

REVIEW COPY

BRITISH STUDIES
MILLENNARIANS AND JEWS
INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

EDITED BY
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SCEPTICS,
MILLENNARIANS AND JEWS

VOLUME 17



E. J. BRILL

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1996

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IN
INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

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To
Richard H. Popkin

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INTRODUCTION

All of the contributors to this volume of essays share at least one characteristic in common, apart from their mutual interest in sceptics, millenarians, and Jews: we are all friends of Richard H. Popkin, who celebrates his sixty-fifth birthday today. Dick Popkin is a well-known man, whose fame extends far beyond the circle of his friends. He is well-known to generations of students of philosophy for his classic work, *The History of Scepticism*, which now spans the period between Erasmus and Spinoza. He is well-known to scholars for having put Isaac La Peyrère on the philosophical map and for having shown how the apparent dead ends of thought in reality lead on to the broad avenues of intellectual endeavor and history. And he is well-known to millions of Americans (even if his name is not always remembered) for having been the first to suggest and argue in print, as early as 1966, that Lee Harvey Oswald could not have acted alone in assassinating President Kennedy. Dick's views, published in book form as *The Second Oswald*, were endorsed in substance when the Congress of the United States overturned the findings of the Warren Commission in 1977.

The common thread through all of Dick Popkin's work is that he is first and foremost an historical detective, searching out and even more spectacularly, finding, startlingly new pieces of evidence and interpreting them with extraordinary imagination. Amsterdam, London, Stockholm, Wolfenbüttel, Zürich, Jerusalem, and even Kentucky all form part of Dick Popkin's archival territory. Documents which have already been available to scholars take on new and more significant meanings under his touch: his rediscovery of Spinoza's connections with English Quakers is a recent example of this phenomenon, for only Dick was able to see how revolutionary these sources were to our understanding of the great philosopher's work.

When the editors of this volume sat down to outline its contents and to discuss contributors, one thing was clear: we did not want a conventional *Festschrift*. Most such collections should really be called *Short-schripts*, containing as they do a rag-bag of hastily cobbled-together essays on a wide variety of subjects. The contributors had, after all, learned so much from Dick Popkin, and indeed, many of us had embarked on entire research projects on the basis of our discussions with him and after having been shown his findings. We therefore chose to produce a book of essays centered around three of the most important themes in Dick's work: sceptics, millenarians, and Jews. As our footnotes make clear, everyone

A PHILO-SEMITIC MILLENARIAN ON THE
RECONCILIATION OF JEWS AND CHRISTIANS:
HENRY JESSEY AND HIS "THE GLORY AND SALVATION
OF JEHUDAH AND ISRAEL" (1650)*

ERNESTINE G.E. VAN DER WALL

All who are acquainted with the man to whom this volume is presented know his eminent qualities in a wide range of fields, one of them being his remarkable ability to discover hidden treasures in archives and libraries all over the world. Manuscripts generally believed to have been lost for good, books presumed to have vanished out of existence, seem to prefer to lie quietly in their boxes or stand inconspicuously on the shelves, until Richard Popkin comes along to rescue them.

Thus during the very first minute of my first meeting with Professor Popkin, while shaking my hand he fired his first question at me – the beginning of a long series extending over the years – whether I was aware that a copy of the Serrarius-Bahnsen auction catalog had been preserved in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel: he had just located it there. Petrus Serrarius being the subject of my dissertation, I had of course been looking for this catalog, which was believed to be lost. My many inquiries (among them one directed to the Herzog August Bibliothek) had not led to any positive results. Evidently the reappearance of this rare item awaited Popkin's arrival. This copy is the only one known of this important seventeenth-century auction catalog, which lists an interesting collection of mystical and millenarian writings¹.

Viewed against the background of Popkin's golden touch, one can imagine that I am happy to present to him here a discovery of my own, also made among the abundantly rich collection of the Herzog August Bibliothek. Through this small treasure we enter the world of Popkin's well-known seventeenth-century millenarian friends, notably two of them: Henry Jessey and Petrus Serrarius. Both these Christian theologians figure in his many interesting and stimulating studies on the history of millenarianism and philo-Semitism. I want to deal here with a treatise by

* I thank Dr. C.W. Schoneveld (Leiden) for his kindness in correcting the English text of my paper.

¹ An edition of the auction catalog of Petrus Serrarius and Benedictus Bahnsen is being prepared by R.H. Popkin and the author of the present article.

Henry Jessey, entitled *The Glory and Salvation of Jehudah and Israel*, published in 1650, which at the time seems to have been a celebrated work. Unfortunately, however, copies of the English edition are no longer extant. But in 1653 there appeared a Dutch translation of Jessey's treatise, made by his intimate friend, the Amsterdam mystical millenarian Petrus Serrarius, entitled *De heerlickheydt en heyl van Jehuda en Israel*. Of this translation only one copy seems to have been preserved: the one I came across in Wolfenbüttel². Already around the middle of the nineteenth century the Dutch translation was noted as being very rare³. It was this translation that Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel referred to in Paul Felgenhauer's *Bonum Nuncium Israeli* and in his *Humble Addresses* to Oliver Cromwell⁴. How and when Jessey and Serrarius got acquainted, is not known. Perhaps they were introduced to each other by mutual friends, such as John Dury, Nathaniel Homes, or Menasseh ben Israel. They corresponded regularly. After Jessey's death, Serrarius continued to correspond with Jessey's friends – among them Anthony Grey, whom he informed about the exciting events around the Jewish "King" Sabbatai Sevi and his "Prophet" Nathan of Gaza⁵.

According to Jessey's seventeenth-century biographer Edward Whis-

² The full title of the Dutch translation runs as follows: *De heerlickheydt en heyl van Jehuda en Israel, zijnde een tractaet streckende tot vereeniginghe der Jooden en Christenen (die al te langh in te groote oneinigheyt zijn geweest) mits aenwijsende hoe sy beyde in veele fundamentele grond-stucken der religie, insonderheydt noopen den MESSIAM eens zijn: wiens eygentlijcke persoon, alhoewel de hedendaeghse Iooden verloochenen, hoe lijckewel hun eyghen oudste en meest-geapprobeerde autheuren, door klaer ghevolgh, in Hem over-een-stemmen. Betuyght in 't Engelsch door Henry Jesse, genaemt een Christen-predikant tot Londen (alhoewel hy hem-selvs deses titels onwaerdigh acht) en nu tot gherief beyde van Iooden en Christenen in 't Neêrlandts vertaelt door P.S. Gedruckt tot Amsterdam, in 't jaer onses Messiae, Iesus Christus, 1653. (HAB shelf-mark 916.2Th.[3]).*

Jessey's *Glory and Salvation* and its Dutch translation are mentioned in such eighteenth-century works as J.F. Corvinus, *Anabaptisticum et Enthusiasticarum Pantheon* (1702), p. 234; and J.C. Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea* (Hamburg, 1733), iv. 501.

H.-J. Schoeps, *Philosemitismus im Barock* (Tübingen, 1982), mentions *The Glory and Salvation* only once (p. 2 n. 2); Jessey, however, deserves a more prominent place in the history of philo-Semitism, as is apparent from the studies by R.H. Popkin and David S. Katz, and will appear from the present paper.

³ See N. Sokolow, *History of Zionism 1600-1918* (London, 1919), pp. 214-215, where reference is made to a catalog of the library of Leon V. Saraval (Trieste), published in 1853, listing Jessey's treatise as item number 619, with the addition "très rare".

⁴ Paul Felgenhauer, *Bonum Nuncium Israeli* (Amsterdam, 1655), p. 90. For the reference in the *Humble Addresses*, see below p. 169 and note 32.

⁵ On 4 December 1665 Serrarius wrote a letter to Anthony Grey, in which he referred to "the blessed memory of our dear friend Mr. Jessee, whom I might have wished to communicate what now I shall communicate unto you", see E.G.E. van der Wall, *De mystieke chiliast Petrus Serrarius (1600-1669) en zijn wereld* (Leiden, 1987), pp. 416, 419, 428-432. See also E.G.E. van der Wall, "A Precursor of Christ or a Jewish Impostor? Petrus Serrarius and Jean de Labadie on the Jewish Messianic Movement around Sabbatai Sevi", in *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, xiv (1989), 109-124.

ton, *The Glory and Salvation of Jehudah and Israel* had also been translated into Hebrew and "dispersed among the Jews of Divers Nations"⁶. But of this translation no copies have been preserved either – maybe they will be discovered one day (by Popkin?), to be included in the inventory of seventeenth-century Hebrew translations of Christian treatises⁷.

