'suspended' it, and now, when their conversion would take place, and they once again became His people, 'He will manifest himselfe to them eminently, powerfully, and graciously, to forme them to be a people to himselfe'.<sup>82</sup>

A feeling of closeness to the millennium heightened the desire of Hartlib and Dury to work for the Jews' return to England. Daniel 12:7 states: 'and when the dispersion of the Holy people shall be completed in all places, then shall all these things be completed'. This prophecy prompted them to consider that England, too, must open its gates to the Jews, so as to guarantee their full dispersion. The help they extended to Menasseh ben Israel in his mission to Cromwell in 1655 is well known and described at length and in great detail in many studies.<sup>83</sup> However, it must be said here that Dury's relation to the Jews as a real ethnic and social entity was ambivalent and even reserved. His philo-Semitism and that of Hartlib was still dependent upon the fulfillment of a mission, which became a necessary condition for their return to the bosom of divine favour: their conversion to Christianity. Dury usually described the actual Jews in pre-millenarian times in less flattering terms. In 1652 he still expressed reservations regarding the acceptance of the Jews in England before their conversion: 'I doubt [...] wee should call them to our helpe in a Gospell Reformation before they have received Light to acknowledge Iesus Christ as their crucified Messias'.<sup>84</sup>



A more fully articulated opinion was printed in June 1656. This was based on the letters that Dury had written to Hartlib at the time of the fateful discussions on the return of the Jews, held at Cromwell's instigation. There Dury expressed his caution and reservations regarding too a permissive policy that would allow the settlement of Jews in a sweeping, unsupervised manner. Though he favoured legalisation of Jewish settlement and even found it desirable that the Jews should live in a 'Reformed Christian Commonwealth', he maintained that the subject should be approached with wisdom and proceed in a gradual manner. Menasseh ben Israel's proposal regarding a large Jewish settlement, with extensive rights granted to the Jews, seemed undesirable to him:

his demands are great, & the use which they make of great priviledges is not much to their commendation here & elsewhere: they haue wayes beyond all other men, to undermine a state, & to insinuate into those that are in offices & preiudge the trade of others, & therefore if they bee not wisely restrained they will in short time bee oppressive, if they bee such as are here in Germany.<sup>85</sup>

For his part Hartlib had written a curious remark in his journal several months earlier. This concerned the reasons for the murder of Jews by Cossacks in the pogroms that had broken out in Poland in 1648-9. He blamed the Jews themselves for the murders committed by the Ukrainians: 'About 6 or 8 years agoe the Cossacks did kill of the Polish Iew's, who formerly had vsed them very cruelly being either Innkeepers or Farmers of the Custom above 70. thousand'.<sup>86</sup>

Ultimately Dury did take a favourable view of granting the Jews permission to settle in Protestant countries, including England, since the acceptance of foreigners is 'a special dutie of Charitie unto all Christians'. Moreover, he assigned a special status to the Jews: 'no nation of the world being a greater obiect of Charitie; & fitter to bee pittied by Christians then Iewes'. Dury believed that the acceptance of the Jews in England had to be the result of considerations not of profit but 'out of Christian loue & compassion towards them', and also of the hope that God's goodness 'shall be fulfilled both in them & us, when the Messiah shall returne in his glory'.<sup>87</sup>

At the same time, he did not always display consistency in his positions, and in his letter to Hartlib dated 18 December 1655 he explicitly mentioned the benefit that would accrue to England in its war against Spain from the arrival of the Jews to settle there.<sup>88</sup> However, so that the presence of the Jews would not harm the Christian foundations of society, he argued that the rulers of the state must set limits and boundaries to prevent them from endangering the state and society, and to encourage them to convert to Christianity: 'Here at Cassell something hath beene



intended this way, by obliging them to come once a Moneth to a Lecture wherein the grounds of Christianitie were opened unto them'. Rulers must prevent them from doing anything prejudicial to Christianity, and especially prevent them from winning people over to their faith, and encourage them to hear the tenets of Christianity.<sup>89</sup>

Yet, Dury was willing to stipulate that in any agreement that England might sign in the future with another state, the interests of the Jews would also be guaranteed, including their protection from any persecution or oppression, 'as with Spaine & Portugal & the grand Signor; & others, if any bee who seeke to destroy them'. The Law had to ensure that, to the same degree, no 'offences between them & us' should occur. The best way to do so was to require them to live separately and worship in their own language. The Jews were naturally more 'high minded (meaning 'arrogant') then other nations'. They would not refrain from oppressing the Gentiles, because they felt themselves oppressed by them '& imagine themselues the only noble people in the world; & therefore aspire to have not only libertie to live by themselves, but riches & power ouer others where euer they can get it'. Therefore the state must seek ways to prevent the 'temporall inconveniences' that were liable to emerge from 'their couetous practices & biting usury'.<sup>90</sup>

In due course, the year 1655 passed, and the conversion of the Jews dragged its heels. In letters sent to Hartlib from Lissa, Comenius had claimed that 'the destruction of Babylon and the reconstruction of Sion is near, is coming, indeed has already come'.<sup>91</sup> However, these expectations, too, came to naught. Instead, Lissa itself was destroyed on 27 April 1656 by Catholic Polish soldiers, and the Unity of Brethren was forced to go into exile once again. Disappointment cooled the enthusiasm of some of the millenarians, and, in May 1655, Wall, in a despondent mood, asked Hartlib, '1655 year is passant & yet what hath God wrought[t]?'<sup>92</sup>

