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THE DUTCH HEBRAIST ADAM BOREEL AND THE MISHNAH
PROJECT
SIX UNPUBLISHED LETTERS*

When around the turn of the eighteenth century Willem Surenhuis published the Latin translation of the entire Mishnah in six folio volumes, this was in a way the culmination of a project which had begun more than half a century before.¹ In the 1630s an international project had been started to make Jewish learning available to Christians and thus to increase knowledge about Judaism. This undertaking, which was mainly an Anglo-Dutch affair involving the so-called Hartlib circle, was subdivided into several parts, one of them being the translation of the Mishnah and its chief commentaries into Latin, so that Christians would have easy access to this major non-Biblical Jewish document, which, in its six orders (*sedarim*), contained the Jewish oral tradition as arranged by Jehuda ha-Nasi about the beginning of the third century. Other parts of the project included plans to establish a College for Judaic Studies in London; to publish refutations of Jewish religious arguments in Hebrew; to translate the New Testament into Oriental languages; to publish works showing the divinity of the New Testament; and to reconstruct Solomon's Temple.

The aim of this Christian initiative was, of course, conversionist: by being well informed about the Jewish religion the Christians hoped to be able to deal better with the Jews in order to convert them to belief in Jesus Christ. By knowing what the Jews knew, they might more easily show them the truth of Christianity and prove to them "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 Jews themselves, and from the beginning by Moses and the Prophets".² In view of this Christian conversionist ideal it is something of a surprise to see that Jews were involved in this project and that it was in fact a Jewish-Christian enterprise.

As one of the main parts of the programme, the Latin translation of the Mishnah was a huge undertaking. Several treatises had been translated into Latin in the course of the seventeenth century and Surenhuis would happily use them in his edition.³ But the plan to publish a translation of the entire Mishnah was rather daunting. In the late 1630s, however, a Dutch scholar

wished to undertake this arduous task: this was the Middelburg Hebraist Adam Boreel.³ Boreel (1602-1665) was to devote much of his life, from about 1639 until his death in 1665, to the study of the Mishnah. He had three things in mind: (1) to publish a Hebrew vocalized edition of the Mishnah; (2) to render the Mishnah into Spanish; and (3) to translate this latter text into Latin.

This was, however, not a single-handed undertaking: Boreel worked in close cooperation with a well-known Jewish scholar, Jacob Jehuda Leon.⁵ Leon (1602-1675), who had been a rabbi in Hamburg, moved to Middelburg in the late 1630s, where he became administrator and teacher of the Portuguese-Jewish congregation. At the same time he was house teacher at the house synagogue of Jacob Jessurun Pinto. Like so many rabbis, he also taught Hebrew to Christians: Constantijn Huygens was one of those who had received lessons in Hebrew literature from Leon.⁶ Leon and Boreel came to share a house near Middelburg, where they devoted themselves "with incredible diligence and consta[n]cie" to the study of the Mishnah.⁷ Boreel learned Spanish and Portuguese in order to come to the true and full understanding of the Jewish religion, for, since Leon could not speak Latin but only Portuguese and French, their conversations about the Mishnah had to be held in Portuguese.⁸ Together they worked on a vocalized Hebrew edition of the Mishnah. Such an edition with vowel marks would make the Mishnah easier to read and understand. It was one of Leon's tasks to take care of inserting the right vowel marks.

During these same Middelburg years Leon was occupied with another activity which was to bring him renown – and give him the nickname of *Templo* –: the reconstruction of Solomon's Temple and the publication in 1642 of a description of (the model of) the Temple.⁹ It was Boreel who supplied the money for this activity, and, like the Middelburg ministers Willem Apollonius and Willem Goeree, he undoubtedly followed the progress of the work day by day.¹⁰ He and his Christian friends regarded Leon's reconstruction as another part of their large conversionist project. Thus this Jewish "rarity" might 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 ...".¹¹ Furthermore, it might be useful to know what the Temple looked like if one was to rebuild it in Jerusalem in the imminent millennial age.¹² Leon's wooden model became a great tourist attraction, his book a bestseller. These successes led him to make a model of the Tabernacle as well. This was also accompanied by a booklet, which appeared in 1647. At that time Leon lived in Amsterdam: around 1643 he had moved from Middelburg in order to become a teacher at Talmud Tora; in 1649 he also took over the sixth form of *Ets Haim* from Menasseh Ben Israel.¹³

In the meantime Boreel had moved from Middelburg to Amsterdam too: in December 1645 he arrived there in order to pursue his Hebrew studies in

that city.¹⁴ Probably he wanted to continue the cooperation with Leon, but certainly he wished to keep an eye on the printing of the first fruit of their joint venture, a specimen section of the Hebrew vocalized edition of the Mishnah. This work came from the press in Amsterdam in 1646 and it is in this connection that we come across another Jew who was engaged in this project and whose name has just been mentioned: Menasseh Ben Israel. The vocalized edition was printed in his printing house by his son Joseph ben Israel. On 7 November 1645 a contract had been drawn up between the two Christian merchants Arent Diricxsz Bos and Ameldonc Leeuw on the one hand and Menasseh Ben Israel on the other about the printing of this edition.¹⁵ Moreover, Menasseh wrote an interesting preface to it in which he explained that he himself had already started working on a vocalized edition of the Mishnah, because he saw that many of the wisest and most learned Jews stuttered over the pronunciation of many words of the Mishnah, "the crown and splendour of the Jews wherever they be scatterd".¹⁶ Since few Jews seemed to comprehend the conjugation of the verbs and the laws of accentuation, he had set himself to the "glorious work" of inserting vowel marks in the texts in order to improve their readability. He had already finished some tracts when Leon had come to him and had offered to finish the work, since he, Menasseh, had so many other heavy tasks upon his shoulders. He had gladly accepted this offer, but remained involved in the project: he had seen to it that this valuable book was printed for the benefit of the public, he had corrected the proofs, and he had provided an alphabetical glossary of all difficult and foreign words.¹⁷

Leon also wrote a short preface to the edition, in which he told that he had devoted himself, day and night, to the study of the Mishnah, "in the company of a respectable youth".¹⁸ Boreel's name is not mentioned. Indeed, when one takes a look at the 1646 Mishnah edition, it does not appear that Boreel had been so closely involved in it, his name neither occurring on the title-page nor in the two prefaces. As a matter of fact this had been so on purpose. As Boreel explained to Durie, the edition had to be published under the name of a Jew, "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."¹⁹

While Leon became famous for his work on the Temple, and the 1646 Hebrew Mishnah edition came to be listed among the achievements of Menasseh and his son Joseph, Adam Boreel who had supplied the money for the reconstruction of the Temple model, and who, furthermore, had worked on the vocalized edition with such diligence, was not mentioned anywhere. As Durie rightly observed, Boreel was a man who rather concealed himself and his labours, "not unwilling that others may enjoye the benefit of them without any notice that they are his".²⁰ Actually Boreel has remained in the shadow to this very day; an up-to-date biography of this scholar, "one of the most interesting and mysterious minds of the period"²¹,

is still lacking. However, recently some attention has been paid to Boreel's Hebraic studies.²²

It is the purpose of this article to give some additional information about Boreel and "his" Mishnah project on the basis of six letters which have been preserved in the British Library (Sloane Manuscripts) and in Sheffield University Library (Hartlib Papers). Of these letters, which are published below, four are written by Boreel to his friends Samuel Hartlib and John Durie respectively (dates: 14.XI.1646 (2 x); 10.VIII.1660; 22.XI.1660); two are written by Durie to Boreel (dates: 8.VIII.1649; 8.II.1650). The letters provide some detailed information about the project, especially about Boreel's involvement in it, his – difficult – financial circumstances, his religious motives for his Hebrew studies, and about Durie's plan to invite him to work in England. Since the story of the Anglo-Dutch Mishnah project and its ups and downs – for a long time more downs than ups really – has been told in the studies mentioned above, I will not repeat it here. Let me however, by way of introduction, say a few words about the contents of these letters and about Boreel, their central character.

In his own time the theologian Adam Boreel, born in 1602 into a prominent Calvinist patrician family of Zeeland, had the reputation of an erudite scholar in the field of Hebraic studies, while he was also known for his skill in Greek and Latin. He seemed to have been educated in Leiden in several fields, among them theology and philology, with attention to Hebrew.²³ Never in his life was he to be attached to a university, although in the 1640s his name was mentioned in connection with a professorship at the College for Judaic Studies in London.²⁴ He belonged to the international circle of intellectuals in London around the Prussian emigré Samuel Hartlib. In Hartlib's plans for an international "Agency for Universal Learning" Boreel was mentioned as one of its trustees.²⁵ Hartlib and Boreel kept up a regular correspondence.