Jessey's treatise bore the imprimatur of four famous divines: John Dury, Joseph Caryl, William Greenhill, and Nathaniel Homes. Dury expressed the wish that the tract might be spread among all Jews in the whole world, while Homes stated that he believed that this treatise would be most profitable for Jews and gentiles alike⁸.

Since through the Dutch version we are now finally in a position to know what Jessey must have written, my main purpose here will be to give a survey of the contents of this translation⁹. As we shall see, *The Glory and Salvation of Jehudah and Israel* stands out as one of the most philo-Semitic works of the seventeenth century. But let me first say a few words about its author.

HENRY JESSEY (1601-1663)

Henry Jessey played an important role as a millenarian theologian and "pastor in politics" in seventeenth-century England¹⁰. For a long time, from 1637 until his death, he served the Jacob-Jessey Church in London, the mother congregation of the English Baptists. He was among the most prominent Independent clergymen of his day and is considered as the foremost representative of "respectable nonconformity". Jessey was deeply involved in politics: he wanted to take the political implications of his millenarian beliefs seriously. He sided with the radical Fifth Monarchy Men, but was one of their moderate members.

⁶ [Edward Whiston], *Life and Death of Mr. Henry Jessey* (London, 1671), pp. 80-81.

⁷ See R.H. Popkin, "The First College for Jewish Studies", *Revue des Etudes Juives*, cxliii (1984), 351-364, p. 360. See also R.H. Popkin, "Some Aspects of Jewish-Christian Theological Interchanges in Holland and England 1640-1700", in *Jewish-Christian Relations in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. J. van den Berg and E.G.E. van der Wall (Dordrecht & Boston, 1988), p. 14: "Part of what is needed to follow out Jewish-Christian influences in the period is an inventory of Christian writings in Hebrew, to ascertain what audiences these were addressed to, and what influence, if any, they may have had".

⁸ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, "Approbatie deses boecks", noting that Greenhill, Caryl and Homes were members of the "national synod" of Great Britain (= the Westminster Assembly). For these divines, see, i.a., Tai Liu, *Puritan London: A Study of Religion and Society in the City Parishes* (Newark, London & Toronto, 1986), pp. 71, 106f., 112.

⁹ Whiston, in his *Life and Death of Mr. Henry Jessey*, pp. 79-80, gives a neat survey of the contents of *The Glory and Salvation of Jehudah and Israel*.

¹⁰ For Henry Jessey, see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; R.L. Greaves & R. Zaller (eds.), *Biographical Dictionary of British Radicals in the 17th Century* 2 (Brighton, 1984), pp. 140-141; B.R. White, "Henry Jessey. A Pastor in Politics", *Baptist Quarterly* xxv (1973-1974), 98-

According to his contemporaries, Jessey was a gifted preacher. One of his moving sermons on the future glory of the Jews occasioned the conversion of a young girl, Sarah Wight, who, on her way to the Thames to drown herself, went instead to hear Jessey preach. Then, at last, this "empty nothing creature" was freed from her tormenting doubts and feelings of sinfulness; learning from Jessey that the Jews, the most despised people in the whole world, were to be saved by the Lord some future day, suggested to her that she herself, also being very sinful though not as much as the Jews, might be saved too. The story about Sarah Wight, her excessive fasting, her famous visitors (among whom were Benjamin Worsley and Lady Katherine Ranelagh), was written down by Jessey in a book, entitled *The Exceeding Riches of Grace*, soon to become very popular. In this work – which was also translated into Dutch by Serrarius – he expressed the hope that God would "shortly . . . bring down every high thing"¹¹.

Jessey was highly interested in the Jews and their religion, belonging as he did to the Anglo-Dutch circle of philo-Semites in the early modern period¹². By contemporaries he was nicknamed "Jessey the Jew"¹³. He was known for his skill in Hebrew, which he seems to have read easily. He always carried a Hebrew Bible with him¹⁴. The major project of his

110; *idem*, "Henry Jessey in the Great Rebellion", in *Reformation, Conformity and Dissent. Essays in Honour of Geoffrey Nuttall*, ed. R. Buick Knox (London, 1977), pp. 132-153; *idem*, *The English Baptists of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1983), *passim*; B.S. Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in 17th-Century English Millenarianism* (London, 1972), *passim*; Tai Liu, *Discord in Zion: the Puritan Divines and the Puritan Revolution 1640-1660* (The Hague, 1973), *passim*; B.W. Ball, *A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660* (Leiden, 1975), pp. 109, 111, 125, 231; M. Tolmie, *The Triumph of the Saints: The Separate Churches of London 1616-1649* (Cambridge, 1977), *passim*; D.S. Katz, "Menasseh ben Israel's Christian Connection: Henry Jessey and the Jews", in *Menasseh ben Israel and His World*, ed. R.H. Popkin, *et al.* (Leiden, 1989), pp. 117-138. A portrait of Jessey has been preserved in the Dr. Williams's Library, London: shelf-mark MS 38.186.(6).

¹¹ On Sarah Wight and *The Exceeding Riches of Grace*, see Van der Wall, *De mystieke chiliast Petrus Serrarius*, pp. 126-130; Katz, "Menasseh ben Israel's Christian Connection".

¹² On this group, see E.G.E. van der Wall, "The Amsterdam Millenarian Petrus Serrarius (1600-1669) and the Anglo-Dutch Circle of Philo-Judaists", in *Jewish-Christian Relations*, ed. Van den Berg & Van der Wall, pp. 73-94. See also 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*, lxi (1985), 46-63; *idem*, "Johann Stephan Rittangel's Stay in the Dutch Republic (1641-1642)", in *Jewish-Christian Relations*, ed. Van den Berg & Van der Wall, pp. 119-134; David S. Katz, "Henry Jessey and Conservative Millenarianism in Seventeenth-Century England and Holland", in *Dutch-Jewish History*, ii (1989), 75-93.

¹³ See B.S. Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press. English Almanacs 1500-1800* (London & Boston, 1979), p. 153.

¹⁴ See Katz, "Menasseh ben Israel's Christian Connection"; Popkin, "Some Aspects of Jewish-Christian Theological Interchanges", p. 25.

life was a new Bible translation, intended to replace the King James Version. In his *Scripture Almanack* he explained the Hebrew calendar and used the Hebrew names of the months. He observed some Jewish laws, and kept the sabbath on Saturday, believing in Jewish fashion that "the Lords *Sabbaths* begins on the *Evening* before"¹⁵. It is no wonder then that in the 1650s Jessey played an active role in the campaign to re-admit the Jews to England¹⁶. He was a member of the special committee attending the Whitehall Conference of December 1655 where the re-admission question would be determined, and from his pen came the most reliable report about it, the famous *Narrative of the Late Proceeds at White-Hall Concerning the Jews*. When in connection with this campaign the "ambassador" of the Jews, Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel, visited England, it was Jessey who "stage-managed Menasseh ben Israel's English production and publicised it once it was underway"¹⁷. Menasseh and Jessey had been in contact with each other at least since 1649. Jessey, like Homes, corresponded regularly with the Amsterdam rabbi, as we shall see below; one of their letters, inquiring whether the Ten Tribes of Israel were to be found in America, was published by Menasseh in Felgenhauer's *Bonum Nuncium Israeli*¹⁸.

Furthermore, Jessey was closely involved in the Anglo-Dutch project to collect alms for the poor Ashkenazi Jews in Jerusalem. This project is a good illustration of the active philo-Semitism of Jessey and his friends. Serrarius, who apparently was the promoter of the collection in the Netherlands, kept his English friend informed about the results of the project and the whereabouts of the emissaries of Jerusalem, among whom was Rabbi Nathan Shapira, who visited the Netherlands in 1656 and 1657¹⁹. When, early in 1658, a new couple of emissaries came to Amsterdam, Serrarius wrote to Jessey that he was "much mooved" by their stories about the plight of their brethren in Palestine. A second collection was organized, Serrarius asking Jessey to do his best in England. At Serrarius's request, Dury and Hartlib were informed by Jessey about "the

¹⁵ See David S. Katz, *Sabbath and Sectarianism in Seventeenth-Century England* (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 10) (Leiden, 1988), p. 22.

¹⁶ See David S. Katz, *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England 1603-1655* (Oxford, 1982), *passim*; *idem*, "Menasseh ben Israel's Christian Connection".

¹⁷ Katz, "Menasseh ben Israel's Christian Connection".