Some millenarians drew a certain encouragement from the good tidings they received from Serrarius regarding the visit to Amsterdam in 1657 of Rabbi Nathan Shapira from Jerusalem. They viewed this rabbi as a proto-Christian, believing he had expressed a positive opinion of Jesus, expressed regret that the Jews had executed him, and praised the Sermon on the Mount as the source of all wisdom.<sup>93</sup> The report of Serrarius was in many respects an expression of wishful thinking, but the sentiments that it aroused in Dury and among the English and Dutch millenarians led them to organise a collection for the poor Jews of Jerusalem, and they gave Shapira a copy of the New Testament so that he could take it with him to the Land of Israel and have it translated to Hebrew. A year later they organised another collection and continued to monitor the condition of the Jews. Hartlib and his circle viewed the misery of the Jews, their willingness to accept assistance from Christians, and their efforts to hasten redemption by means of fasting and prayer as unmistakable signs of their imminent conversion.<sup>94</sup>

Serrarius became the main conduit for millenarian ardour among Hartlib and Dury's correspondents. In Restoration England he sought to see 'some shadow and Type of that great Restitution of the Kingdom in Israel', following the statement of Arise Evans, the Royalist millenarian who told in 1652 that Prince Charles was 'the means appointed by God' for the conversion of the Jews.<sup>95</sup> In a letter to Dury Serrarius told of Nicolaes van Rensselaer, a young student of divinity and the son of a wealthy merchant in Amsterdam who had received a personal revelation in 1657, informing him that, in 1660, Charles II would be restored to the throne of his fathers, and that, during his reign, important events would take place, including the conversion of the Jews.<sup>96</sup>

Hartlib displayed less enthusiasm, and late in 1660 he wrote to Worthington that 'the world may not expect any great happiness before the conversion of the Jews be first accomplished'.<sup>97</sup> This remark may be interpreted in various ways. Certainly, in his last years Hartlib still displayed considerable interest in advancing the project of translating the Mishnah into Latin, and he attributed great significance to the need for contact between Christians and Jews. Dury, and especially Serrarius, showed great interest in the messianic upheaval that broke out among the Jews between 1664 and 1667 in the Ottoman Empire, drawing most of the Jewish communities in the world in its wake. Dury regarded Shabtai Tsvi as a Jewish messiah who had come in order to show Christians that the Jews were still not worthy of a messiah of their own. Serrarius, by contrast, regarded Sabbateanism as an unmistakable sign of the fulfillment of some of the millenarian prophecies. Even after Shabtai Tsvi converted to Islam, Serrarius' faith was not weakened, and in 1669 he set out for Turkey in order to meet him. However, death cut his journey short before he reached his destination.<sup>98</sup>

Millenarian philo-Semitism, which found one of its most fascinating expressions within the Hartlib Circle during the seventeenth century, contributed significantly to a change in attitudes toward the Jews in early modern Europe. In contrast to traditional Christian hostility, which left no chance for the future rise of a Jewish collectivity as such, some of the most prominent millenarians in England and the Dutch Republic foresaw a brilliant future for the Jewish nation in the coming age, when all the prophecies that remained to be fulfilled would be accomplished. The real and concrete Jews of that time became fitting interlocutors for millenarians like Hartlib and Dury, and they were to take an active and positive part in the restoration of mankind in the days of the messiah. Unlike those in the millenarian camp with similar attitudes who did not include the Jews in any of their practical plans, Hartlib and Dury sought to collaborate actively with Jews in a series of educational projects that were meant to pave the way for the great transformation in the age of the millenium. Also unlike the Deists, Spinoza, Pierre Bayle and others who aspired for rationalist universalism, and who attributed the origins of religious intolerance to

the Jews, the Protestant millenarians in the Hartlib circle were respectful and sympathetic to the idea that the Jews had been God's chosen people, and they even foresaw a great future for their 'elder brethren'.

Their sympathy for the Jews appeared to depend upon imminent conversion, but even when their hopes for this vanished, they did not give up their main vision and the place of the Jews within it. In 1674 Dury wrote *Touchant l'intelligence de l'Apocalypse par l'Apocalypse même: Comme toute l'Escriture doit estre entendue raisonnablement*, in which he argued that most of the prophecies had indeed been fulfilled, but that God had not endowed the believers with the means to ascertain when those that remained to be fulfilled would be completed.<sup>99</sup> Hence true believers should absorb millenarian hope and give it a spiritual interpretation.<sup>100</sup> If this was the case, it was possible to maintain the same degree of sympathy and respect for the Jews, regardless of whether their conversion had been accomplished.<sup>101</sup> Thus, to paraphrase the thesis of Charles Webster regarding the impact of the Puritan worldview on the rise of modern science, 'the Puritans evolved a system of values incorporating an extremely intense belief' in the place and role of the Jews in the history of mankind. This belief, 'while initially dependent on millenarian eschatology could persist as millenarianism gradually waned in significance during the later part of the century, and became transmuted into a general secular belief' in religious tolerance and acceptance of the otherness of the Jews.<sup>102</sup>