Of the Hartlibians John Durie in particular was a close friend of Boreel's. This famous Scotsman, who had received his theological training in the Walloon College in Leiden and who devoted so much of his life to the union of the Protestant Churches in Europe, was already known to Boreel in the early 1630s. After having resided in the Hague in the early 1640s as chaplain and tutor to Mary Stuart, daughter of Charles I and wife to Willem II of Orange, Durie became minister to the Merchant Adventurers at Rotterdam in 1644. In 1645 he returned to England to take part in the proceedings of the Westminster Assembly, where he was involved in the drawing up of the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, a matter to which Boreel refers in his letter of 14 November 1646 (see Letter 1). From 1647 to 1649 he was tutor to the children of Charles I in St. James's Palace, and from 1650 to 1660 Keeper of the Library of St. James's.²⁶ Apart from Hartlib and Durie, one finds among Boreel's friends and acquaintances the names of Isaac Beek-

man, André Rivet, Marin Mersenne, Henry Oldenburg, Henry More, Robert Boyle, Lady Katherine Ranelagh (Boyle's sister), Benjamin Worsley, Walter Strickland, Nicolaus Mercator, and Franciscus Mercurius van Helmont. Whether he ever met John Milton (see Letter 5) is not known.²⁷

Boreel had close relations with England, which is not surprising in view of his family connections with this country. His father Jacob Boreel, who in 1613 went to England on a diplomatic mission together with Hugo Grotius, was knighted by James I. The same honour befell his half-brothers Johannes Boreel, an erudite Oriental scholar, who often visited James I's court, and Willem Boreel, who, among other things, was an ambassador in England in the 1640s. Adam Boreel's first encounter with England was less fortunate: during a visit in the early 1630s – he went to study in Oxford – he was put in jail, presumably because of his radical religious ideas which in Laudian England might have been identified with Independent views. On condition that he would return to his native country, Boreel was released after a short time through the intervention of friend; presumably this was the Cambridge Platonist Henry More, a lifelong friend and admirer of Boreel's.²⁸ This first somewhat embarrassing episode did not stop Boreel from returning to England in later years: in the 1650s, when the political and religious climate had changed so dramatically, he went back and lived in London for some time. Back in Amsterdam he followed the events after the Restoration with great attention, as Letters 5 and 6 show; especially the religious consequences of Charles II's ascendance to the throne were important to him.

Boreel's sharp wit and scholarship were highly valued by his English friends. Thus Henry Oldenburg, secretary to Robert Boyle and the secretary-to-be of the Royal Society, considered Boreel, whom he cherished as a parent, to be the most suited person to write a thorough refutation of atheism as put forth in such works as Jean Bodin's "Colloquium Heptaplomares" and "Les Trois Imposteurs". As Oldenburg wrote to Hartlib, Boreel would thus become the "champion of our collapsing religion, and a defender against atheism and impiety".²⁹ In fact Boreel had already been working on some large projects to combat "atheism" for years. Thus his work on "the Divinitie of the Histories of the New Testament" was intended not only to convince the Jews but also "to refute all atheists who value the Holy Scriptures no more then some other writes of cunning men ...".³⁰ None of these books was ever to be published. Apparently Oldenburg's exhortation to Boreel, expressed in 1657, to bring out his meditations concerning the necessity for religion in general, the truth and excellence of the Christian religion, and above all concerning the Legislator of the whole world, were in vain.³¹

Boreel seems to have been steadily working on his work which was entitled "Jesus Nazareus Legislator". In 1660 Oldenburg wrote to Boreel that he hoped that the latter might be able to add the final touches to his work; Boyle had kindly offered to pay the expenses of making it ready for publica-

tion.³² No doubt Oldenburg repeated his urgent wish to have Boreel's work printed when he visited him (besides Spinoza) during a trip to the Low Countries in 1661. However, Boreel continued to work on his defence of the truth and excellence of the Christian religion until his death in 1665. When in the spring of that year he fell seriously ill and it was feared – rightly – that he would not recover, Oldenburg and Boyle saw to it that a copy was made of his “Jesus Nazaranus Legislator” by Boreel's Amsterdam friend Petrus Serrarius, who was paid for this work by Boyle.³³

As remarked above, Henry More was another admirer of Boreel. He inserted large portions of Boreel's “De veritate historiae evangelicae” in his *Magnum mysterium pietatis explanatio*. More had received a copy of this work via Franciscus Mercurius van Helmont, a friend of Boreel's, who, like More himself, was also deeply interested in Jewish matters, especially the Kabbalah. Furthermore, More translated one of Boreel's devotional hymns into English, which was published “for the use of the sincer [!] lovers of true piety”.³⁴

His friends in England might have thought Boreel extremely well suited for the task of combatting atheism, in his native country Boreel would probably not have been chosen for such a mission, at least not by the Reformed clergy who considered Boreel as one of those horrible “new prophets” or “fanatics” because of his radical ecclesiological views. These views seem to have been the reason why he did not become a minister after his theological studies in Leiden. Discussions with his teacher André Rivet, held in the early 1630s, had made it sufficiently clear that Boreel was not fit for the ministry. In the wake of such sixteenth-century critics as Francesco Pucci and Sebastian Franck, Boreel did not hesitate to voice vehement criticism on ecclesiastical institutions. In his sharply anti-confessional treatise *Ad legem et testimonium*, which appeared anonymously in 1645 – so a year before the Mishna edition –, he severely criticized the pretensions of preachers to proclaim God's Word. He also gave concrete expression to his theoretical ecclesiological ideas. Being of the opinion that in the latter times Christians were only allowed to hold informal gatherings, Boreel, together with the Socinian and millenarian Daniel de Breen, established a so-called “college” in Amsterdam around 1646. Soon he became a prominent leader of the Collegiants or “Boreelists”, as they were sometimes called.³⁵

As can also be seen from his other writings, published in his *Scripta posthuma* (1683), Boreel only allowed a purely scriptural Christianity. Catechisms, confessions, sermons etc. were superfluous: how could one tell these were expressions of God's Word? Did one possess a criterion to state the conformity between such human texts and Scripture? No. This conviction comes also to the fore in Letters 5 and 6, in which Boreel expresses his hope that after the Restoration only the public lecture of the Scriptures would be prescribed. It was his lifelong intention “to elaborat the fundamentalls of Christianitie”,³⁶ which for him consisted in the notion of Jesus the Legislator

and Judge of mankind, to whom all nations had to be subjected. This was extremely important to him. It played a major role in his proposal to Durie (see Letter 5) to establish a "Society for the Propagation of Conformity with God and Jesus Christ", which should have as its ultimate end to aid in subjecting all nations to Jesus Legislator. It was a suggestion to which he recurred in his *Alloquium ad humanam creaturam universam necessarium*.³⁷

Through the publication of his *Ad legem et testimonium* Boreel suddenly became a well-known figure in Dutch religious life, particularly when fierce controversies arose with such prominent academic theologians as Samuel Maresius (Desmarets) and Johannes Hoornbeeck. It is very probable that the "tractatulum" to which he refers in his letter to Hartlib of 14 November 1646 (Letter 2), saying that he would be surprised if this work did not call forth any reactions, is his own *Ad legem et testimonium*. Boreel seems not to have liked theological bickering. "Love is hopping on your tongue" the Amsterdam poet and innkeeper Jan Zoet said of Boreel in one of his poems.³⁸

It is no wonder that Boreel felt most at home with religious nonconformists such as Justinus van Assche, Johannes Moriaen and Petrus Serrarius, who are mentioned in the letters below. These three men, who, like Boreel, had received a theological training, were prominent Hartlibians. In 1647 Van Assche became minister of the Remonstrant congregation in Rotterdam, where he also played a prominent role among the Collegiants until his death in 1650. Johannes Moriaen lived in Amsterdam from the late 1630s onwards and kept up a regular correspondence with Hartlib; he was a good friend of Menasseh Ben Israel. Serrarius, who also lived in Amsterdam, had known Boreel probably since the 1620s; they were lifelong friends.³⁹ Like so many religious nonconformists, Boreel was not averse to mystical ideas. When Durie told Hartlib that Boreel was not so much a Socinian – a usual accusation levelled at nonconformists – as one "who admits of Jacob Boehme his principles", this was not far beside the point. But certainly not all nonconformists were to his taste: he was extremely critical of the Quakers. During the lively debates between Collegiants and Quakers in Amsterdam in the early 1660s Boreel heavily attacked the Quakers, while he himself was one of the targets of a Quaker pamphlet.⁴⁰