¹⁸ Felgenhauer, *Bonum Nuncium Israeli*, pp. 103-105.

¹⁹ See R.H. Popkin, "Rabbi Nathan Shapira's Visit to Amsterdam in 1657", in *Dutch-Jewish History*, i (1984), 185-205; Van der Wall, *De mystieke chiliast Petrus Serrarius*, pp. 176-184. On this collection and its effects among the Jerusalem Jews, see David S. Katz, "English Charity and Jewish Qualms: The Rescue of the Ashkenazi Community of Seventeenth-Century Jerusalem", in *Jewish History: Essays in Honour of Chimen Abramsky*, ed. A. Rapoport-Albert *et al.* (London, 1988), pp. 245-266.

great distresse of these poor blind Jews', Jessey signing his letter as "one that longs to see Jerusalem made a Praise in the Earth"²⁰. Undoubtedly he had a hand in the publication of an anonymous pamphlet about this relief of the Ashkenazi poor in Jerusalem, entitled *An Information Concerning the Present State of the Jewish Nation in Europe and Judea*²¹.

As was the case with all the seventeenth-century philo-Semites, the interest in the Jews was closely connected with the belief in the future reign of Christ upon earth. Jessey was convinced that he lived in the last times, seeing around him many signs to confirm him in this. A collection of prophecies included in the *Clavis Apocalyptica ad Incudem Revocata vel Clavis Recusa*, published in 1653, bore the imprimatur of Jessey and Caryl²². Furthermore, Jessey is supposed to have been the author, or co-author, of the anonymous *Mirabilis Annus, or the Year of Prodigies and Wonders*, a "faithful and impartial collection of several Signs", which appeared in 1661 and 1662, and led to his imprisonment on account of their anti-government tenor²³.

Jessey also showed great interest in the successes of the Protestant mission of his day, remembering the words of St. Paul about the fulness of the gentiles to come in, so that all Israel may be saved (Rom. 11:25). In 1650 he published an English translation of a pamphlet of the Dutch pastor Caspar Sibelius about the conversion of 5900 East-Indians in the Isle of Formosa²⁴.

According to his biographer, Jessey "was not only a Talker of God, but (like Enoch) a Walker with God"²⁵. We may add that he was not only an active philo-Semite, but also a theorist on the conversion of the Jews, as will appear from *The Glory and Salvation of Jehudah and Israel*.

²⁰ See the postscript to Serrarius's letter to Jessey, dated 22 March 1658, Brit. Lib., MS Lansdowne 754, f. 372. See also Van der Wall, *De mystieke chiliast Petrus Serrarius*, pp. 178-180.

²¹ As to the identity of the author of *An Information*, it is unclear whether Jessey or Dury was the author. C. Roth and D.S. Katz choose the first, Popkin the last option. However this may be, in a sense Petrus Serrarius may be considered as its co-author, the *Information* largely consisting of a letter of Serrarius to Dury.

²² Ball, *A Great Expectation*, p. 125, n. 254.

²³ On this work, see Ball, *A Great Expectation*, pp. 111-115.

²⁴ Henry Jessey (trans.), *Of the Conversion of Five Thousand and Nine Hundred East-Indians in the Isle of Formosa* (London, 1650). On this treatise, see Ball, *A Great Expectation*, pp. 109-110.

²⁵ Whiston, *Life*, p. 32.

THE GLORY AND SALVATION OF JEHUDAH AND ISRAEL

What occasioned the publication of *The Glory and Salvation of Jehudah and Israel*? In the Preface, addressed to "the remnant of Israel, which will be delivered by the Messiah from all who oppress it and to all who look forward to this deliverance", Jessey indicated that it had been the acquaintance with Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel and his works which had led him to publish his views on the Jews. He had already been busy collecting material on the calling of the Jews for many years. In his introductory letter to *The Little Horn's Doom and Downfall*, a tract by the Fifth Monarchy Woman Mary Cary (Rand), published a year later, he let the reader know that he had frequently been greatly refreshed in his spirits, "for above twenty yeers, with the consideration of the GLORIOUS STATE and PRIVILEGES of the NEW JERUSALEM that shall be on earth, and the certainty thereof foretold by the Prophets and Apostles"²⁶.

The *Glory and Salvation* is dedicated to the Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam and more in particular to Menasseh ben Israel. Jessey recounts that he had read the rabbi's writings with great pleasure, especially his *XXX De Creatione Problemata*, and his three "excellent" treatises, *De Resurrectione Mortuorum*, *De Termino Vitae*, and the one on "the restauration of the world", the *Spes Israelis*, as well as some parts of the *Conciliador*. He had been curious to know whether Menasseh was still alive and, having been informed that this rabbi was living in Amsterdam, Jessey had felt compelled to make known to the Amsterdam rabbi, as well as to the Jews in general, his compassion for their miserable state. He desired to comfort them with the sure hope that one day they would be restored to great dignity, honor and glory, together with a great multitude of gentiles.

Jessey had started to correspond not only with Menasseh but also with the Portuguese community and its elders, his letters having been translated by one of his Jewish friends "into the language you speak" – probably Portuguese or Spanish. Menasseh had replied in a long letter that they had been very happy to receive his letters and that he hoped that the Jews and Jessey would understand the restoration of Judah and Israel in the same way. Thereupon Jessey had written to Menasseh that he desired to publish all knowledge he had acquired in the course of time contained in the law and the prophets concerning the glory and salvation of Jehudah and Israel. The publication of his work, however, had taken much longer than he had thought. Although his days were less filled than those of Menasseh, who, as he had written to Jessey, worked twelve

²⁶ See Mary Cary, *The Little Horn's Doom and Downfall* (London, 1651). On her work, see Ball, *A Great Expectation*, pp. 66, 119 n. 208, 187, 188, 190.

hours a day doing his regular work (eight hours reading the Talmud in the synagogue and four hours working in the printing-house) plus one hour in the "Academy", yet Jessey himself was such a busy man that he had not been able to finish his work earlier²⁷. Moreover, the translator (Serrarius) had been very occupied as well. But now finally Jessey was happy to present his treatise to the Amsterdam Portuguese Jews, expressing his hope that the days might be near wherein "ten men shall take hold out of all languages of the nations, even shall take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you: for we have heard that God is with you" (Zech. 8:23).

Evidently Menasseh and Jessey corresponded regularly. Unfortunately we only know the few lines Jessey sent to the Amsterdam rabbi in a postscript to a letter by Nathaniel Homes, written on 24 December 1649²⁸. At any rate, Menasseh sent Jessey his *Spes Israelis*, a personal gift which Jessey knew how to appreciate: he read it avidly and made a great number of notes and annotations²⁹.

The Glory and Salvation aims at reconciling Jews and Christians. Jessey's way to attain this end is to show to the Jews – as well as to his fellow Christians – their agreement in fundamentals of religion, especially concerning the Messiah, "whose proper person though they deny to this day, yet, as appears by their own most antient, and most approved Authors, by evident reduction they concenter in"³⁰. And this is precisely what his treatise is about: by his frequent reliance on Jewish sources – Talmudic, rabbinic, and kabbalistic – Jessey wants to prove to the Jews that their own authorities support the Christian views about the Messiah.

²⁷ Menasseh's working schedule mentioned by him in one of his (lost) letters to Jessey may be compared with that referred to by him in a Spanish letter to an unknown correspondent, written in January 1648: "Two hours are spent in the Temple every day, six in the School, one and a half in the public Academy, and the private one of the Senhores Pereyra, in which I have the office of President, two in the corrections of my printing-press, which all passes through my hands. From eleven to twelve I give audiences to all who require me for their affairs and visits. All this is precise, judge then how much time remains for domestic cares and to reply to the four or six letters which come every week, of which I keep no copy, for the time fails me". (see E.N. Adler, *About Hebrew Manuscripts* [London, 1905], pp. 67-77).

²⁸ See note 18. The correspondence of Nathaniel Homes with Menasseh ben Israel seems to be no longer extant either. For the prominent millenarian theologian Ho(l)mes, see Ball, *A Great Expectation*, *passim*.

²⁹ Jessey's copy of the *Spes Israelis* has been preserved in Dr. Williams's Library (shelf-mark 3008 D 22) (Katz, *Philo-Semitism*, p. 33). C. Roth, *A History of the Jews in England* (3rd edn, Oxford, 1964), p. 156, is not wide off the mark in saying that the publication of *The Glory and Salvation* was occasioned by Menasseh's *Spes Israelis*, though clearly this was not the only cause of its publication.