1. It has been my good fortune to benefit from the wise advice and immense assistance of Charles Webster and Scott Mandelbrote, and from Richard H. Popkin's seminal studies on Hartlib and Dury's attitude towards Jews and Judaism. *Ephemerides*, Part 2, Hartlib Papers [HP], Sheffield University Library 29/12/14B.  
 2. J. Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews* (New Haven 1943); B. Blumenkranz, *Les auteurs chrétiens latines du Moyen Âge sur les juifs et le judaïsme* (Paris 1963); R. Chazan, *Medieval Stereotypes and Modern Antisemitism* (Berkeley 1997); J. Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley 1999).  
 3. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina*, v, 5, quoted from J. Parker, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue* (Cleveland, New York and Philadelphia 1961), p. 334. Cf. Sir Thomas Browne's, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (published in 1646), edited by R. Robbins, vol. 1 (Oxford 1981), chap. X, 'Of the Jews', p. 324 ff.: 'That Jews stinck naturally, that is, that in their race and nation there is an evil savour, is a received opinion we know not how to admit [...] were this true, yet our opinion is not impartial, for unto converted Jews who are of the same seed, no man imputed this unsavoury odor; as though Aromatized by their

conversion, they lost their sent with their Religion [...] although we concede that many opinions are true which hold some conformity unto this, yet in assenting hereto, many difficulties must arise, it being a dangerous point to annex a constant property unto any Nation, and much more this unto the Jew [...]'.

4. HP 71/15/1A; 8/54/1A.

5. Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, MS 868 (Coleção Moreira, II), fols 73r-89r. On this work see Y.H. Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Marranism and Jewish Apologetics* (New York and London 1971), p. 126-133, 435-437; cf. D.S. Katz, 'Shylock's Gender Jewish Male Menstruation in Early Modern England', *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, 50 (1999), p. 440-462.

6. H. Méchoulan, *Le sang de l'autre ou l'honneur de Dieu: Indiens, juifs et morisques au Siècle d'Or* (Paris 1979), p. 153-160; Y. Kaplan, 'Jews and Judaism in the Social Thought of Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in: S. Almog (ed.), *Antisemitism through the Ages* (Oxford and New York 1988), p. 153-160.

7. *Ephemerides*, Part 1, 1635, HP 29/3/11A.