Boreel was not only occupied with strictly religious studies, but – as the letters below also indicate – the range of his interests was wider. In the first place, he seems to have been deeply interested in alchemy, like so many intellectuals at the time. It is said that he lost a great deal of money because of his search for the philosopher's stone. As we shall see, Boreel was in a disastrous financial situation in the 1640s, but it is not clear whether this was caused by his alchemical undertakings. Presumably his main interest was in "medical alchemy" or Paracelsian iatrochemistry. Secondly, again like so many intellectuals in the seventeenth century, Boreel was occupied with optics. In both letters of November 1646 he mentions his "optical tubes",

which he wanted Hartlib to send back to him. We know that the latter was greatly interested in the advancement of optic glasses and from Boreel's letters we may conclude that Boreel was a real Hartlibian in this field too.⁴¹

So in Adam Boreel we meet with the combination of a radical religious nonconformist, a mystic poet, an alchemist, an optical scientist, and a scholar in the field of Judaic studies. Before we turn to the latter aspect of his work, one other thing needs to be mentioned: his Greek studies. In this field only one work by Boreel was published, long after his death, entitled *'T Evangelij volgens Mattheus en de Brief van Paulus aan de Romainen* (1693). It contains a new Dutch translation, which had been made as an instrument to learn the Greek language. In the preface the editor Willem Homma praises Boreel's didactic qualities. The latter had taught several friends to read Greek without the help of Latin, only with the help of Dutch. Their basis being the 1658 Elsevier edition of the Greek text, they started reading the Gospel of St. Matthew and the Epistle to the Romans by writing down the Dutch translation under each word. The result of this interlinear method was a kind of "Greek-Dutch", but nevertheless soon several friends had acquired enough knowledge of Greek to be able to read the whole New Testament without any help.

When we now turn to Boreel's Hebraic studies, we have to keep in mind that these are to be seen in the context of the whole of his religious thought as sketched above. His religious nonconformism and his activities as a Christian Hebraist cannot be seen apart from each other. It is not unusual to deal with Boreel either as "the prominent Collegiant" or as "the skilled Dutch Hebraist", as if these two aspects of his life and work are wholly unconnected. They are not; on the contrary, his attempt to formulate a fundamental Christianity, his radical anti-confessionalism, his combat against "atheism", and his deep interest in Jews and Judaism all belong together. Thus his plea for a purely scriptural Christianity is closely connected with his conversionism.

The promotion of the conversion of the Jews seems to have been Boreel's lifelong priority. According to his opponent Samuel Maresius, Boreel regarded himself as an extraordinary minister whose task consisted in calling the Jews to belief in Christ.⁴² His programme to advance their conversion contained, firstly, the translation of the Talmud and the Midrash (a collection of rabbinic interpretations of Old Testament texts) into Latin, and, secondly, the publication in Hebrew – or any other language that the Jews were master of – of refutations of all fundamental principles on which the Jews base their belief (see Letter 2).⁴³ As Boreel pointed out in his letter of 22 November 1660, it was his firm conviction that the true reformation of the church would only occur when all Israel had been saved. Referring to the Song of Solomon 8: 8 and Luke 2: 32, he stated that the conversion of the "Israelite church" was the prerequisite for the glory of the church of the gentiles. In a rather

emotional tone he expressed his urgent wish that the Jews might finally accept their Messiah, Jesus Nazarene, as their legislator. Without doubt it is this letter that Hartlib sent to John Worthington, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, on 17 December 1660, telling his friend that by Boreel's letter to Durie he might see how Boreel "methodizes the great affairs of God's kingdom", adding – as Boreel's opinion –: "The world may not expect any great happiness before the conversion of the Jews be first accomplished", which is an unmistakable reference to one of Boreel's remarks in his letter of 22 November 1660.⁴⁴

It may well have been that Boreel's conversionism was inspired by millenarian expectations. Some of his expressions in his letters possess a millenarian flavour, as, for example, the sentence just quoted, or when he talks about the building up of Christ's reign and the demolition of Satan's dominion, but as far as I know he never put forward the idea of Christ's thousand-year reign with his saints upon earth, nor does he speak about such eschatological notions as the fall of Babylon or the resurrection of the just. Furthermore, it is surprising that the fierce antimillenarian Maresius did not attack the eschatological aspect of Boreel's thought, which the Groningen professor undoubtedly would have done if Boreel had given him any reason to do so. If Boreel cherished millenarian expectations, then his millenarianism was much less outspoken than that of millenarian friends such as Durie and Serrarius.

Whatever his eschatology may have been, it is clear that his Hebraic scholarship served to further the conversion of the Jews. Practice and knowledge went hand in hand for Boreel. He is said to have stated: "Knowledge without practice is a devil; practice without knowledge is a sheep. Together, however, they are an angel".⁴⁵ The Mishnah project was such a practical-scholarly undertaking. The letters of 1646 and 1650 give us some detailed information about it. For example, they confirm the fact, already known from the contract of November 1645, that the number of copies of the Hebrew 1646 edition indeed amounted to 4,000. Furthermore, the letters tell us something about the financing of this edition. As the long letter of 14 November 1646 to Durie shows (Letter 1), four Mennonite merchants whose names are not mentioned (probably Leeuw and Bos, the two merchants mentioned in the contract, were two of them), had extended financial support to the printing of the Hebrew edition. Boreel had handed over to his patrons all 4,000 copies of the Hebrew edition in the hope they might get some money out of it. However, the Hebrew Mishnah project must have been a disappointing enterprise from a business point of view: there were no profits, as far as we know; on the contrary, they lost money over this edition. It remains something of a mystery what has happened to all those copies. Today only two have been located. More than two hundred were shipped to England, but, unsold, had to be shipped back to Amsterdam in 1660 in the hope that they might be sold in the Netherlands. On 10 August 1660 Boreel thanked Durie

and Hartlib for returning the copies (see Letter 5). Now, as Boreel had indicated, it would also be attempted to sell the 1646 edition on the Eastern European market. Another shipment would have gone via Danzig to Poland, but what became of those copies is unknown.⁴⁶

Like any twentieth-century businessman Boreel had done some marketing research: he had sent a specimen of the 1646 edition to Hartlib, for him to forward to Orientalists in England in order to hear their opinion about it and, not of the least importance, whether people in England might be interested in buying copies. The price of a copy was three florins, but maybe he could manage to have it reduced to two-and-a half florins. Alas, Christians did not seem to be interested in his Hebrew edition, Boreel had to conclude from Hartlib's reaction, but before he started publishing his Latin translation he had to know whether such an edition would have more success among Christians. Apparently Boreel had already worked on the Latin translation and one might conclude from his remarks that in 1646 parts of it were ready for the press. His patrons were willing, it seems, to finance a Latin translation as well if the prospects of selling it looked favourable. However, Boreel expressed the wish to have the Mishnah project finished soon, so that he might be able to proceed to another activity: the translation of the New Testament into foreign languages as an aid in converting the heathen.⁴⁷

What these letters unmistakably show, is that for Boreel the Mishnah project was closely linked with his financial situation. Obviously his financial circumstances were bad, not to say disastrous. His debts amounted to 16,000 florins: one debt of 10,000 florins and another of 6,000 florins, for which his library was pawned. He had to sell his library – there was no hope of getting his books back. That still left the debt of 10,000 florins and he hoped that Durie might be able to collect money for him in England. About the cause of this unhappy state of affairs we hear nothing. It might have been occasioned by a combination of factors: the support of the German messianic prophet Philipp Ziegler, the costs of the construction of Leon's Temple model, his own iatrochemical pursuits, and whatever he might have thought useful to give his money to. He seems to have had a free hand in spending money on causes which he supported wholeheartedly. Thus Durie wrote to Hartlib, after having indicated that Ziegler "did cost him [Boreel] deer, for hee was free of his purse toward him [Ziegler] till he was found out":

"And since I know, yt hee hath never been wanting, so long as God did continue his Estate, to contribute not only unto the necessities of the saints, but unto public designes, wch tend unto Religious endes, for the mans spirit doth lye wholly yt waye, not only to bestowe his meanes, but to spend himself wholly upon the things yt are most eminently usefull to the Kingdome of Christ ..."⁴⁸

Whatever the reasons of Boreel's financial difficulties may have been, it seemed to him – and to Durie as well – that the Hebrew Mishnah edition of 1646 as well as the publication of the Latin translation might help him out of it. Freed from his debts, he then would be able to accept Durie's invitation to go to England, where his friend was busy to arrange a job for him.