³⁰ See [Whiston], *Life*, p. 79, apparently a quotation from the title-page of the English edition.

The tract, which consists of twenty-four chapters with a subdivision into eighty sections, can be divided into four parts. First Jessey deals with the eight privileges and the three crowns of the Jews which they possess above all other nations on the earth (chs. 1-2). Secondly he tries to show the excellence of the Messiah above all other kings of Israel (chs. 3-8). In the third place the necessity of the Messiah being both God and man is discussed (chs. 9-12), while lastly Jessey confronts six objections that could be made concerning the Messiah, for example as to his future visible reign upon earth (chs. 13-24).

Jessey starts off with a long exposition about the Jews being the most privileged nation in the world. No nation, no kingdom, has ever possessed such royal privileges as Israel: the Jews are God's son, even his first-born (Ex. 4:22); they have been given the ark; it is with their forefathers that the Lord has made a covenant; Israel has received the Torah; and while other nations did not know the Lord nor the right way to honor him, He showed his word to Jacob and his statutes to Israel (Ps. 147:19); Israel has received the Lord's promises and blessings (in this connection Jessey refers to the *Sefer Reshit Chokhmah*, an influential kabbalistic work by Cordovero's pupil Elijah de Vidas), and it has the most renowned forefathers that any nation can boast of³¹. It is this proof of Israel's excellence that won Jessey Menasseh's praise: the reason why the rabbi did not want to talk at length to Cromwell on the "nobility of the Jews" was the fact that, as he stated, "that point is enough known amongst all Christians, as lately yet it hath been most worthily and excellently shewed and described in a certain Book, called, *The Glory of Iehudah and Israel*, dedicated to our Nation by that worthy Christian Minister Mr. *Henry Jessey*, (1653. in Duch) where this matter is set out at large"³².

The most glorious privilege of the Jews is the promised Messiah, the Sun of righteousness (Mal. 4:2), the light of the gentiles (Is. 42:6), by whom and for whom all things were created (Col. 1:16, 17), as is acknowledged by "Hebrew doctors" too³³. He, the seed of the woman, will bruise the head of the serpent (Gen. 3:15), and will restore the image of God that Adam possessed before the Fall, this restoration being the aim of the first creation, as the Christians as well as some Jews, such as Menasseh ben Israel, believe³⁴. In a lengthy exposition, Jessey tries to show

³¹ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. I, sect. I-VII, pp. 1-8. For Elijah de Vidas, see *Ency. Jud.*, xvi. Jessey also refers to R. Maimon's "treatise of repentance".

³² Menasseh ben Israel, *Humble Addresses* (London, 1655), p. 23.

³³ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. I, sect. VIII-IX, pp. 9-10; ch. IX, sect. XXXV, p. 57; ch. X, sect. XXXVII, p. 63. In connection with the "Hebrew doctors" reference is made to R. Menachem's explanation of Gen. 3 and Lev. 25.

³⁴ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. I, sect. IX, pp. 10-11. References are made to R. Mena-

that the Messiah excels all other kings, judges and heroes which Israel has known hitherto. To him are given three glorious crowns: those of the priesthood, the law and the kingdom³⁵. He will come to gather the Jews from all quarters of the earth, and very soon too – we know that Jessey thought it probable that the Jews would be converted before 1658³⁶. Israel has now been “many days without a king, and without a prince Afterwards shall the children of Israel return and seek the Lord their God, and David their king” (Hos. 3:4, 5), that is, according to R. Jonathan, the Messiah³⁷.

As Jessey was chiefly set on converting the Jews to Christianity, it was only natural that he should want to prove that Jesus Christ is the true Messiah. His method, however, is rather unusual in Christian conversionist literature. His argument is mainly based on Old Testament texts and Jewish authorities. His treatise abounds with references to Talmudic, rabbinic and kabbalistic works. One of his main sources is *Gali Razaya*, a voluminous kabbalistic work written in 1552-1553 by an unknown author, which was widely read in the early seventeenth century and might have played some role in the messianic ideas of the followers of Sabbatai Sevi. The work is attributed by Jessey to “the teacher called R. Ha-Kodosh”³⁸. Jessey not only shows his skill in Hebrew and Judaic literature, but also his deep respect for Jewish authorities. Although there was a great interest in Jewish literature in seventeenth-century Christian learned circles, this did not always imply respect for it; on the contrary, it sometimes led to scorn for the Jewish tradition. But among philo-Semitic millenarians, Jessey is one of the few who relies so frequently upon “Hebrew doctors”.

It comes as no surprise that Jessey repeatedly attempts to prove that

chem's explanation of Gen. 3, Targum Jerusalem, and Menasseh ben Israel, *De Resurrectione Mortuorum*, 1.3 c. 6.

³⁵ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. I, sect. X, pp. 11-15; ch. II-VIII, sect. XI-XXXI, pp. 15-51. References are made to, i.a., R. David Kimchi's *Sefer Serashim*, R. Elijah de Vidas's *Sefer Reshit Chokmah*, R. Jonathan ben Uzziel, R. Abba, R. Aser, R. Isaac Arama, R. Nathan, R. Ha-Kodosh, R. Moses Ha-Darshan, R. Yose Ha-Galili, R. Solomon Iarchi (= Rashi), R. Maimon, Midrash Shir Ha-Shirim, Midrash Koheleth, Midrash Tehillim, and Genesis Rabbah.

³⁶ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. I, sect. 10, p. 15. See his introductory letter to Mary Cary's *Little Horn's Doom and Downfall*, where Jessey says that the conversion of the Jews will take place “probably before 1658”.

³⁷ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. III, sect. XXIV, pp. 30-31. Reference is also made to Menasseh ben Israel, *De Termino Vitae*, 1. 3.

³⁸ On *Gali Razaya* (= *Revealed Mysteries*), see *Ency. Jud.*, x. 546; G. Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi, The Mystical Messiah 1626-1676* (London, 1973), pp. 61-65. This work is doubtfully attributed to Abraham Ha-Levi Berukhim. It is said to be among the more original creations of the *kabbalah*. Jessey must have seen it (or parts of it) in manuscript, since part of it has been printed only in 1812. The whole work is extant (Oxford MS 1820).

Jewish authors, such as Yose Ha-Galili, Jonathan ben Uzziel, Moses Ha-Darshan, Joshua ben Levi, R. Ha-Kodosh, and "Solomon Iarchi" (= Rashi) explain a great number of Old Testament verses in a messianic sense. For example, Exodus 15:3, Psalms 72, 89, and 100, Isaiah 7:14, 8:1, 9:6, and 11:2, Jeremiah 23:5, 6, and Hosea 3:4, 5, refer to the Messiah according to these Jews³⁹. Jessey's procedure is to mention first the messianic interpretation of scriptural passages by Jewish authors and then to prove that the Messiah referred to in those verses can be none other than Jesus Christ – a conclusion which is drawn also on the basis of Jewish sources. Naturally he is only too happy to be able to refer to Jewish authorities who explicitly refer to Jesus as the promised Messiah.

Thus in connection with the well-known text Genesis 49:10 ("The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be"), Jessey quotes the saying of Rabbi Ha-Kodosh that the Messiah, because he will deliver mankind, is called "Jesjua", but that another nation will call him "Jesju". That is the reason, still according to this rabbi, why one finds this name hidden in "יבא שילה הלו", which, by combining the first letters of these words, contain the name "Jesju"⁴⁰. Jonathan ben Uzziel also maintains that "Shiloh" refers to the Messiah⁴¹. To this Jessey adds that the Messiah is the only one who merits the title of "Jesjua", Redeemer, because he will deliver Israel from the hands of its oppressors, not only from "the Roman monarchy" – Jessey does not conceal his anti-papal attitude – but of any king that has ever oppressed the Jews⁴¹. The Messiah is the one "that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah [= Rome]", who will bring down the strength of their enemies to the earth, because the day of vengeance is in his heart and the year of his redeemed is come (Is. 63:1, 4). Although Israel's sins are as scarlet (Is. 1:18), their bones as dried, and their hopes seem lost, yet they will be revived from the dead, be restored and filled with joy,

³⁹ See *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. IX, sect. XXXII, XXXIII, XXXVI. In connection with Ex. 15:3 Jessey refers to Midrash Tehillim on Ps. 20:1, R. Abba, and R. Moses Ha-Darshan. In connection with Ps. 72 reference is made to R. Maimon, R. Solomon Iarchi (= Rashi). In connection with Ps. 89 he refers to R. Nathan, R. Moses Ha-Darshan and R. Abba. As to Is. 8:1 and 9:6 reference is made to R. Yose Ha-Galili and to R. Ha-Kodosh. In connection with Is. 7:14 and 9:6 Jessey refers to R. Ha-Kodosh, R. Jonathan ben Uzziel, and R. Yose Ha-Galili. As to Is. 11:2 he refers to the Talmud and R. Simeon ben Iochai. As to Ier. 23:5, 6 reference is made to R. Jonathan ben Uzziel and R. Joshua ben Levi.