8. HP 14/4/68A-69B.

9. HP 47/7/3A.
10. L. Wolf, 'Crypto-Jews under the Commonwealth', *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society in England* (= *TJHSE*), I (1893-4), p. 55-88; idem, 'The Jewry of the Restoration 1660-1664', *TJHSE*, v (1902-1905), p. 5-42; W.S. Samuel, 'The First London Synagogue of the Resettlement', *TJHSE*, x (1921-1923), p. 1-147; L.D. Barnett, *Bevis Marks Records*, I (Oxford 1940); C. Roth, 'The Resettlement of the Jews in England in 1656', in: V.D. Lipman (ed.), *Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History* (London 1961), p. 1-25; E.R. Samuel, 'The First Fifty Years', in: Lipman, *op. cit.*, p. 27-44; A.S. Diamond, 'The Community of the Resettlement, 1656-1684', *TJHSE*, xxiv (1974), p. 134-150; D.S. Katz, *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England* (Oxford 1982), p. 235-238; idem, *The Jews in the History of England 1485-1850* (Oxford 1994), p. 134-144; Y. Kaplan, *An Alternative Path to Modernity: The Sephardi Diaspora in Western Europe* (Leiden 2000), p. 155-167. On Fernández Carvajal see L. Wolf, 'The First English Jew', *TJHSE*, II (1896), p. 14-96.
11. *Ephemerides*, Part 3, 1655, HP 29/5/37B; and see also 38A: 'Boyle is to be acquainted with this Portugal Jew'.
12. *Ibid.*, 29/5/39A.
13. G.H. Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius* (Liverpool 1947), passim; H.R. Trevor-Roper, *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change* (London 1967), p. 251 ff.; C. Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform 1626-1660* (London 1975) passim; R.H. Popkin, 'Some Aspects of Jewish-Christian Theological Interchanges in Holland and England 1640-1700', in: J. van den Berg and E.G.E. van der Wall (eds), *Jewish-Christian Relations in the Seventeenth Century: Studies and Documents* (Dordrecht 1988), esp. p. 6 ff.
14. [S. Hartlib], *Englands Thankfulness, or, an Humble Remembrance Presented to the Committee for Religion in the High Court of Parliament*, published in: C. Webster (ed.), *Samuel Hartlib and the Advancement of Learning* (Cambridge 1970), p. 90-97, esp. 96, 203 and see 91, Webster's convincing arguments about Hartlib's authorship of this tract; cf. E.G.E. van der Wall, 'Johan Stephan Rittangel's Stay in the Dutch Republic (1641-1642)', in: J. van den Berg and E.G.E. van der Wall (eds), *Jewish-Christian Relations in the Seventeenth Century: Studies and Documents* (Dordrecht 1988a), p. 119-134. cf. J.W. Wesselius' review of Van den Berg and Van der Wall's book, *StRos* 22 (1988), p. 207.
15. T. van Rooden and J.W. Wesselius, 'J.S. Rittangel in Amsterdam', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 65 (1985), p. 131-52; Van der Wall, *op. cit.* (1988a), esp. p. 121-125; HP 1/6/1A-2B. On *Sefer Yetsira* see Y. Liebes' fascinating study, *Ars Poetica in Sefer Yetsira* (Tel Aviv 2000), (Hebrew).
16. Van der Wall, *op. cit.* (1988a), p. 122 ff, and see 128-130, Moriana's letter to Hartlib of 27 March 1642: '[...] und trage gleichfalls keinen Zweifel man wird seiner arbeit so woll gegen die Anti-Trinitarios als Judaeos nutzlich gebrauchen können [...]']
17. HP 47/12/1A-1B: Christian Rave, *Proposition for College for Converting Jews & Teaching Oriental Languages; Dury to Hartlib*, 31 August 1646, HP 3/3/32A: 'I like the actiuite of Christian Ravius; & I wish hee may have incouragement here if those of Amsterdam employe him not [...]']
18. On Boreel see L. Kolakowski, *Chrétiens sans Église: La conscience religieuse et le lien confessionnel au XVIIe siècle*, traduit du polonais par A. Posner (Paris 1969), p. 197-199; E.G.E. van der Wall, 'The Dutch Hebraist Adam Boreel and the Mishnah Project', *LIAS*, 16 (1989a), p. 239-263; R. Iliffe, "'Jesus Nazarenus legislator': Adam Boreel's Defence of Christianity", in: S. Berti, F. Charles-Daubert and R.H. Popkin (eds), *Heterodoxy, Spinozism and Free Thought in Early-Eighteenth-Century Europe: Studies on the Traité des Trois Imposteurs* (Dordrecht 1996), p. 375-396.
19. HP 3/3/32A-33B. The letter was published by E.G.E. van der Wall, "'Without Partialitie Towards All Men": John Durie on the Dutch Hebraist Adam Boreel', in: J. van den Berg and E.G.E. van der Wall (eds), *Jewish-Christian Relations in the Seventeenth Century: Studies and Documents* (Dordrecht 1988b), p. 145-149, and see 146, 147; cf. Popkin, *op. cit.* (1988), p. 8-11.
20. On Serrarius see E.G.E. van der Wall's comprehensive dissertation, *De mystieke chilliast Petrus Serrarius (1600-1669) en zijn wereld* (Leiden 1987); idem, 'The Amsterdam Millenarian Petrus Serrarius (1600-1669) and the Anglo-Dutch Circle of Philo-Judaists', in: J. van den Berg and E.G.E. van der Wall (eds), *Jewish-Christian Relations in the Seventeenth Century: Studies and Documents* (Dordrecht 1988c), p. 73-94; idem, 'Petrus Serrarius and Menasseh ben Israel: Christian Millenarianism and Jewish Messianism in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam', in: Y. Kaplan, H. Méchoulan and R.H. Popkin (eds), *Menasseh ben Israel and His World* (Leiden 1989b), p. 164-190; cf. G. Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah 1626-1676*, translated by R.J.Z. Werblowsky (Princeton 1973), esp. p. 333-336.
21. D.S. Katz, 'The Abendana Brothers and the Christian Hebraists of Seventeenth-Century England', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 40 (1989), p. 29; cf. M. Goldisch, *Judaism in the Theology of Sir Isaac Newton* (Dordrecht 1998), p. 19-22.
22. *Englands Thankfulness* [...], *op. cit.*, p. 93.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
24. *Ibid.*
25. P. Toon (ed.), *Puritans, the Millenium, and the Future of Israel: Puritan Eschatology, 1600-1660* (Cambridge 1970); B.S. Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth Century English Millenarianism* (Totowa 1972); Webster, *op. cit.*, (1975); B.W. Ball, *A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660* (Leiden 1975); K.R. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530-1645* (Oxford 1979); R. Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse: Sixteenth Century Apocalypticism, Millenarianism and the English Reformation* (Oxford 1978); A. Zakai, 'The Poetics of History and the Destiny of Israel: The Role of the Jews in English Apocalyptic Thought during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *The Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy*, 5 (1996), p. 313-350; cf. C. Hill, "'Till the