In the mid-1640s plans were made by the Hartlibians to employ Boreel in connection with their large project to prepare for the conversion of the Jews. He was their second choice: first the Königsberg Orientalist Johann Stephan Rittangel had been singled out for this task, but his difficult personality had made Hartlib and his friends soon turn their back upon him. Durie then proposed to ask Boreel, giving a very impressive portrait of his Dutch friend and his eminent qualities. Durie himself was planning to establish a "College for Judaic Studies" in London, "for the advancement of Knowledge in the Oriental tongues and Jewish mysteries", and he hoped to include Boreel – as well as Menasseh and Christian Ravius – among its professors.⁴⁹ However, these plans fell through and Boreel was not to go to London until 1655 and then presumably on a private journey only. In London Boreel met his Amsterdam friend Menasseh Ben Israel again, who had arrived in England in September 1655 in order to ask Cromwell permission for the resettlement of the Jews in England. Oldenburg recalls how he had met Menasseh several times at Boreel's lodgings. It was Boreel who proposed that the Caraites should be included in the readmission of the Jews, which is not surprising since he certainly must have favoured these purely scriptural Jews, who rejected the Talmud.⁵⁰

We know that the question of the resettlement of the Jews in England was closely connected with the issue of the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel. It is not known what Boreel thought of the stories about the discovery of the descendants of the Ten Tribes in North- and South-America. But Durie had good hopes that Boreel's Jewish studies might profit from those reports: if these stories were true, he wrote to Boreel on 8 August 1649, then they would not only do a lot of good to the Jewish cause in general, but they might also be of great help for Boreel and his Hebraic studies, since people would be more willing than ever to support him and his work for the Jews. Durie asked Boreel for detailed information about the story of Antonio de Montezinos on the Ten Tribes and about his visit to Amsterdam. Leon had promised to give him a copy of this story before he left Rotterdam, Durie wrote, but unfortunately the rabbi had not fulfilled his promise. He suggested that Boreel might give the story to Benjamin Worsley, an Irish chemist and physician and a good friend of Robert Boyle's, who stayed in Amsterdam at the time.⁵¹

Whether the reports on the Ten Tribes had any advantageous effect on Boreel's financial situation, is to be doubted: in 1650, after he had sold his library, he was still burdened with the debt of 10,000 florins. He made plans to leave Amsterdam, however, not to go to England, but to some other

place.⁵² Before he left he wished to publish whatever he had written for his coreligionists in order to further the conversion of the Jews. Durie asked him to send a list with the titles of his works, which would be needed in order to procure subsidies. Furthermore, Boreel had to say a few words about the scope of his writings and their use for the reformation of Christianity and Judaism. Durie also advised him about redeeming his debts. Would it not be a good idea to hand over "all his writings on the Mishnah" to his creditors in order to pay off the debt of 10,000 florins?

It is not said to what place Boreel planned to travel, but maybe he intended to go on a missionary journey to Constantinople, as he planned to do in 1654.⁵³ Whether he did indeed leave the Netherlands in 1650 or 1651, is not known. However, he was – still? – in Amsterdam in 1653, and, as we have seen, he went to England in 1655.⁵⁴

The plan, made in 1650, to publish his works on the Mishnah obviously fell through. Nine years later Hartlib's inquiries made it clear that after 1646 Boreel had not published anything in connection with the Mishnah project. Hartlib informed Worthington about the unsuccessful business of the 1646 Hebrew Mishnah edition: they had not been able to sell one copy of it in England. What Hartlib and Worthington hoped for, was that Boreel would publish his Latin translation – or whatever parts he had already finished of it. Now it seemed that Leon had started to make a Spanish translation, but how far he had proceeded with it is not clear. So what had to be done was, firstly, a translation into Spanish, which had to be done by Jews, and then a translation into Latin made by Christians; according to Worthington, there were scholars enough in Holland to turn the Spanish into Latin. If the Dutch would not undertake this work, then someone in England might do it, he proposed. Furthermore, Worthington suggested that it was better to leave out the rabbinical commentaries and to give, instead of "those bulky commentaries or large excursions", some short notes taken out of Maimonides.⁵⁵ But this suggestion was not applauded by Boreel, who, via Durie, let his English friends know that it was not possible "to make the Mishnaïot intelligible to become usefull to Christians by any translation without the commentaries". "Nor", as Boreel had added, "could any Jewe understand the text to putte it into Spanish, till he had read the commentaries".⁵⁶

In July 1661 it was reported to Hartlib that four of the six orders of the Mishnah had been translated with the commentaries, that the remaining two orders were being translated, and that Boreel was busy to get the commentaries added.⁵⁷ Undoubtedly this report concerned the Spanish translation, since it was explicitly stated that this translation was a Jewish affair. Maybe Leon was still working on it. It is certain, however, that Jacob Ben Joseph Abendana, who since 1655 was a rabbi in Amsterdam, devoted himself, as one of Boreel's collaborators, to the Spanish translation of the Mishnah since the early 1660s.⁵⁸ As the reason that he could not yet publish parts of the

translation, Boreel told his friends that "hee must not publish any part of it till hee hath gotten all done by the Jewes, whom hee must employ to make the edition authentique amongst them, for except it bee done by one of them it will not bee credited, and if any part should bee published before all bee done, it might fall out that none would bee employed to further the translation, or dare apply himself thereunto by reason of the iealousie and envious spirit which is in that nation to hinder all strangers from the knowledge of their law and way".⁵⁹ Therefore Boreel had to pretend that it was all done for his own use. Only when all would be finished, Boreel would publish the Spanish translation, as a whole or in parts.

No Spanish translation by Boreel's Jews, nor, for that matter, a Latin one by himself, was to appear during Boreel's lifetime. According to a note in the Family Archives, Boreel had almost completed the job when he died.⁶⁰ However, the work on the translations of the Mishnah went on in the following decades, involving Isaac and Jacob Abendana, and, for a short time, Herbert Thorndike, George Bright, and Friedrich Mieg.⁶¹ Finally between 1698 and 1703 Surenhuis' edition came from the press in Amsterdam. Surenhuis thanked especially Jacob Abendana whose Spanish translation had been of great help to him, having provided the most lucid light in the deepest darkness. Leon and his works were also referred to. Boreel, however, was not mentioned. However this may be, what had started in the late 1630s as "his" Jewish-Christian project and had continued as such until 1665, now had finally received completion.

1. ADAM BOREEL TO JOHN DURIE

14.XI.1646

Sloane MSS 649 ff. 37, 38

(copy by Samuel Hartlib)

Dilectissime in Christo frater

Tuas 12 Junii ad me datas recepi Amstelodami a communi nostro amico D. Justino, qui tunc ibi erat cum uxore et liberis ut amicos suos inviseret meque inter illos, qui iam a praeteriti anni mense Decembri hic moror, studiis Ebraicis intentus, quorum specimen jam vidit orbis per nuperam $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$ Mischnaiot Ebraicarum cum punctis editionem.

Quatuor honesti viri hic sunt, qui singulari charitate me prosequuntur et impensas typographiae fecerunt, quibus ideo omnia exemplaria, quae ad 4000 excurrunt, tradidi, ut ex eorum venditione impensae una cum modica usura recuperarent, contenti ut ego quod tunc ex venditione supererit consequar. Viros illos Deus mihi non sine tuis aliorumque pro me precibus suscitavit.

Mercatores sunt, studiorum et linguarum ignari, sed viri probissimi et integerrimi, ἀδιόκριτοι aut Mennoni addicti. Hi ipsimet a debitis effraenatum [?]⁶² me liberarunt aliisque incommodis, at debitorum meorum sors adhuc illibata est, quamvis per eos similesque alios occasio mihi oblata sit usuram quorundam solvendi. Libri mei adhuc captivi detinentur neque spes ulla affulget eos redimendi, ita ut eos vendere animus sit. Optimi illi viri in spem bene vendendorum exemplarium istorum librariorum mihi suppeditant, quae usibus necessariis debentur. Ego jam praeter versionem τῶν Mischnaiot cum commentariis rabbinorum privata quoque mea studia recole et ad eorum editionem anhelō, ut animam meam tandem aliquando liberem coram Domino et hominibus. In animo habeo post illa debite peracta me conferre ad Ethnicos, quā⁶³ assumptis sociis opere manuario et medicina simul instructis, ut Novum Testamentum in eorum linguas et characteres vertamus, et sic eos Deo et verbo gratiae committamus.

Apud vos audio aliquid pro me parari, at omnia ibi minus commoda liberae meorum scriptioni et editioni. Attamen videbo quid tempus ferat, ubi intellexero ad quid ibi usui esse possim.