⁴⁰ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. IV, sect. XXVI, p. 36.

⁴¹ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. V, sect. XXVII, p. 39.

⁴² *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. IV, sect. XXVI, p. 37.

because their Redeemer the Messiah is Jahweh, who will work this, and who shall let it? (Is. 43:13)⁴³.

Jessey then goes on to demonstrate that the Messiah is necessarily God (אל) and man (איש). In order to be able to deliver Israel it is necessary that the Messiah is יהוה איש מלחמה, "a man of war" (Ex. 15:3), אל גבור (Is. 9:5), because all men are as filthy rags (Is. 64:6)⁴⁴. However, in order to redeem mankind, and Israel in particular, he must also be a man, a brother of Israel: the Redeemer shall come to redeem that which his brother sold (Lev. 25:25), a text which according to Midrash Tan-chuma is often explained as referring to the Messiah⁴⁵. Jessey quotes Rabbi Ha-Kodosh who says that the Messiah, in so far as he is God and man, will be called Immanuel (Is. 7:14)⁴⁶.

As to the Messiah's humanity, Jessey observes that the way in which he was conceived was unlike other men. Reference is made to R. Moses Ha-Darshan's explanation of Psalm 85:12, supporting the idea of the Messiah's unique conception. Of course, the much debated text Isaiah 7:14 ("Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign; behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel") is brought forward⁴⁷. This verse, says Jessey, does not refer to the son of Achaz, but to the Messiah, as is stated by R. Ha-Kodosh (in *Gali Razaya*'), R. Moses Ha-Darshan and R. Joden⁴⁸. Jessey expounds first that the meaning of עלמה refers only once in the Scriptures to an apparent virgin (Prov. 30:19); in all other texts, however, the word refers to a true virgin (Ex. 2:8; Gen. 24:43; Cant. 1:3; 6:8; Ps. 60:26)⁴⁹. Secondly, since it should concern a sign, that is, a miracle, it can only be called such when a virgin conceives a child. And thirdly, the belief in the wonderful conception of the Messiah is to be found with R. Ha-Kodosh, R. Moses Ha-Darshan and R. Simeon ben Yochai, the author of the *Zohar*⁵⁰.

Thus God has endowed the Messiah with all he needs to enable him to deliver Israel. However, it is prophesized that the Messiah will only perform this great work after the Lord has put him to grief and has made his soul an offering for sin. In his explanation of "the suffering servant of the Lord" (Isaiah 53) – read by Christians as a reference to the suf-

⁴³ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. V, sect. XXVII, p. 40; ch. IX, sect. XXXV, p. 59.

⁴⁴ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. IX, sect. XXXII-XXXV, pp. 51-59.

⁴⁵ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. X, sect. XXXVII, p. 62f.

⁴⁶ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. IX, sect. XXXIV, p. 55-56.

⁴⁷ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XI, sect. XXXVIII, p. 64f.

⁴⁸ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. IX, sect. XXXIV, p. 54f.; ch. XI, sect. XXXVIII, p. 65. Reference is made to R. Shlomo.

⁴⁹ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XI, sect. XXXVIII, p. 66f.

⁵⁰ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XI, sect. XXXVIII, p. 67f.

fering Jesus – Jessey mentions the messianic interpretation of this chapter by R. Jonathan ben Uzziel, R. Moses Ha-Darshan as well as in tractate Sanhedrin⁵¹. That the Messiah had to suffer the death penalty is also explained by R. Simeon ben Yochai and R. Ha-Kodosh, who says that the Messiah will save the tribe of Adam by his death and will deliver the souls from hell, which is the reason that he will be called "Jesus"⁵². Jessey gives a long quotation from the Talmud and from Yalkuth, where God is said to have made a covenant with the Messiah: the Messiah will suffer in order to save all mankind, but this he will do on only one condition, namely that none of Israel may perish, neither of the living nor of those who died since Adam's time⁵³.

It is in connection with the suffering of the Messiah that Jessey puts forward the first objection which could be made with regard to the Christian belief in the Messiah. This concerns the question how the suffering of the Messiah can be reconciled with his glory⁵⁴. Though Jessey refers to the Jewish theory of the two Messiahs – the son of Joseph, the suffering Messiah, and the son of David, the glorious Messiah – he hastens to point out the remarkable fact that the Talmud and the Midrash, R. Jonathan ben Uzziel and R. Ha-Kodosh as well as R. Simeon ben Yochai, talk about *one* Messiah and believe that the suffering and glory have to be ascribed to the Messiah to whose coming Israel is now looking forward⁵⁵. This is also in accordance with the view of Rabbi Yoshua ben Levi, who, wondering how one could reconcile Daniel 7:13 ("the Son of man will come with the clouds of heaven") with Zechariah 9:9 ("the king will come lowly and riding upon an ass"), quoted the explanation of Psalm 126:1 ("When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dream"). This verse refers to the time of the war of the Messiah ben Joseph, who will refuse to help the sons of Israel. During that period the Jews will be like those that dream. But when the Messiah will reveal himself, their mouth shall be filled with laughter and their tongue with singing (Ps. 126:2). Then they will acknowledge his first coming on the basis of this coming, and all will say "the Lord hath done great things for us" (Ps. 126:3). So, while some Jews adhere to the belief in two Messiahs, others believe in two comings of one Messiah, and that because, as Judah de Modena says, Scripture mentions only one Messiah⁵⁶.

⁵¹ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XII, sect. XXXIX, p. 69f.

⁵² *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XII, sect. XXXIX, pp. 70-71.

⁵³ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XII, sect. XXXIX, pp. 71-76, where reference is made to a saying of R. Yose (in the Talmud) and to Yalkuth [Simeoni] on Is. 20.

⁵⁴ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XIII, sect. XL-XL, pp. 77-81.

⁵⁵ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XIII, sect. XL, p. 78.

⁵⁶ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XIII, sect. XI, p. 78-81. Jessey also refers to the explanation in Genesis Rabba of Gen. 49.

As to the coming of the Messiah, one may well ask at what time this will be. Many Jewish authors maintain that according to the Scriptures the Messiah would come before the destruction of the Second Temple. According to R. Jonathan ben Uzziel, R. David Kimchi, R. Akiba and others the text "I will fill this house with glory" (Hag. 2:7) refers to the King Messiah; this had to happen after the destruction of the First Temple and before the destruction of the Second. The explanation by R. Jonathan Onkelos, R. Moses Ha-Darshan and R. Ha-Kodosh of Genesis 49:10 is advanced to support this view: the scepter has been taken away from Judah some forty years before the Second Temple was destroyed, namely when Herod the Great had the Sanhedrin killed, except for one. Then, according to Sanhedrin, people cried out "The scepter has been taken from Judah". Since then no judgment of souls has taken place, which was only allowed to be given in "Gazeth", that is "Lishkath Hagazith" ("the Chamber of Hewn Stones"), a chamber in the Temple building from which they had been driven⁵⁷.

Furthermore, the "everlasting righteousness" which would come after seventy weeks (Dan. 9:24), is a reference to the Messiah, according to such authorities as R. Moses Ha-Darshan, R. Berekyah and R. Moses ben Nachman (Nachmanides). Seventy weeks are to be taken as 490 prophetic days, although, as Jessey remarks, this number is a matter of dispute in these last times. According to Moses ben Nachman "the most Holy" this verse refers to the Messiah and not to King Cyrus or Zerobabel, a view which is supported by Saadiah Gaon and others. Moreover, this is evident from the verse itself, as is shown by Menasseh ben Israel in his *De Termino Vitae*. One can also read there that the Jews carried weapons against the Romans no longer than seventy weeks or 490 days, because they thought that then the Messiah would come. In that time "he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease" (Dan. 9:27). This prophecy has been fulfilled: up till now no sacrifices have been made by the Jews, as Menasseh points out, referring to Hosea 3:4. In this connection Jessey adds Menasseh's contention that the Jews reject the "eating" of blood⁵⁸.