- Conversion of the Jews”, in: R.H. Popkin (ed.), *Millenarianism and Messianism in English Literature and Thought 1650-1800* (Leiden 1988), p. 12-36.
26. P. Toon, ‘The Latter-Day Glory’, in idem, *Puritans, the Millenium and the Future of Israel* (Cambridge and London 1970), p. 26-32; Katz, *op. cit.* (1982), p. 91-94; Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 16-20; A. Zakai, ‘Thomas Brightman and English Apocalyptic Tradition’, in: Y. Kaplan, H. Méchoulán and R.H. Popkin (eds), *Menasseh ben Israel and His World* (Leiden 1989), p. 31-44.
27. Firth, *op. cit.*, p. 225; cf. R.H. Popkin, ‘A Note on Moses Wall’, in Menasseh ben Israel, *The Hope of Israel*, edited by H. Méchoulán and G. Nahon (Oxford 1987), p. 165-166.
28. *Ephemerides*, Part 3, 1650, HP 28/1/65B.
29. J. Dury, *The Purpose and Platform of the Journeys [1631]*, HP 18/17/1A-B, and see also 3A.
30. *Proffits humbly presented to this Kingdome*, HP 53/32/1A-7B, an anonymous undated tract, published in Webster, *op. cit.*, (1975), p. 539-546, and see esp. 545-546. Webster suggested it was probably written by Benjamin Worsley in 1647. In this tract the conversion of the Jews was seen as one of the five ‘most Glorious, magnificent and Honourable undertakings that may be thought of for any Nation but not to be undergone without much Charge and therefore soe fit for none, as such a qualified Kingdome as wee speake of and have here set downe.’ On Worsley see C. Webster, ‘Benjamin Worsley: Engineering for Universal Reform from the Invisible College to the Navigation Act’, in: M. Greengrass, M. Leslie and T. Raylor (eds), *Samuel Hartlib and Universal Reformation; Studies in Intellectual Communication* (Cambridge 1994), p. 213-235.
31. HP 3/3/32A-33B; published by Van der Wall, *op. cit.* (1988b), p. 147-148.
32. HP 4/1/15A-B.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *A Seasonable Discourse Written by Mr. John Dury* (London 1649), p. 15-16; quoted from R.H. Popkin, ‘The First College for Jewish Studies’, *Revue des études juives*, CXLIII (1984), p. 355, esp. 354 ff., for a comprehensive analysis of this pamphlet; cf. Popkin, *op. cit.* (1988), p. 12-13, 30 n. 43; Webster, *op. cit.*, (1975), p. 70, 223.
35. HP 3/3/32A. This part of the letter has not been published by Van der Wall, *op. cit.*, (1988b).
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. Printed paper on the Founding of a University in London, 1647, HP 7/20/1A-8B, esp. 5A-B.
39. As far as I know this plan to establish a ‘Hebrew colony’ has been overlooked; HP 47/8/1A-1B.
40. Webster, *op. cit.*, (1975), p. 223; idem, *op. cit.* (1970), p. 60; Popkin, *op. cit.* (1984), p. 353-357.
41. Turnbull, *op. cit.*, p. 257-258; Katz, *op. cit.* (1982), p. 219 ff.; Popkin, *op. cit.* (1988), p. 11-12; idem, ‘Hartlib, Dury and the Jews’, in: M. Greengrass, M. Leslie and T. Raylor (eds), *Samuel Hartlib and Universal Reformation; Studies in Intellectual Communication* (Cambridge 1994), p. 121-122.
42. *A Seasonable Discourse* (see n. 34, above), p. 12; Popkin, *op. cit.* (1984), p. 354.
43. *A Seasonable Discourse*, (see n. 34, above), p. 14; Popkin, *op. cit.* (1984), p. 355.
44. *A Seasonable Discourse*, (see n. 34, above), p. 17-18; Popkin, *op. cit.* (1984), p. 357.
45. Dury to Hartlib, 31 August 1646, HP 3/3/32A-32B (see n. 19, above); Van der Wall, *op. cit.* (1988b), p. 147.
46. Y. Kaplan, ‘The Jews in the Republic until about 1750: Religious, Cultural and Social Life’, in J.C. Blom, R.G. Fuks-Mansfeld and I. Schöffer (eds), *The History of the Jews in the Netherlands* (Oxford and Portland, Oregon 2002), p. 116-7, 134-8.
47. Kaplan, *op. cit.* (2000), p. 51-77, esp. 70-72.
48. Kaplan, *op. cit.* (2002), p. 132 ff., 135; cf. M. Goldish, ‘The Amsterdam Portuguese Rabbinate in the Seventeenth Century’, in: C. Brasz and Y. Kaplan (eds), *Dutch Jews as Perceived by Themselves and by Others* (Leiden 2001), p. 9-19.
49. Dury to Hartlib, 31 August 1646, HP 3/3/32A-33B (see n. 19, above); Van der Wall, *op. cit.* (1988b), p. 147; cf. Dury’s remarks about the publication of a Latin translation of the Mishna by Boreel, Dury to Hartlib, 15 July 1661, HP 4/4/26A: ‘but hee must publish any part of it till hee hath gotten all done by the Lewes, whom hee must employ to make the edition Authentique amongst them: for except it bee done by one of them it will not be Credited [...]’.
50. HP 1/6/2B; cf. Popkin, *op. cit.* (1988), p. 7 ff., esp. 11.
51. Popkin, *op. cit.* (1994), p. 121; and see there: ‘The rabbi, like most Dutch Jews of the period, was born and raised a Christian in Iberia and was not a complete master of Hebrew’. Templo was probably born in Spain, but immigrated to Amsterdam as a child, and received his Jewish education at the Ets Haim yeshiva of the Sephardic community, where great emphasis was laid on the study of Hebrew grammar and syntax. In 1650 he translated into Hebrew his work on Solomon’s Temple, first published in 1642 in Dutch and Spanish. On his life and works see A.K. Offenbergh, ‘Jacob Jehuda Leon (1602-1675) and his Model of the Temple’, in: J. van den Berg and E.G.E. van der Wall (eds), *Jewish-Christian Relations in the Seventeenth Century: Studies and Documents* (Dordrecht 1988), p. 95-115; idem, ‘Bibliography of the Works of Jacob Jehuda Leon (Templo)’, *StRos*, 12 (1978), p. 111-132; idem, ‘De Tempel van Templo. De invloed van Jacob Judah Leon’s tempel- en tabernakelmodel op Nederlandse afbeeldingen in de 17e en 18e eeuw’, in W.K. Gnirrep, A.K. Offenbergh, A.A. den Hollander, *De Weergalozze Van Santen* (Amsterdam 2000), p. 21-30; A.L. Shane, ‘Rabbi Jacob Jehuda Leon Templo and His Connections with England’, *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society in England*, 25 (1977), p. 120-136.
52. L. Fuks and R.G. Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography in the Northern Netherlands, 1585-1815*, Part 1 (Leiden 1984), p. 129, n. 180; cf. R.H. Popkin and D.S. Katz, ‘The Prefaces by Menasseh ben Israel and Jacob Judah Leon Templo to the Vocalized Mishnah (1646)’, in: J. van den Berg and E.G.E. van der Wall (eds), *Jewish-Christian Relations in the Seventeenth Century: Studies and Documents* (Dordrecht 1988), p. 151-153, with English translation of the original Hebrew prefaces.
53. Dury to Hartlib, 31 August 1646, HP 3/3/32A-33B; Van der Wall, *op. cit.* (1988b), p. 147.