D. Justinus fere in animum induxit in Hollandiam cum familia secedere; utrum ab eo responsum ad tuas retuleris ignoro.

Nupere ego diarrhaea vires omnes meas disjectas habui, sed Deus, misericordiarum pater, me restituit multo quam antea robustiorem, ita ut nova vita videar donatus. Laus ipsi sit in secula.

Planta illa aquae et optici mei tubi in manibus Dn. Hartlibii sunt, ut a te et ab illo intellexi. Si spes nulla sit aqua illa sibi utendi, pace tua scriptum illud ab eo repetam una cum planta, opticos pariter tubos, quos putavi potius apud te relinquere debere Roterodami usque ad reversionis meae tempus quam absque necessitate inde non sine molestia recuperare. At quia jam nobis eriperis, alia res est, et D. Hartlibio rescribam, qui mihi respondit super specimine Ebraicarum cum punctis Mischnaiot ad ipsum transmissis. At video libros illos a Christianis non desiderari. Ideo si contingat ut latine edantur, primum explorabo utrum et quot sint, qui et quot exemplaria certo pretio emere velint, ut de numero exemplarium imprimendorum pro ratione emptorum constare posset. Nam si priora haec exemplaria non distraherentur, vix patroni mei ad alias editiones animum applicabunt.

Hic igitur summarius est rerum nostrarum status. Si debitis extricari possem, non hic haerem, sed Deo quae Dei sunt darem, et scopum meum prosequerem. At adhuc haereo defixus, adeo ut praeter debitum librorum, quod ad sex mille florenos excurrit (loquor de debito illo pro quo libri mei oppignorati sunt), praeter, inquam, debitum illud adhuc decem mille floreni requirantur, ut plane liber esse possim; ita usura sortem augmentavit et Indies crescere facit. Si mihi in oris vestris occasio sese offerat, ut decem mille florenis illis mihi praestitis hinc evolare possem, tunc libros meos venderem ad sex mille florenos illos dissolvendos et ad vos excurrerem ea conditione, ut

si exempli gratia mihi mille floreni quotannis pro salario suppeditentur, ut, inquam, singulis annis mihi detrahant medium eorum partem, qua victitare satis potero; reliquum autem ipsis solverem per oppignorationem omnium exemplarium versionis latinae $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$ Mischnaiot, sive solarum sive cum commentariis rabbinorum; si, inquam, hic me debitis meis extricare voluerint ita ut dixi, ea conditione ad vos commigrabo. Alioquin mihi integrum non est nisi omnibus dispunctis obligationibus et vinculis, quibus propter magnum atque inauditum familiae meae exitium teneor. Nam provinciis hisce pedem efferre nec valeo nec cupio nisi debita mea omnia persoluta fuerint. Hoc ideo addo nil pro me agi posse indigetans quoad conditionem vel vitae genus mihi procurandum, nisi prius ita ratio ineatur ut summa illa mihi contingat, qua mediante a debitis meis liberari possim. Hac de re, si libet, Dn. Hartlibio scribere poteris, nam liberrime tibi fraterrime statum meum, quod necdum Dn. Hartlibio fieri potest, manifestavi.

Ad alia nunc pergo, rogans ut per occasionem me de rebus tuis certum facias, quomodo valeatis, tu tuaque, liberi, amici, ubi degas, quid rerum geratur apud vos, quae spes, quae vita⁶⁴, quae consilia, quis status, quid agant ecclesiastici, et num ordinem ecclesiarum brevi ut et confessionem et catechismum unanimum sint edituri pluraque similia, ut intermissum scribendi commercium redintegremus.

Ego ad Dn. Gardenium medicum aut ad Dn. Hartlibium meas ad te dirigam ut tibi tradantur, nempe a Dn. Guardenio ad Dn. Hartlibium et sic tandem ad te.

Vale vir Deo hominibusque dilecte, et cum tua (cui plurimam quoque atque fraternam salutem animitus precor) totaque familia salvi sospitesque diu perseverate ad divini nominis gloriam et regni Christi aedificationem perpetuamque animarum vestrarum aeternam salutem. Amen et Amen. Ita vovet fraternitatis tuae studiosissimus

N.N.

Amstelodami 14 Novemb. 1646.

2. ADAM BOREEL TO SAMUEL HARTLIB

14.XI.1646

Sloane MSS 649 f. 29

(copy by Samuel Hartlib)

Dilectissime in Christo frater

Quod postremas meas ad te gallice exararim in causa erat commercium quod mihi cum honestis illis mercatoribus, qui impensis suis editionem τῶν Mischnajot cum punctis procurarunt, nimirum ut ipsi rescire possent, latine ignari, quid ego de exemplarium istorum distractione ad amicos meos scribam et ab illis responsa referam.

Caeterum pro impensissimo tuo erga me studiaque mea quamvis immeritum affectu gratias Deo Optimo Maximo ago, bonorum omnium unico auctori, et vicissim tibi arctissimae amicitiae, qualem cum dominibus fratribus Moriano et Duraeo colo, officia omnia defero.

Judaicae genti iuvandae plurima conducunt, in specie, thalmodis et traditionum quae τῶν Midraschim continentur latinae versiones, ut nostri cum iis debite congreri possint, jam opinionum Judaicarum ignari; ad haec refutationes omnium fundamentorum, quibus ab aevo hodieque Judaei nituntur, eaeque Hebraicae et linguis quae Judaeis vernaculae sunt, publicatae.

Alia nunc praeterea quae multa variaque sunt, de quibus Deo volente una cum iis quae Christianismum aliasque in mundo religiones et status concernunt publice tractare animus est liberrimo atque ἀδιακρίτῳ stylo, quare illa usque ad tempus illud differo, quia breviter de iis tractari nequit, utpote quae altioribus principiis nitantur quam quae per epistolam communicari possunt.

Si commodum ac tutum fuerit tubos meos opticos aliaque per D.Duraeum apud se deposita mihi remittere, gratum mihi erit. Gratias insuper habeo quod specimen illud τῶν Mischnajot cum punctis tradere animus tibi sit iis qui de eo judicare poterunt, at vereor ne illa apud vos distrahantur; nos per librarium Gedanensem Forsterum tentamus eorum apud Judaeos Polonos venditionem. Si tamen vestri quinquaginta vel centum exemplaria cupiant, pretio trium florenorum singula, curabo ut ipsis mittantur, nam id pretii viris illis honestis, de quibus supra egi, jam placet, nisi forsitan ab ipsis impetravero, ut ab illis medium florenum remittant itaque inter utrumque pretium illud si libet cum emptoribus agere poteris; prius tamen mihi rescribas velim, antequam plane ipsis quicquam addicas.

Ad tractatulum illum nil rescribi, mirum est, ne hic quidem, ubi ita scripturiunt et in mediis bellis alta pace fruuntur, quicquam respondetur; putant multi ipsos Camarinam illam movere nolle, quia de majestate eorum ibi agitur, quae si apud vulgus in dubium vocari coeperit, acta res sit et auctoritas eorum omnis labefiat. Quicquid sit, non dubito ipsis aquam haerere et de putativa sua auctoritate defendenda desperare; sive negligant aut vilipen-

dant interrogata, erit tempus, Deo volente, quum omnia exegetice cum munimentis requisitis [?.]entur.

Interim me Deo totum commendo tuis amicorumque ad ipsum precibus, quo ita spiritu suo nos dirigat, ut omnia dicta, facta, cogitata cedant ad sanctissimi nominis sui gloriam, regni Christi aedificationem, Sathanici regni demolitionem atque aeternam nostram salutem per Jesum faxit Deus ille Deorum, cui reverentiam tuam, dilectissime frater, animitus commendo, et maneo

Reverendae fraternitati vestrae
addictissimus in Christo

Quem nosti

Amstelodami 14 Novemb. 1646

3. JOHN DURIE TO ADAM BOREEL
8.VIII.1649
Hartlib Papers 1/31/1^{rv}

Dilectissime in Christo Frater

Magna nostratium (qui rebus hoc tempore praesunt) animos incessit cupiditas propagandi lucem Evangelii inter barbaras Indiae Occidentalis nationes; quod duas praesertim ob causas evenire contingit, partim quod pii Novae Angliae coloni spem nobis praebeant luculentam spiritualis cujusdam messis inter Indos colligendae, ex eo quod Deus manifesto multorum aures aperiat et mentes barbarorum inclinet ad attentionem testimonio Christi ipsis a quibusdam annunciato et obedientiam mandatis eius praestandam; partim quod aliqui tam isthic loci quam hic conjectare incipiant ex argumentis non omnino contemnendis fieri posse indigenas istarum regionum ex Israelis prosapia oriundos esse. Quonium autem haec conjectura mirifica excitat multorum animos piorumque erigit affectus ut zelum prodant solito alacriorem erga illorum conversionem promovendam, meumque spiritum non mediocriter recreat cogitatio de futura Israelitarum restauratione ipsis per prophetas promissa deque salutari ipsorum revocatione ad Dominum nostrum Messiam suum appropinquante, ideo dignum operae pretium putavi de illis inquirere paulo curiosius, quae huic conjecturae confirmandae probabilitatem forsitan aliquam afferre queant.