Jessey then proceeds to demonstrate that all rabbis acknowledge that the time in which the Messiah would come, has been long past. He refers to the Jewish Prophecy of Elias, which so deeply influenced the Protestant apocalyptic tradition. According to Rabbi Elias the world would last three periods of 2000 years each: the first period before the law, the second under the law, and the third under the Messiah. In the Talmudic

⁵⁷ *De heerlicheydt en heyl*, ch. XIV, sect. XLII, pp. 82-85.

⁵⁸ *De heerlicheydt en heyl*, ch. XIV, sect. XLIII, pp. 85-88.

tractate *Avoda Zara* it is clearly expressed by R. Jacob that the time of the Messiah's coming has been long past, the first period of 2000 years having ended in Abraham's days, the second when Jerusalem was destroyed. Furthermore, R. Elias has revealed to R. Judah (the brother of R. Sela Ḥasida) that the world will endure no less than 85 jubilees, and that in the last jubilee the son of David will come. And since one jubilee numbers fifty years, this period of 85 jubilees = 4250 years is also long past. Maimonides in his letter to the Jews in Africa tells them that there was an old tradition among his forefathers which promised that the Messiah would come in the year of the world 4474, which, again, is also long past. And does not Menasseh ben Israel say in his *Spes Israelis*: "Although the Messiah were lame, he might have come by this time"⁵⁹?

One might ask whether the time of the coming of the Messiah is postponed because of the sins of the Jews. Some answer this affirmatively, others deny it because, as they say, when God mentions a specific time, He keeps his promise, because He is true and good. Several examples are mentioned by Jessey to show that the Lord's promises have always been fulfilled at the appointed time. Thus he quotes R. Joshua ben Levi's explanation of Isaiah 60:22 ("I the Lord will hasten it in his time"), which according to this rabbi would mean that the redemption will be hastened if Israel deserves it, but if not, that it then will come at the promised time. Jessey reproduces also the well-known disputation between R. Joshua ben Levi and R. Eliezer on the coming of the Messiah, the first trying to demonstrate to the latter that it will not be delayed in spite of Israel's sins⁶⁰.

The belief that the Messiah would come some forty years before the destruction of the Second Temple is supported by the mystery in Isaiah 9:6 concerning the "increase of his government", where a ם, a closed "mem", is put in the middle of the word (למרכה). This "ם" stands for 600 years, which refers to the period from King Achaz till the end of the reign of Herod the Great. Evidently Jessey does not follow Menasseh's interpretation of this mystery, as put forward in the *Spes Israelis*⁶¹. Other Jewish authorities are adduced to confirm this view about the Messiah's

⁵⁹ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XIV, sect. XLIV, pp. 88-89. On R. Elias's prediction about the 85 jubilees, see A.H. Silver, *A History of Messianic Speculation in Israel* (Boston, 1927), p. 27. For Menasseh's saying, see the *Spes Israelis*, sect. 29.

⁶⁰ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XV, sect. XLV-XLVI, pp. 90-96. On this disputation, see Silver, *A History of Messianic Speculation*, pp. 201-202.

⁶¹ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XVI, sect. XLVII. Menasseh explains this "mystery" contained in Is. 9:6 as referring to the view that the time of the Fifth Monarchy shall be hidden, till the time when it shall begin (*Spes Israelis*, sect. 28). A Christian version of Menasseh's interpretation is to be found with Petrus Serrarius, who says that the closed "mem" refers to the hidden way in which Christ's glorious kingdom is expanding. See

coming, for example, R. Moses Ha-Darshan's explanation of Isaiah 66:7, "Before she travailes, she brought forth; before her pain came, she was delivered of a man child", which means: "before he will be born who will bring Israel in captivity, her Redeemer will be born". Now, the captivity under the Romans has been the greatest, so the Redeemer had to be born before the birth of Titus. This is in accordance with R. Jonathan ben Uzziel's comment on this verse, while numerous rabbis (among them R. Natronay, R. Ha-Darshan, and the sons of R. Hiyya) acknowledge that the Messiah has come at that time, confessing their belief in his miracles⁶².

In order to show that Jewish authors place the resurrection of the Messiah three days after his death, Jessey quotes Flavius Josephus's comments on Jesus in his *History of the Antiquities of the Jews*, and also the sayings of R. Ulla, R. Yoḥanan, R. Moses Ha-Darshan, and R. Ha-Kodosh on the Messiah's resurrection⁶³.

From this point onward the subject matter of *The Glory and Salvation* slightly changes: having sufficiently proved, or so he thinks, that the promised Messiah is Jesus Christ, Jessey faces the problem of those biblical passages which speak about some future glorious reign of the Messiah upon earth. Although some Jews are almost persuaded, by the Scriptures and by their rabbis, Jessey writes, that the Messiah has already come but as yet keeps himself hidden for the Jews, and indeed even believe that the Christian Jesus is truly the Messiah, the son of David, yet there are a number of scriptural passages which seem to contradict this, namely those verses which speak about the excellent reign of the Messiah. These prophecies seem not to have been fulfilled by the Christian Messiah.

It is here that millenarianism comes to the fore. Jessey addresses himself not only to the Jews, but also to the Christian anti-millenarians. First, reference is made to the many prophecies which still await their fulfilment, such as those about the destruction of all idolatry; the increase of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters covering the sea; the calling of the Jews from all quarters of the world and their restoration to great privileges; the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the Jews; the destruction of all their oppressors, and the establishment of the Messiah's Fifth

E.G.E. van der Wall, "Petrus Serrarius (1600-1669): an Amsterdam Millenarian Friend of Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel" (forthcoming); *idem*, *De mystieke chiliast Petrus Serrarius*, p. 604.

⁶² *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XVI, sect. XLVII-XLIX, pp. 97-101. References are also made to Genesis Rabba, R. Abon, R. Jonathan, R. Nehumia ben Haccanas, and the Talmudic tracts Beracoth and Mematha Corin (TB).

⁶³ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XVII, sect. L-LII, pp. 101-106.

Monarchy. How do Christians reply to this objection the Jews may raise against Jesus being the true Messiah? If the Christians can provide the Jews with a convincing answer, then the latter might own defeat and become Christians, Jessey states. But if not, why should we force them to do so? Why should we persecute them, if we do not have more convincing evidence⁶⁴?

Jessey gives a survey of the possible Christian answers. Some Christians say that these promises are not to be understood in a literal sense but in a hidden, spiritual way; that all these things are already fulfilled in a spiritual way in all faithful Christians, who are the seed of Abraham, the Israel of the Lord, the true Jews, Jehudah, the glory of the whole earth. Others say that all this will be gradually fulfilled in some Jews, but that no visible glorious reign of the Messiah is to be expected, such as the millenarians and the Jews look forward to. Finally some Christians say that they acknowledge that there will be a glorious restoration of the Jews of the flesh. Yet they do not deny a literal meaning besides the spiritual one: these things are already being spiritually fulfilled in those who are true Christians. Jessey connects this notion of "true Christianity" with a sharp criticism of "name" Christians, who may be compared with uncircumcised Jews⁶⁵.

One of the most problematic issues might concern the Calling of the Jews. One could put forward that the New Testament does not seem to speak about a Calling of the Jews of the flesh, neither of a glorious reign of the Messiah upon earth, and that, furthermore, Christian authors reject this notion as an idle fantasy, made up by the Jews and the – Christian – millenarians. As regards the New Testament, Jessey points to the saying that Christ will be given the throne of his father David and that he will reign over the house of Jacob for ever (Luke 1:32, 33). As to the Calling of the Jews, Jessey naturally refers to Romans 11:12, 15 ("Now if the fall of them [i.e., the Jews of the flesh] be the riches of the world and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles, how much more their fulness? For if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead?") as well as to Romans 11:25, 26 ("For I would not brethren that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, lest ye should be wise in your own conceits; that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in. And so all Israel shall be saved"). Moreover, as concerns the Calling of the Jews, after his resurrection the disciples asked Jesus, "Lord wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?"

⁶⁴ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XVIII, sect. LIII-LIV, pp. 106-110.

⁶⁵ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XVIII, sect. LV-LVI, pp. 110-113.

(Acts 1:6). Jesus did not reject their question as a fantasy, a product of their wild imagination, but he merely replied "it is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father has put in his own power. But ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you" (Acts 1:7, 8)⁶⁶.