54. HP 3/3/34 A-B

55. J. Crossley (ed.), *The Diary and Correspondence of John Worthington* (Chetham Society series xiii, 1847), vol. 1, p. 199, 257-259, 319-320; R.H. Popkin and E.G.E. van der Wall, 'Samuel Hartlib, John Worthington and John Durie on Adam Boreel's Latin Translation of the Mishna', in: J. van den Berg and E.G.E. van der Wall (eds), *Jewish-Christian Relations in the Seventeenth Century: Studies and Documents* (Dordrecht 1988), p. 155-159.
56. Popkin, *op. cit.* (1988), p. 8; 28, n. 21; 29, n. 24. The 1646 vocalised edition of the Mishna amounted to 4,000 copies; Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld, *op. cit.*, part 1, p. 129.
57. Crossley, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 242-243; Popkin and Van der Wall, *op. cit.*, p. 156.
58. Dury to Worsley, 2 May 1649, HP 41/1/26B-27A.
59. Hartlib to Worthington, 11 June 1661 in Crossley, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 335-336; Popkin and Van der Wall, *op. cit.*, p. 158.
60. Offenbergh, *op. cit.* (1988), p. 101-102; Popkin, *op. cit.* (1988), p. 8. And see Dury to Hartlib, 31 August, 1646, HP 3/3/32A-33B; cf. Van der Wall, *op. cit.* (1988b), p. 148: 'The Jewe wch hee [= Boreel] made use of is one Called Judah Leon who at his cost did build the Modell of the Temple of Jerusalem with all the appurtenances therunto, in a most exact waye according to the description made thereof in the Scripture & after the sense of all the Rabbies yt are of note & Credit'.
61. Worthington to Hartlib, 22 August 1661, Crossley, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 354-355; Worthington to Hartlib, 5 September 1661, Crossley, *op. cit.*, vol. II, part 1, p. 3. On Leon Modena see H.E. Adelman's seminal dissertation, 'Success and Failure in the Seventeenth Century Ghetto of Venice: The Life and Thought of Leon Modena, 1571-1648', 2 vols (Brandeis University 1985). He wrote a treatise on the Jewish religion in Italian for King James I, between 1614 and 1615, published afterwards in Paris in 1637, and was well known in England thereafter. A French translation by Richard Simon was published there in 1674; cf. Y. Kaplan, 'Karaites in Early Eighteenth-Century Amsterdam', in: D.S. Katz and J.I. Israel (eds), *Sceptics, Millenarians and Jews* (Leiden 1990), p. 222-223.
62. M. Goldish, *Judaism in the Theology of Sir Isaac Newton* (Dordrecht 1998), p. 85-107; cf. J. Bennett and S. Mandelbrote, *The Garden, the Ark, the Tower, the Temple* (Oxford 1998), esp. p. 135-155.
63. Dury to Hartlib, 31 August 1646, HP 3/3/32A-33B; Van der Wall, *op. cit.* (1988b), p. 148.
64. Municipal Archives of Amsterdam, PA 334, no.19, *Livro de Ascarnoth A*, fol. 493. The decision was published by W.C. Pieterse, *Daniel Levi de Barrios als geschiedschrijver van de Portugees-Israëlietische Gemeente te Amsterdam, etc.* (Amsterdam 1968), p. 112.
65. J. Fürst, *Geschichte des Karaërthums*, 3 vols (Leipzig 1862-1869; repr. Hildesheim 1975); L. Nemoy, *Karaite Anthology* (New Haven 1952); Z. Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium: The Formative Years 970-1100* (New York 1959); H. Ben-Shammai, 'The Karaite Controversy: Scripture and Tradition in Early Karaism', in: B. Lewis and F. Niewoehner (eds), *Religionsgespräche im Mittelalter* (Wiesbaden 1992), p. 11-26; idem, 'Between Ananites and

Karaites: Observations on Early Medieval Jewish Sectarianism', *Studies in Muslim-Jewish Relations*, vol. 1 (1993), p. 19-29.