Cumque inter alia mihi adhuc obversetur aliquid, quod ante meum ex Hollandia discessum evenisse intellexeram Amsterodami de Lusitano quopiam, qui ex America eo venerat deque tribubus Israelis in illa mundi plaga

reptis nescio quid senioribus synagogae Judaicae indicaverat, magnopere expeto totam rei illius explicationem nancisci, prout ea Judaeis Amsterodamensibus oblata fuerat. Tuus ille Juda Leon, qui tuis impensis Templum Salomonis suum exstruxit, promiserat mihi apographum illius narrationis antequam Roterodamo discessi, sed expectationi meae non satisfecit. Velim itaque mihi hac in parte faveas, ut exscriptam illam narrationem quamprimum commodum erit transmittas; et si addantur breviter illa quae nota sunt de circumstantiis personae illius Lusitani: – qualis fuerit, quomodo sese gesserit, quomodo a fratribus suis exceptus et qua ratione dimissus fuerit – desiderio meo cumulate satisfacies. Venturus est ut spero propediem ad nos dominus Worsleyus; si commode ante ejus reditum id fieri non possit, ut saltem tum fiat et per illum enixe rogo.

Nec meae curiositati hac in parte solum indulgeo, sed maius quid ob oculos habeo quod per Dei gratiam ad promotionem tuarum cogitationum gradum struere poterit. Si propensiores nostrorum hominum affectus erga Judaeorum conversionem fovere et legitimis viis promovere licuerit, quis scit an non media subsidiaque tuo studio necessaria, quae sine intermissione quaesivimus hactenus, tandem obtineri non poterunt, si ad justam maturitatem perducantur inclinationes illorum, quibus haec de Judaeorum conversione cogitata cordi sunt?

De me ipso meoque statu hoc scias velim, me liberum jam factum esse ab omni particulari obligatione, itaque constitutum mihi esse memet servum omnibus praestare. Nam cum sim ab officio cui praeeram exauctoratus, id est dimissus a cura liberorum defuncti regis, decrevi nulli speciali functioni ecclesiasticae memet in posterum obstringere, sed Deo annuente tuebor universalem quam nactus sum libertatem, ut cum omnibus de viis ad concordiam evangelicam perveniendi et christianam tolerantionem introducendi inter eos qui se Christi discipulos vocari volunt, tractatus instituere queam, extra omnes partes constitutus.

De domino fratre Justino tuisque rebus certius aliquid inaudire aveo; quo consilio ministerium Roterodami susceperit (putabam enim illum aliud decrevisse); quo successu illud obeat; et quam amice et pacifice alii in illo ordine sese erga illum gerant; et quousque cogitata illa quae Zelandis suis offerre inceperat ad umbilicum produxerit, foret mihi pergratum resciscere.

Tibi in Domino deditissimus

J.D.

Dabam raptim die Aug. 8 A°. 1649
Westmonasteri

4. JOHN DURIE TO ADAM BOREEL
 8.II.1650
 Sloane MSS 649 f.40
 (copy by Samuel Hartlib)

Dilectissime in Christo frater

Consilium quod in postremis tuis mihi aperuisti vehementer approbo, de modo quo comites tuos in itinere evangelico explorare decrevisti. Nam certum est nullos nisi sinceros veritatis caelestis cultores illam sequuturos peregrinandi rationem quam tu praescribis, atque illud vitae institutum vere apostolicum praecidet etiam gentibus ad quas pervenies suspicandi occasiones, quas habere possent, si aliter viveretis. Nam in proclivi illis foret cogitare, si alienis impensis et submissis aliunde per collectas stipendiis viveretis, vos emissarios esse alicuius status atque alio fine peregrinari quam puro veritatis evangelicae propagandae studio.

Illud etiam laudo quod antequam hinc discedes tua quae in Christianorum in hisce locis usum praeparata habes scripta (ut reddantur magis idonei ad promovendam Judaeorum conversionem) editurus sis, aut saltem praelo subiicies, ut postea eduntur.

Miratus sum debita tua adhuc ad X millia florenos excrescere post venditionem bibliothecae tuae. Annon oportebit transigere cum creditoribus ante tuum discessum? Vel an relinques ea quae imprimuntur ex scriptis tuis de Misnajat in solutionem istius debiti? Si hanc conditionem creditores non respuant, forsitan abs re non fuerit ita temet liberare a faenore quo te exedunt.

Rescribe quaeso prima quaque occasione, ut me certiore facias de titulis tractatum quos editioni destinabis post discessum tuum. Hoc plane necessarium erit ad subsidia quae meditor operi procuranda. Nam si typographicas impensas ferre nos possemus in usum tuum, tum de libris impressis disponere posses in solutum creditoribus, ut illorum commodo vendantur. Quando autem catalogum titulorum mittis, significa etiam voluminis cuiusque quantitatem et aliquid de scopo tuo cur scriptum exaraveris, et de rei tractatae usu ad reformandum Christianismum aut Judaismum etc.

Westmonasterii prope Basilicam quae vocatur St. James.
 Febr. 8. 1650

5. ADAM BOREEL TO JOHN DURIE

10.VIII.1660

Sloane MSS 649 ff. 41, 42

Dilectissime in Christo frater

Antequam ultimas tuas 13 July ad me datas accepi, redditi mihi fuerint libri τῶν Μισχναјот. Gratias eo nomine habeo et tibi et amico nostro Hartlibio, quem per Dni. Moriani ad me literas intellexi filiae elocatione generum in familiam suam adscivisse, qui scipionis vice ipsi esse potest in vergente ejus aetate ac turbato hoc rerum statu, quapropter ei congratulor ac precor ut ex voto omnia succedant.

Caeterum de rebus vestris nil adhuc certi decretum a Rege ac Parlamento accipio. Si solius S. Scripturae publicam praelectionem pro unitivo cultu adhiberent, et cuilibet peculiare suas synagogas liberas permetterent, nec ullis conscientis, quae solam pro fidei ad morum canone S. recipiunt Scripturam, vis intentaretur, facile res transigi posset. Quoad pontificios, praeter S. Scripturam etiam traditionibus nonscriptis addictos, possent isti tollerari, ita ut simul ac politicis rebus sese immiscerent, insignem mulctam pecuniarum Regi penderent. Id enim homines magis formidarent quam carceres et mortem pro religione (ut ipsi quidem arbitrantur vera) tolerata. At politici populi salutem pro summa lege habent, cui religio accommodari ab iis solet; quare Christi vero spirituali regno nunquam cum regno quod de hoc mundo est bene convenit, convenit ac conveniet, non magis ac ferro cum luto, ac proinde frustra sunt qui ista sociare tentant, mea quidem sententia.

Ne post traditam possessori tuo bibliothecam suspensus haereas, incertus quid acturus sis, si placet apud me diverte et communibus studiis consulamus Christi Domini regno, publicae aedificationi et paci. Plerique enim quae sua sunt quaerunt, non quae sunt Christi Jesu. De te autem, mi frater, multis a pluribus retro annis cognitis argumentis plane persuasus sum te ex animo regni Christi Domini propagationem intendere. Quem in finem opus est, ut erigatur *Societas de propaganda Dei et Christi Jesu conformitate*, quae istis occupatur quae breviter literis quibusdam ad te meis praeterito anno perscripsi. Quibus solus occupor, quia qui una deberent aut talia neglegunt, aut rei familiari intenti sunt, aut minus idonei. Utinam vero plurimi tibi similes suppeterent, facile societas ista erigi possit. Haec velim ut perpendas et mentem ea de re tuam mihi aperias, nam res Christi Domini alacrius promoveri debent quam factum est hactenus atque communibus operis, studiis et peregrinationibus, quaqua versus diffundi. Messis profecto est ampla at operarii pauci. Oremus vero ut messis Dominus operarios in messim suam ἐκβαλῆ⁶⁵ [?.] expellat tanquam nimium negligentes ac cunctantes.