It is emphasized by Jessey that Israel's desolation will not last for ever, referring to Christ's words that Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the gentiles during a certain period, namely "until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled" (Luke 21:24). The same can be read in Matthew 23:38, 39, where Christ says "Behold your house is left unto you desolate. For I say unto you, Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord". This emphasis on the limited duration of Israel's captivity is characteristic of all Christian philo-Semites⁶⁷.

In connection with the imminent visible kingdom of the Messiah, Jessey refers to a great many biblical passages on the suddenness of Christ's coming and its effects. He sketches the millennial scenario in truly biblical colors. This coming of Christ will be with the clouds of heaven (Dan. 7:13), when the Lord shall destroy the wicked, the man of sin (the head of many nations), with the brightness of his coming. Then the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath will be given to Babylon (Rev. 16:19). He will put down all his enemies, all rule and all authority and power (1 Cor. 15:24; Dan. 2:35, 44), and destroy all ungodly (1 Thess. 5:1, 3). The resurrection of the dead will take place (1 Cor. 15:23) and the judgment of the quick and the dead (2 Tim. 4:1). Then the patriarchs will truly enjoy the heavenly city, having been strangers in Canaan until then (Hebr. 11:10, 14). Those who will have overcome worldly temptations, will eat of the hidden manna and of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God (Rev. 2:17, 7). They will receive power from Christ over the nations – as Christ has received from his Father – in order to rule them with a rod of iron and break them to shivers as the vessels of a potter (Rev. 2:26, 27; 19:15). To each of them will be given the morning star and they will walk with Christ clothed with white robes (Rev. 3:5; 7:9, 14). Then Christ will confess their names before his heavenly Father, and before his holy angels (Rev. 3:5). He will make them a pillar in the temple of God and they shall go out no more; He will write upon them the name of his God, and the name of the city of God, which is New Jerusalem, which comes down out of heaven from God (Rev. 3:12). And they will sit with Christ on His throne, just as He is sitting

⁶⁶ *De heerlicheydt en heyl*, ch. XIX, sect. LVII-LVIII, pp. 113-118.

⁶⁷ *De heerlicheydt en heyl*, ch. XIX, sect. LVII, pp. 115-116.

with his Father on his Father's throne. Then the Father shall dwell among them, and they shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more nor suffer any longer: for the Lamb shall feed them and shall lead them to living fountains of waters (Rev. 7:15-17). O happy and blessed people, in whom these things will be fulfilled!, Jessey exclaims⁶⁸.

He then goes on to trace in rough outline the apocalyptic drama. After spiritual Babylon will have been judged, a great multitude will say "Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth" (Rev. 19:1, 6). The marriage of the Lamb has come, and his wife, i.e., the Jewish people, has made herself ready, and to her is granted that she shall be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white (Rev. 19:7, 8). Then the Messiah, seated upon a white horse, being clothed with a vesture dipped in blood, will destroy the wild beast as well as the kings of the earth who will try to prevent his marriage. And the beast and the false prophet will be cast alive into the lake of fire burning with brimstone. And the remnant will be slain with the sword proceeding out of the Messiah's mouth, which will be a feastmeal for the souls (Rev. 19:11, 13, 19-21)⁶⁹.

Next the Satan will be cast into the bottomless pit and shut up that he shall deceive the nations no more, during a period of a thousand years (Rev. 20:1-7), and all those that have suffered for the witness of Jesus will be alive again and reign with Christ during that period. After the battle against Gog and Magog, the Satan, the Devil and his angels will be cast into the lake of fire, into which the beast and the prophet had been cast a thousand years before. The last and general resurrection will take place a thousand years after the resurrection of the just. Even the sea will give up the dead which are in it, and death and hell deliver up the dead to be judged, according to their works (Rev. 20:13). Jessey contends that "hades" and "she'ol" are not to be understood as denoting a geographical place, but stand for a general state of the dead. For this conception of hell he refers to Henry Ainsworth and Hugh Broughton⁷⁰.

Finally there will come a new heaven and a new earth (Rev. 21:2, 3), and a new Jerusalem descending from God out of heaven (Rev. 21:12), which in all respects will excell the new heaven and earth described in Isaiah 65. Jessey stresses the viewpoint that the heavenly Jerusalem of Revelation 21 is not to be identified with the beloved city of the millennial reign (Rev. 20:9), as is maintained by several authors, such as Rob-

⁶⁸ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XX, sect. LIX-LX, pp. 118-123.

⁶⁹ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XXI, sect. LXI, p. sect. p. 124-125.

⁷⁰ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XXI, sect. LXII-L, sect. XIII, pp. 125-128. Jessey refers to Ainsworth's book on the article of faith "He has descended into hell", and to Broughton's letter to Bishop Bilson on this subject.

ert Maton, like Jessey a Baptist divine, whose book *Israels Redemption* (London, 1642) was rather popular at the time⁷¹.

As to the objection that Christian authors reject the idea of a millennial reign as an idle fantasy, Jessey advances the standard millenarian argument that the belief in the visible kingdom of the Messiah has been held by the most eminent teachers of the Early Church as well as by prominent authors of the last times, especially since the light has broken through the thickest darkness of popery. It is the well-known list of early Christian authorities that Jessey produces: Justin Martyr's dialogue with Trypho (for which he refers to the *Clavis Apocalyptica* by that "famous" Mr. Mede), Papyrius, Melito of Sardis, Policrates of Ephesus, Papias of Hierapolis, Nepos and others⁷². Among the authors of the last times the following are mentioned: Hildegard of Bingen (quoted in a sermon by R. Wimbleton, held in 1338 in London and reprinted in 1634 by Thomas Cotes), Peter Martyr, Thomas Brightman, John Cotton, Hieronymus Zanchius, David Pareus, André Rivet, Johann Heinrich Alsted, Petrus Cunaeus, Patrick Forbes, Johannes Ferus, Seraphin Firmianus, Martinus Cellarius, Johannes Dobricius, and Christianus Resoldus⁷³. Moreover, Tycho Brahe and Johannes Kepler are extensively quoted; both, like their fellow astrologer/astronomer Dobricius, enjoyed great popularity with seventeenth-century millenarians, because of their predicting a golden age of peace, in which the swords will be beaten into plowshares, and the spears into pruninghooks (Mich. 4:3), the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea (Is. 11:6, 9). In his *De Nova Stella in Serpentario* Kepler said that all the divisions among the Christians may tend to be an occasion for the conversion of the Indians and of the Jews, a saying which Jessey, of course, was only too happy to quote⁷⁴.

Having refuted the wrong views on the restoration of the Jews and the

⁷¹ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XXII, sect. LXIV-LXVI, pp. 128-132. For Robert Maton, see Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, p. 31; Ball, *A Great Expectation*, pp. 67, 75, 94-95, 102 n. 94, 153, 155 n. 227, 167, 231 n. 15; Katz, *Philo-Semitism*, pp. 101-102, 172.

⁷² *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XXIII, sect. LXVIII, pp. 134-136.

⁷³ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XXIII, sect. LXIX, pp. 136-139. It was quite unusual to put the Leiden Professor of Theology André Rivet, the Roman Catholic exegete Johannes Ferus, and Firmianus (whose identity is unknown to me) on the list of Christian millenarian authors. Cellarius and Resoldus also did not belong to the popular group of millenarians. It is noteworthy that Jessey does not mention Joseph Mede nor his friend Nathaniel Homes.

⁷⁴ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XXIII, sect. LXX, p. 139-141. On Brahe's and Kepler's popularity in seventeenth-century millenarian circles, see E.G.E. van der Wall, "An Awakening Warning to the Wofull World (1662): Millenarianism and Astrology in Petrus Serrarius", *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, lxiv (1984), 184-214.

visible kingdom of the Messiah, Jessey finally deals briefly with seven objections which "proud Israel" might raise against the Christian position. For example, the Jews might ask the Christians: how can it be that the New Testament is so highly esteemed, while it contains obvious contradictions? How can it be that Christ rejects all swearing, idolatry, drunkenness and avarice, yet that all these things are seen among the Christians? What do we have to think about the sabbath-breaking of the Christians? And how can the Christians say that Christ discarded the laws of Moses⁷⁵?

Jessey answers these questions in the following way. It is a well-known fact, he says, that there are many biblical passages which seem to contradict each other, but in reality do not do so, as has been shown by Menasseh in his famous *Conciliator*. It is not so that the Scriptures need any reconciliation, Jessey emphasizes, because everything in them flows from one truth. As to the discrepancies in the New Testament, Jessey hastens to point out that the Old Testament is full of much greater contradictions⁷⁶. With regard to the Jewish reproach concerning the un-Christian way of life of the Christians, he only remarks that the Jews first ought to see the beam in their own eyes, before wishing to remove it from the eyes of someone else⁷⁷.