66. A. Neubauer, *Aus der Peterburger Bibliothek: Beiträge und Dokumente zur Geschichte des Karaërthums und der Karäischen Literatur* (Leipzig 1866); A. Danon, 'The Karaites in European Turkey: Contributions to their History Based Chiefly on Unpublished Documents', *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, XV (1924-1925), p. 285-360; M. Balaban, 'Karaici w Polsce', in idem, *Studja historyczne*, (Warsaw 1927), p. 1-92; G. Ahiezer and D. Shapira, 'Karaites in Lithuania and in Volhynia-Galicia until the Eighteenth Century', *Pe'amim*, 89 (2001), p. 19-60 (Hebrew).
67. J. van den Berg, 'Proto-Protestants? The Image of the Karaites as a Mirror of the Catholic-Protestant Controversy in the Seventeenth Century', in: J. van den Berg and E.G.E. van der Wall (eds), *Jewish-Christian Relations in the Seventeenth Century: Studies and Documents* (Dordrecht 1988), p. 33-49; Kaplan, *op. cit.* (1990), p. 196-236, esp. 214-229; cf. R.H. Popkin, 'The Lost Tribes, the Caraites and the English Millenarians', *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 37 (1986), p. 213-227.
68. J. Durie, 'An Epistolicall Discourse', in T. Thorowgood, *Iewes in America, or, Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race* (London 1650), e2r-e4r.
69. Ibid.; Popkin, *op. cit.*, (1986), p. 218-220.
70. Crossley, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 78-79; cf. Hartlib to Worthington, 10 March 1655, *ibid.*, p. 83-84: '[...] nor do I know of any course which Mr. Borel takes about the Caraites. I desired Mr. Dury to give me his advice about them'; Katz, *op. cit.* (1982), p. 216.
71. Dury to Hartlib, 22 January 1656, HP 4/3/147A.
72. R.H. Popkin, 'Les Caraites et l'émancipation des Juifs', *Dix-Huitième Siècle*, XIII (1981), p. 138-144; Van den Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 40-42; Kaplan, *op. cit.*, (1990), p. 221-229.
73. *Memo on Conversion of the Jews*: Quer. Whether the Law of Moses be abrogated or ceased So as that a Jew remaining obedient to the Law of Moses and believing and obeying X. cannot in Truth be called a Christian, undated, HP 25/4/1A-4B; cf. Popkin, *op. cit.* (1988), p. 25, 32 n. 86.
74. Jessey to Dury and Hartlib, undated, HP 15/8/15A-16B. On Jessey's philo-Semitism and his interest in the millennial role of the Jews see D.S. Katz, 'Henry Jessey and Conservative Millenarianism in Seventeenth-Century England', in J. Michman (ed.), *Dutch Jewish History*, vol. II (Jerusalem 1989), p. 75-93; idem, 'Menasseh ben Israel's Christian Connection: Henry Jessey and the Jews', in: Y. Kaplan, H. Méchoulan and R.H. Popkin (eds), *Menasseh ben Israel and His World* (Leiden 1989a), p. 117-138; E.G.E. van der Wall, 'A Philo-Semitic Millenarian on the Reconciliation of Jews and Christians: Henry Jessey and his "The Glory and Salvation of Jehudah and Israel" 1650', in: D.S. Katz and J.I. Israel (eds), *Sceptics, Millenarians and Jews* (Leiden 1990), p. 161-184.
75. On the debate over the lost ten tribes in England, see Katz, *op. cit.* (1982), p. 134-157; Menasseh ben Israel, *The Hope of Israel*, edited by H. Méchoulan and G. Nahon (Oxford, 1987), p. 105-111; cf. R.H. Popkin, 'The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Indian Theory', in: Y. Kaplan,

H. Méchoulan and R.H. Popkin (eds), *Menasseh ben Israel and His World* (Leiden 1989), p. 63-82.

76. Katz, *op. cit.* (1982), p. 143-149; Popkin, *op. cit.*, (1987), p. 165-170.

77. Menasseh ben Israel, *The Hope of Israel*, p. 148; cf. the 1652 edition of the English translation, p. 46. On a different interpretation of Menasseh ben Israel's attitude toward the millenarian expectations see Popkin, *op. cit.* (1994), p. 125-128.

78. J.J. Israel, 'Menasseh ben Israel and the Dutch Sephardic Colonization Movement of the Mid-Seventeenth Century (1645-57)', in: Y. Kaplan, H. Méchoulan and R.H. Popkin (eds), *Menasseh ben Israel and His World* (Leiden 1989), p. 139-163.

79. The letter was published in L. Wolf, *Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell* (London 1901), Introduction, LXXIX; cf. the introduction by Méchoulan and Nahon, to their edition to Menasseh ben Israel, *The Hope of Israel*, p. 48-51.

80. Published in Menasseh ben Israel, *The Hope of Israel* (London 1652), p. 61-70, and see p. 63-64. This second and corrected version was published in facsimile by L. Wolf, *Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell*, p. 1-71; cf. the edition by H. Méchoulan and G. Nahon (Oxford 1987).

81. Spencer's remarks and Wall's answer were published in the second edition of the English translation of Menasseh ben Israel, *The Hope of Israel*, p. 66-71, and see 70.

82. M. Wall, *Considerations upon the Point of the Conversion of the Jews* (see n. 80, above) p. 58, 59, 60, 64.

83. L. Wolf, *Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell*; C. Roth, 'The Resettlement of the Jews in England in 1656', in: V.D. Lipman (ed.) *Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History* (London 1961), p. 1-25; Katz, *op. cit.* (1982), p. 190-244.

84. Dury to Joseph Coysh, 16 March 1652, HP 4/2/7A-8B; and see there: 'If my occasions did not call me from hence I would sett my selfe to confer with you upon this subject, for it is a thing wich doth lye neere my hart and for which my Prayers are daily vnto God that he would remember his promises of Old to Abraham and to his Seed [...]'