Porro de Galeni libro vertendo cogitabitur talia; non obiter, ut ibi, sed pleno tractatu argumentis in utramque partem diductis tractari debent. Quod

a societate praestabitur, quem in finem plurima parata habeo, ex quibus ille suae, nam haec ipsi antea plane incognita fuere. Hoc ideo dico, si apud me fueris posse nos justum tractatum de argumento isto perscribere partitis operis. Ego enim probatione Novi Testamenti adhuc distineor, unde fit ut ad opus istud de quo nunc loquor plene tractandum necdum me accingere possim.

De Miltono et captivis, quid actum fuerit, aut agetur, proximis tuis mihi rescribes. Interea, Deo ac verbo gratiae commendatissimus, plurimum salve

a tuo quem nosti Borellio

Amstelodami 10 Aug. 1660

Oeconoma mea officiosam tibi salutem dicit.

6. ADAM BOREEL TO JOHN DURIE

22.XI.1660

Sloane MSS 649, ff. 43, 44

Dilectissime in Christo frater

Ex utraque ad me tua, 12 Octob. et 6 Novemb. exarata, rerum apud vos sic satis statum percepi. Difficile erit viam reperire, qua dissidentes unanimiter incedunt, absque pacis illo spiritu qui a pacis authore ecclesiis promissus est. Si civili jurisdictione sarta tecta quibuslibet liberum religionis exercitium Anglia indulgere sciret, quantus undique ad illam populorum libertatis amantium confluxus futurus esset, affatim experiretur. Miror ab exilio id vestros non edoctos.

Declarationem legi. Si serventur promissa nec ullus religionis ergo opprimatur, res utcumque sic tollerari posset. At limitibus suis non continebunt sese qui limites aliis praescribere assueti; ita nihil est ab omni parte beatum. Efficax deest directio apostolica, humilitas, mansuetudo, sanctitas, charitas. Nihil igitur stabile sperari potest ubi fundamentum ruinosum est.

Veram ecclesiae suae reformationem Christus dominus ad "καίρουζ ἄναψύξεωζ"⁶⁶, quum omnis Israel Dei salvabitur, reservavit. Gentilibus enim absque Israelitica natione nulla in ecclesiis gloria promissa est. Clamat id universum canticorum canticum Israeliticae restitutae ecclesiae inscriptum. Demum enim cap. 8.8. sub parvae sororis nomine de gentilium ecclesia mentio aliqua injicitur, adeo ut praecedentia cantici istius omnia interlocutoribus Christo atque Israelitica ecclesia pertractentur. Clamat id senis Simeonis prophetia. Ait enim de gentilibus "φῶζ εἰζ ἀποκαλύψιν" at "δόξαν λαῶν σου Ἰσραηλ"⁶⁷; quare quamdiu Israelitica ecclesia Messiam suum non receperit, nihil stabile, nihil gloriosum ecclesiae gentilium obtinget.

Utinam igitur, o utinam populus iste tandem aliquando Messiam suum, Jesum Nazarenum, pro legislatore suo recipiat! huc vota, vires, vita conferenda, insumenda. Interea dum de jurisdictione, ritibus, ambitu, mundus disceptat, hinc novus Deo dicata pectora invadat ignis, zelus qui terrenos omnes obices consumat, perrumpat, erecta societate de propaganda Dei et Jesu Messiae secundum S. Scripturam conformitate, ut Jesus Nazarenus pro humani generis universi legislator agnoscatur, recipiatur, et legi eius omnes ac singuli sese subjiciant, in omnibus ac singulis humanae vitae statibus. Id enim est unicum opus, nimirum "ἀΥΤΟΥ ἈΚΟΥΕΤΕ"⁶⁸, quo in voto desino.

Caeterum norit fraternitas vestra, amicum nostrum P. Serrarium iisdem in aedibus habitare ubi olim, nempe *op de printze gracht, by de brouwerie van't roode hert*. Ei tuas per oconomam tradendas curavi, quae mecum juxta tibi omnique familiae tuae omnia ab omnis boni authore Deo felicia precatur. Plurimum itaque salveas

a tuo observantissimo in Christo servo
Adamus Borellius

Amstelodami 22 Novemb. 1660

NOTES

* I thank Dr. J. Trapman for his kindness in correcting the Latin text of the letters.

1) *Mischna sive totius Hebraeorum juris, rituum, antiquitatum ac legum oralium systema, cum clarissimorum rabbinorum Maimonidis et Bartenorae commentariis integris, quibus accedunt variorum auctorum notae ac versiones in eos quos ediderunt codices, latinitate donavit ac notis illustravit Guilielmus Surenhusius* I-VI, Amstelaedami 1698-1703. On this edition, see P.T. van Rooden, "Willem Surenhuis' opvatting van de Misjna", in: J. de Roos, A. Schippers & J.W. Wesselius, *Driehonderd jaar oosterse talen in Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 1986, pp. 43-54. See also the articles by D.S. Katz and J.W. Wesselius mentioned in note 22.

2) John Durie, *A Seasonable Discourse*, 1649, p. 16 (quoted in Richard H. Popkin, "The First College for Jewish Studies", *Revue des études juives* CXLIII (1984), (351-364), p. 361.

3) On the beginning of this new genre in Christian Hebraism in the early decades of the 17th century, see Peter T. van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies in the Seventeenth Century. Constantijn L'Empereur (1591-1648) Professor of Hebrew and Theology at Leiden*, Leiden etc. 1989, pp. 110-132. See also E. Bischoff, *Kritische Geschichte der Thalmud-Übersetzungen aller Zeiten und Zungen*, Frankfurt a/Main 1899; A. Kuyt & E.G.L. Schrijver, "Translating the Mishnah in the Northern Netherlands. A Tentative Bibliographic Raisonnée", in: A. Kuyt & N.A. van Uchelen (eds.), *History and Form. Dutch Studies in the Mishnah ...*, Amsterdam 1988, 1-41.

4) For Adam Boreel, see Walther Schneider, *Adam Boreel. Sein Leben und seine Schriften*, Giessen 1911 (Inaug. Diss). This abridged edition seems only to contain a small part of the dissertation; unfortunately I could not lay hands on the original version of Schneider's work. See also *NNBW* VI, p. 154; *BWPGN* II, pp. 500-501; J.C. van Slee, *De Rijnsburger Collegianten*, Haarlem 1895 (Utrecht 1980), passim; Bischoff, *Kritische Geschichte*, p. 33; J. Lindeboom, *Stiefkinderen van het christendom*, 1929, pp. 342-345; L. Kolakowski, *Chrétiens sans église*, 1969, pp. 197-199; E.G.E. van der Wall, *De mystieke chiliast Petrus Serrarius (1600-1669) en zijn wereld*, Leiden 1987 (diss.), passim.

5) For Jacob Jehuda Leon, see A.K. Offenbergh, "Jacob Jehuda Leon (1602-1675) and his Model of the Temple", in: J. van den Berg & Ernestine G.E. van der Wall, *Jewish-Christian Relations in the Seventeenth Century. Studies and Documents*, Dordrecht etc. 1987, pp. 95-115. In a letter to Marin Mersenne, dated 3 Sept. 1646, Boreel said that he had supported Leon for five years.

6) Offenbergh, "Jacob Jehuda Leon", p. 99.

7) See the portrait of Boreel sketched by John Durie in a letter to Samuel Hartlib, 31 August 1646, published by Ernestine G.E. van der Wall, "Without Partialitie Towards All Men": John Durie on the Dutch Hebraist Adam Boreel", in: Van den Berg & Van der Wall, *Jewish-Christian Relations*, (145-149) p. 147.

8) See Van der Wall, "Without Partialitie Towards All Men", pp. 147-148.

9) See Offenbergh, "Jacob Jehuda Leon".

10) On Boreel's financial support of Leon, see note 5; Letter 3; and Durie to Hartlib, 31 Aug. 1646: "The Jewe wch hee [Boreel] made use of is one Called Judah Leon who at his cost did build the Moddell of the temple of Jerusalem ..." (Van der Wall, "Without Partialitie Towards All Men", p. 148).

11) Van der Wall, "Without Partialitie Towards All Men", p. 148.

12) Offenbergh, "Jacob Jehuda Leon", p. 101.

13) Offenbergh, "Jacob Jehuda Leon", pp. 105-107.

14) See Letter 1.

15) See M.M. Kleerkooper & W.P. van Stockum, *De boekhandel te Amsterdam*, 's-Gravenhage 1914, I, pp. 410-412. On the 1646 Mishnah edition, see R.H. Popkin, "Some Aspects of Jewish-Christian Theological Interchanges in Holland and England 1640-1700", in: Van den Berg & Van der Wall, *Jewish-Christian Relations*, pp. 7-11; L. Fuks & R.G. Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography in the Northern Netherlands 1585-1815*, Leiden 1984, 109, 129 no. 180.