As a Saturday-Sabbatarian, Jessey felt himself of course involved in questions concerning the sabbath. He states that Christ only performed appropriate works on the sabbath and certainly did not break it. With regard to the Christians who do not keep the sabbath, he replies that this is a fault which many Christians want to reform, and with which all would agree if only they were sufficiently convinced of the rightness of keeping the sabbath. Jessey, however, cannot refrain from criticizing the way in which most Jews are used to keeping the sabbath. You yourself do not sanctify the sabbath enough, the Jewish reader is told: do you call it sanctification when you visit the synagogue for two or three hours, while listening to your own words, or adorning your body? Is this the way God has intended the sabbath to be? Please first reform yourself, and then you may reform others⁷⁸.

Lastly, concerning the binding of the Mosaic law, Jessey notes that three kinds of law have been given by God to Moses⁷⁹. In the first place the moral law, which Christ has said to fulfill. Secondly, the judicial law, which is also valid for all ages, and which is even kept according to the

⁷⁵ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XXIV, sect. LXXIII, pp. 143-144.

⁷⁶ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XXIV, sect. LXXV, pp. 149-152.

⁷⁷ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XXIV, sect. LXXVI, p. 152.

⁷⁸ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XXIV, sect. LXXVI, pp. 152-154.

⁷⁹ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XXIV, sect. LXVII, pp. 154-157.

letter in New England – this undoubtedly refers to John Cotton's scheme to introduce the Mosaic code in Massachusetts, which, in a slightly altered form, was adopted in 1648⁸⁰ – and it would be a good thing if it were kept in England also as well as in the whole world. We know that in the 1650s, the Fifth Monarchists demanded the restoration of the Mosaic code in England and one may safely assume that Jessey was among those who supported this demand wholeheartedly⁸¹. Thirdly, Israel had received the ceremonial laws, of which it is generally admitted that these are for instruction, but not that they are in force anymore. Now, the Jews may reply that these latter laws have been said to be eternally valid. Jessey, however, points out the meaning of "le'olam" is not eternal in the sense of everlasting, but that the term refers to a certain limited period. Jewish sources are quoted to support this view, for example the Midrash Samuel, where it is stated that "le'olam" means "a levitical age", i.e., a period of fifty years⁸².

"And now, dear nation of the Jews", as Jessey addresses himself to the Jews at the end of his *Glory and Salvation*, "I have shown to you your excellence above all other nations, the crown of your glory resting in the promised Messiah. Furthermore, I have demonstrated, on the basis of the Scriptures as well as of your own esteemed Hebrew authors, old and new alike, the excellence of your Messiah, etc. All the issues dealt with in my treatise I have given serious consideration", Jessey says, "and I protest before God that if I found more truth on your side than on that of the Christians, all advantages, all honor and all riches of the world would not prevent me from embracing your truth. However, though I hope to keep up the respect I have for you by mouth and pen, as long as I can speak and write, I must confess that I have seen more truth in the answers of the Christians than in yours. And so I am a Christian, believing everything written in the Books of Moses and in the prophets concerning the Messiah and the future glory". Thereby, Jessey reveals the outcome of his deliberation⁸³.

"Thus I request you, eminent nation of the Jews", he concludes his treatise, "to give serious consideration to the above-mentioned issues. Pray God to give you penitence from your own sins and those of your forefathers. Because if you have turned from your transgressions to the

⁸⁰ See Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, p. 170.

⁸¹ See Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, ch. 7.

⁸² *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XXIV, sect. LXVII, pp. 155-156. References are made to R. Maimon, R. Menechem, and R. Moses Ha-Darshan.

⁸³ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XXIV, sect. LXXIX, pp. 158-160.

Lord, then the Lord will return to you in great mercy and He will order the promised Messiah to be your Savior and Redeemer out of the hands of all your enemies (Is. 59:20). Then it shall come to pass that the Lord will turn your captivity (Deut. 30:1, 4) and will remember his covenant (Lev. 26:41, 42, 44). Say to the Lord, "Doubtless thou art our father, though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Isaac acknowledge us not because of our unbelief" (Is. 60:13) and ask Him to make you understand wherein you have erred (Job 6:24), why this captivity under the Romans lasts so much longer and is so much more arduous than any other captivity. Pray to the Lord: please show us what we do not see. Why are we still so stubborn? Think of your covenant, to take away our stony hearts and give us hearts of flesh (Ez. 36:26), pour upon us the spirit of grace and of supplications, as you have promised to do one day, so that we may look upon the one whom we have pierced, and shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his only son, and we shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for his firstborn (Zech. 12:10). O how is all the house of Israel uncircumcised in the heart up till today! When you will repent daily with these words", Jessey remarks, "the Lord will say to you: I have surely heard Ephraim bemoaning himself thus: Thou hast chastised me, and I was chastised, as a bullock unaccustomed to the yoke: turn thou me, and I shall be turned for thou art the Lord my God etc. (Ier. 31:18-20). When the Lord shall build up Zion, He shall appear in glory (Ps. 102:16), He will make Jerusalem a praise in the earth (Is. 62:6), and He will lay your stones with fair colors, and lay your foundations with sapphires, and all your children shall be taught of the Lord, and great shall be the peace of your children (Is. 54:11, 13)"⁸⁴.

"Till the Lord will hear your prayers", Jessey ends his "patheticall and convincing exhortation to repentance and brokenness of heart"⁸⁵, "please know that there are many Christians in London and the whole of England who remember you with the Lord and who are resolved not to give Him rest", among whom is Jessey himself: he is one of His servants, who "takes pleasure in your stones, and favors the dust thereof" (Ps. 102:14)⁸⁶.

In comparison with other seventeenth-century philo-Semitic millenarian writings, *The Glory and Salvation of Jehudah and Israel* is not so much conspicuous for its millenarianism – which is quite conventional – as for its philo-Semitism. As to the tone of the treatise and the message it has

⁸⁴ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XXIV, sect. LXXX, pp. 160-167.

⁸⁵ This characterization of Jessey's conclusion is to be found in [Whiston], *Life*, p. 80.

⁸⁶ *De heerlickheydt en heyl*, ch. XXIV, sect. LXXX, p. 167.

for the Jews and their future restoration, Jessey's philo-Semitism resembles that of other philo-Semites, such as Serrarius and Dury. However, it is his great reliance on Jewish sources in which he differs from them. Neither Jean Bethison in his *Excitabulum Matutinum Judaeorum*⁸⁷, nor Felgenhauer in his *Bonum Nuncium Israeli*, nor Serrarius, Dury, or Isaac La Peyrère for that matter, refer so frequently to Jewish authorities. Naturally Jessey's method was determined by his conversionist aim, but the method says something about the man: a learned Hebraist with great respect for the Jewish tradition. Moreover, we find in Jessey a remarkable – but rare – combination of two aspects of Christian philo-Semitic millenarianism: he was both an extremely active philo-Semite and an impressive theorist.

With regard to his method, Jessey followed in the footsteps of Hugh Broughton, who, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, also tried to win the Jews by turning their learning back upon them⁸⁸. In the late seventeenth century, as Popkin has shown, a radically different conversionist discussion was to take place, when it was tried to make the Jews see the ridiculousness of Talmudic, ceremonial Judaism⁸⁹. Jessey, however, wanted to contribute to the reconciliation of Jews and Christians by an attempt to adapt the Jewish tradition to the Christian, thus creating a kind of "Judeo-Christianity", the history of which has been one of the main interests of the man who has been a source of inspiration and such a stimulating force to the many "Popkinites", including the author of the present article.

⁸⁷ On Jean Bethison and his *Excitabulum Matutinum Judaeorum* (a treatise mentioned by Henry Oldenburg in his correspondence with Menasseh ben Israel), see E.G.E. van der Wall, "The Return of the Jews to Palestine Proclaimed by Jean Bethison in his *Excitabulum Matutinum Judaeorum* (1663)" (forthcoming). For Isaac La Peyrère, see R.H. Popkin, *Isaac La Peyrère (1596-1676): His Life, Work and Influence* (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 1) (Leiden, 1987).

⁸⁸ See Katharine R. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530-1645* (Oxford, 1979), p. 159.

⁸⁹ R.H. Popkin, "A Late Seventeenth-Century Attempt to Convert the Jews to Reformed Judaism" (forthcoming).