85. Dury to Hartlib, 22 January 1656, HP 4/3/147A-B; J. Dury, *A Case of Conscience, Whether it be lawful to admit Jews into a christian Common-wealth* (London 1656), repr. in: W. Oldys (ed.), *The Harleian Miscellany*, (London 1808-1813), VII, 256; cf. Katz, *op. cit.* (1982), p. 218-219.

86. *Ephemerides*, Part 3, 1655, HP 29/5/34B. And see there Hartlib's comment about the mentioned number of victims: '[...] which number is certainly Know'n which fell out according to a certain Prophecy foretelling such a slaughter, which much startles them to apprehend the fulfilling of the remainder of that Prophecy.'

87. HP 68/8/1A-2B.

88. Dury to Hartlib, HP 4/3/137A-139B:

'Concerning the admission of the Iewes I believe that in your warre with Spaine they may bee of use to the state; the restraints that are laid upon them are necessary'; cf. Katz, *op. cit.* (1982), p. 218. But even in this letter the conversion of the Jews is mentioned as the main objective for their admission: '[...] but I wish that the meanes to deal with them for their Conuersion were also thought upon; to lette them see that the Messias is reuealed to us, & hath brought us gentiles to the father according to the Propesie of Iacob that to him belongeth the gathering [of] the people Genes. 49, 10. & in dealing with them I would aduise that all wherin wee & they doe agree for the worshipping of God in spirit & truth should bee made out from Moses & the Prophets & shewed that this is the only worship which the father requires, & that the Messias is come to teach us Gentiles as well as their forefathers this truth, & that this hauing bene foretold that hee should doe this to us; & this now being done, which could bee done by none but by him, it is euident that hee is come in his spirit to us, & that it is his purpose by us to shew mercy unto them also & to bring us all in one fold together to his father.'

89. HP 68/8/1A (above n. 88).

90. *Ibid.* 2B.

91. Quoted in W. Rood, 'Comenius and the Low Countries: Some Aspects of Life and Work of a Czech Exile in the Seventeenth Century', (PhD Dissertation, University of Utrecht, Utrecht, 1970), p. 172.

92. Quoted in Popkin, *op. cit.*, (1987), p. 167.

93. R.H. Popkin, 'Rabbi Nathan Shapira's Visit to Amsterdam in 1657', in: J. Michman (ed.), *Dutch Jewish History*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem 1984), p. 185-205; Katz, *op. cit.*, (1989a), 126 ff.; Van der Wall, *op. cit.* (1988c), p. 80-85.

94. D.S. Katz, 'English Charity and Jewish Qualms: The Rescue of the Ashkenazi Community of Seventeenth-Century Jerusalem', in: A. Rapoport-Albert and S. J. Zipperstein (eds), *Jewish History: Essays in Honour of Chimen Abramsky* (London 1988), p. 245-266.

95. Van der Wall, *op. cit.* (1989b), p. 175, and see there the quotation of a portion of a letter by Serrarius to Dury, May 1660, in an enlarged edition of T. Thorowgood, *Jews in America* (London 1660); C. Hill, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England* (London 1971), p. 114; Katz, *op. cit.* (1982), p. 121-124.

96. E.G.E. van der Wall, 'Prophecy and Profit: Nicolaes van Rensselaer, Charles II and the Conversion of the Jews', in: C. Angustijn (ed.), *Kerkhistorische opstellen aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. J. van den Berg* (Kampen 1987), p. 75-87.

97. Crossley, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 249-250.

98. Van der Wall, *op. cit.* (1989b), p. 185-190; *idem*, *op. cit.* (1988c), p. 88-91; and see R.H. Popkin's fascinating studies on Dury's last years, including his attitude toward the Sabbatean messianic movement, based on a comprehensive reading of many neglected sources from the Dureana collection in the Staats-Archiv in Zurich and other Dury manuscripts: 'The End of the Career of a Great 17th Century Millenarian: John Dury', *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, 14



(1988), p. 203-220; idem, 'Two Unused Sources about Sabbatai Zevi and His Effect on European Communities', in: J. Michman (ed.), *Dutch Jewish History*, vol II (Jerusalem 1989), p. 69-72; idem, *op. cit.* (1994), p. 133-135.

99. Popkin had found two copies of this work, one at the Herzog August Bibliothek at Wolfenbüttel, and the other at the Marsh Library in Dublin. The copy I have been able to use is in the Stadt Bibliothek in Zurich; cf. Popkin, 'The End of the Career of a Great 17th Century Millenarian', p. 211-218. And see in Dury's treatise, especially p. 51 ff.:

'Si passe 1670 ans ou environ le temps estoit pres; il ne faut pas douter qu'une grande partie des choses predites en ce liure ne soit desia accomplie [...] Je tiens donc que les Chretiens qui viuent en Europe sont maintenant parvenus non seulement au commencement, mais a un grand avancement des choses apprestées pour la cheute finale de la Babylone qui se sera subitement & en un jour [...] Mais touchant le temps quand ceci doit arriuer il ne m'est pas loisible d'estre trop curieux puis que je reconnois que la determination des temps Prophetiques est a dessein rendu difficile, par trois voyes.'

100. *Ibid.*, p. 78 ff., 95.

101. It should be emphasised, however, that Dury did not mention either contemporary Jews or the conversion of the Jews anywhere in the tract.

102. Webster, *op. cit.*, (1975), p. 507.