16) See Richard H. Popkin & David S. Katz, "The Prefaces by Menasseh ben Israel and Jacob Judah Leon Templo to the Vocalized Mishnah (1646)", in: Van den Berg & Van der Wall, *Jewish-Christian Relations*, pp. 151-153.

17) Popkin & Katz, "The Prefaces", p. 150. What Menasseh tells here about his work is in perfect agreement with the contract of November 1645. Menasseh received 2200 florins for his work (Fuks & Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography*, p. 109).

18) Ibid.

19) Van der Wall, "Without Partialitie Towards All Men", p. 147.

20) Ibid.

21) Thus Rosalie L. Colie, *Light and Enlightenment. A Study of the Cambridge Platonists and the Dutch Arminians*, Cambridge 1957, p. 26.

22) See, for example, Popkin, "Some Aspects of Jewish-Christian Theological Interchanges", pp. 7-11; J.W. Wesseliuss, "I Don't Know Whether He Will Stay For Long". Isaac Abendana's Early Years in England and his Latin Translation of the Mishnah", *Studia Rosenthaliana XXII* (1988), (85-96) pp. 92-93; David S. Katz, "The Abendana Brothers and the Christian Hebraists of Seventeenth-Century England", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 40 (1989), (28-52) pp. 31-35.

23) Schneider, *Adam Boreel*, pp. 35-38.

24) See below p. 11.

25) Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration. Science, Medicine and Reform 1626-1660*, London 1975, p. 72.

26) References to both jobs are made in Letters 3 and 5.

27) In David Masson, *The Life of John Milton*, I-VII, Gloucester (Mass.) 1965, Boreel is not mentioned.

28) Schneider, *Adam Boreel*, pp. 41-42.

29) Oldenburg to Boreel, 25 August 1660, in: A.R. Hall & M.B. Hall, *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg I*, Madison etc. 1965, pp. 381-382. Cf. letters from Oldenburg to Hartlib, 27 August 1659, in: *Correspondence I*, pp. 306-309; Oldenburg to Beale, 4 Sept. 1660, in: *Correspondence I*, pp. 384-387. See also R.H. Popkin, "Could Spinoza have known Bodin's Colloquium Heptaplomares?" (forthcoming).

30) Van der Wall, "Without Partialitie Towards All Men", p. 148.

31) Oldenburg to Boreel, early November 1657, in: *Correspondence I*, pp. 142-144.

32) Oldenburg to Boreel, early November 1657, in: *Correspondence I*, pp. 404-406.

33) Van der Wall, *De mystieke chiliast Petrus Serarius*, pp. 265-267. The manuscript of "Jesus Nazarenus Legislator" is in the Boyle Papers, vols. 12, 13 and 15; it is bound in a confused order.

34) Colie, *Light and Enlightenment*, pp. 26-27.

35) Schneider, *Adam Boreel*, pp. 37-40. On Boreel and the Collegiants, see Van Slee, *De Rijnsburger Collegianten*, passim. It may be that the "Galenus" mentioned in Letter 5 is Boreel's close friend and co-Collegiant Galenus Abrahamsz de Haan who in 1659 published a treatise which contains the same ecclesiological views as those adhered to by Boreel.

36) Van der Wall, "Without Partialitie Towards All Men", p. 146.

37) This pamphlet is published in the *Scripta posthuma*, pp. 91-92.

38) Jan Zoet on Boreel:

"De liefde huppelt op u tong,
En poogt de tweedragt kort van sprong,
(waar 't mogelijk) uit 'er steê te drijven".

Apparently Boreel planned a second edition of *ad legem et testimonium*; a preface to this edition is published in the *Scripta posthuma*. A year after his death a Dutch excerpt of *ad legem et testimonium* was published by "G. Vrijleeven", probably a "Boreelist".

39) For these three Hartlibians, see Van der Wall, *De mystieke chiliast Petrus Serrarius*, passim.

40) The pamphlet, entitled *Adam Boreel Exposed By His Fruits* (1662), was signed by, i.a., the Rotterdam merchant-scholar Benjamin Furly, who possessed several works by Boreel (*Scripta posthuma*, 'T Evangely volgens Mattheus, "New Meditations on the First and Second Adam" (1700)), see W.I. Hull, *Benjamin Furly and Quakerism in Rotterdam*, 1941, pp. 11, 145.

41) See, for example, Oldenburg to Hartlib, 13 August 1659, in: *Correspondence I*, p. 304.

42) See Boreel, *Ad Samuelem Maresium ... protrepücon*, pp. 386-387, where he quotes this remark from Maresius' *Diss. theol. de usu et honore*.

43) Boreel's conversionist programme shows a great likeness to that of Durie as proposed by the latter in his *Seasonable Discourse* (1649); cf. Popkin, "The First College for Jewish Studies", pp. 356-357.

44) Hartlib to Worthington, 17 Dec. 1660, in: James Crossley (ed.), *John Worthington. Diary and Correspondence I*, 1847, pp. 249-250. Undoubtedly Hartlib refers to Boreel's remark: "... quamdiu Israelitica ecclesia Messiam suum non receperit, nihil stabile, nihil gloriosum ecclesiae gentilium obtingit" (see Letter 6). In his comment on Boreel's view Hartlib says: "But many tell me that Mr. Lightfoot can find no such truth revealed nor promised, either in the Holy records, or in any of the Jewish writers. Till it be known what grounds he [Boreel] doth alledge, we can oppose the authority of the late learned Dr. Ames, who professed to his dying day the conversion of the Jews to be a most liquid scriptural truth, but could not approve of any of the millenary tenets".

45) See P. de la Rue, *Geletterd Zeeland*, Middelburg 1741², pp. 27-29.

46) It may be that because of the death of Joseph Ben Israel in Lublin in 1650 copies in Poland got lost somehow.

47) See Letter 2.

48) Van der Wall, "Without Partialitie Towards All Men", p. 146.

49) Popkin, "The First College for Jewish Studies", p. 353, 354, 357. In 1647 Moriaen suggested Boreel for the Hartlibian conversionist project, see his letter to Hartlib, 24.X.1647, published by E.G.E. van der Wall, "Johann Stephan Rittangel's Stay in the Netherlands (1641-1642)", in: Van den Berg & Van der Wall, *Jewish-Christian Relations*, (119-134) p. 132.

50) See R.H. Popkin, "The Lost Tribes, the Caraites and the English Millenarians", *Journal of Jewish Studies XXXVII* (1986), (213-227) p. 222.

51) See Letter 3. On Benjamin Worsley and his contacts with Durie, Menasseh Ben Israel and Boreel in connection with the issue of the Ten Tribes, see E.G.E. van der Wall, "Three Letters by Menasseh ben Israel to John Durie. English Philo-judaism and the 'Spes Israelis'", *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 65 (1985), (46-63), pp. 54-55.

52) See Letter 4.

53) See Durie to Hartlib, 9 Dec. 1654, Hartlib Papers 4/3/65.

54) That Boreel was in Amsterdam in 1653 can be concluded from three letters which he wrote to an unnamed lady in January and February 1653; they are published in the *Scripta posthuma*, pp. 186-199.

55) For the correspondence between Hartlib and Worthington on this matter, see R.H. Popkin & Ernestine G.E. van der Wall, "Samuel Hartlib, John Worthington and John Durie on Adam Boreel's Latin Translation of the Mishna (1659-1661)", in: Van den Berg & Van der Wall, *Jewish-Christian Relations*, pp. 156-159.

56) Popkin & Van der Wall, "Samuel Hartlib", p. 158.

57) Ibid.

58) See Wesselius, "I Don't Know Whether He will Stay For Long", pp. 92-93; Katz, "The Abendana Brothers", p. 35, 41, 43, 47.

59) Popkin & Van der Wall, "Samuel Hartlib", p. 158.

60) "Heeft ook die Misnajok uit het Hebrews in de Spaanse tale overgeset, ende commentarien daer op gemaect, tot treffelijke verlichtingh in die oude duysterhey, dan dat werck heeft niet geheel voor sijn doot connen voltrecken" (Fam. Arch. Boreel, Algemeen Rijksarchief 's-Gravenhage).

61) Wesselius, "I Don't Know Whether he Will Stay For Long", pp. 88-89.

62) MS offraenarum.

63) *In marg. una.*

64) *In marg. vota.*

65) Mt. 9, 38.

66) Acts 3, 19.

67) Luke 2, 32.

68) Mt. 17, 5.