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Prophetical hopes, New World experiences and imperial expectations: Menasseh Ben Israel, Antônio Vieira, Fifth-Monarchy Men, and the millenarian connections in the seventeenth-century Atlantic

Luís Filipe Silvério Lima*

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Resumo

Este artigo pretende analisar as relações e circulações entre diferentes interpretações da Quinta Monarquia e o papel do Novo Mundo no Último Reino na Terra. Nesta rede milenarista, a comunidade judaico-portuguesa de Amsterdã aparece como um possível eixo articulador das esperanças escatológicas e dos interesses coloniais para os impérios português e inglês. Ao considerar esse mundo conectado de expectativas proféticas, pretende-se aproximar esferas que, em geral, são vistas em separado na historiografia. Para tanto, traçar-se-ão as conexões entre o rabino Menasseh Ben Israel e grupos de ambos os lados da Cristandade.

Palavras-chave: Milenarismo, Novo Mundo, Menasseh ben Israel, Antônio Vieira, Homens da Quinta Monarquia

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Abstract

This article analyzes the relations and circulations among seventeenth century Fifth-Monarchy interpretations and the role of the New World in the Last Reign of the World. In this millenarian network, the Portuguese Jewish Community in Amsterdam emerges as a possible axis which articulated the eschatological hopes and colonial interests in the Portuguese and English empires. Considering this entangled world of prophetic expectations, it seeks to bring together sides that were held at bay from each other by scholarship. In order to do that, it traces the connections among the Portuguese-Dutch rabbi Menasseh Ben Israel and groups of both sides of Christianity.

Keywords: Millenarianism, New World, Menasseh ben Israel, Antônio Vieira, Fifth Monarchy Men

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The historiography concerning seventeenth century prophetical and millenarian movements has usually tended to analyze Jewish-Christian relations, especially in regard to the Portuguese Jewish community in the Netherlands, according to the Christendom division into Protestants and Catholics. It has either stressed the links (or conflicts) among the Portuguese Jewry in Amsterdam and Dutch Pernambuco, in Northeast Brazil, and the Restored Portugal, and the Jewish origins and relations with Portuguese messianism; or it has outlined the bonds established by Protestant millenarians in Revolutionary England with Jewish heritage, in more practical terms through a project of resettling a Jewish community in

* Versions of this text were discussed in several occasions and I am grateful for all the commentaries made in these occasions. I would particularly like to thank: Alcira Dueñas, Ana Karícia Machado Dourado, Ana Valdez, Andréa Doré, Ariel Hessayon, Betsy Cazden, Bruno Feitler, Guilherme Amaral Luz, Jacqueline Hermann, Jaime F. dos Santos Jr., James Muldoon, Neil Safier, Rodrigo Bentes Monteiro, Roquinaldo Ferreira, Verônica Calsoni Lima, and the anonymous referees for their careful reading. I am also in debt to Alcira, Betsy, and Maria Rita Corrêa Vieira for their help with the English version of this text. This article is a partial result of a broader body of research, funded by CNPq and Fapesp: Research Productivity Scholarship – CNPq (306243/2009-1); Grant 09/53257-3 São Paulo Research Foundation (FAPESP); Grant 15/02083-6 São Paulo Research Foundation (FAPESP).

London¹. Although often treated as worlds apart, both sides shared in the very core of their nets a common link: the Amsterdam Portuguese Synagogue and, more specifically, one of its famous rabbi, Menasseh Ben Israel. Ben Israel exchanged letters and communicated with the Braganza Dynasty's supporters and the English millenarians as well. His works were read by the Marquis of Niza, ambassador of John IV of Portugal in France, or the Luso-Brazilian Jesuit Antônio Vieira, royal preacher and king's counselor, but also by John Dury, clergyman from Scottish origin close to Cromwell, or Henry Jessey, an English preacher who rallied for the readmission of the Jews. All of them, in one way or another, contacted, corresponded or parleyed with the rabbi.

In this article, therefore, I will try to bring together these sides that had usually been held at bay from each other by scholarship. I will discuss the possible communications among people, groups, and faiths which would not tolerate one another at first. However, it is not my intention to track down tolerant practices, and less so, to advocate a generalized idea of

¹ See, among others: Antônio José SARAIVA, "Antônio Vieira, Menasseh ben Israel e o Quinto Império", in *História e utopia* (Lisbon: ICALP, 1992), 75-107; Anita NOVINSKY, "Sebastianismo, Vieira e o messianismo judaico", in *Sobre as naus da iniciação*, C. A. Iannone et al., ed. (São Paulo: EdUnesp, 1998), 73ss; Florence LÉVY, "La prophétie et le pouvoir politico-religieux au XVIIe siècle au Portugal et en Hollande: Vieira et Menasseh Ben Israel", in *La prophétie comme arme de guerre et des pouvoirs*, Augustin Redondo, ed. (Paris: Presses de La Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2000); Francisco Moreno CARVALHO, "O Brasil nas profecias de um judeu sebastianista: os 'Aforismos' de Manoel Bocarro Francês/Jacob Rosales", in *Os judeus no Brasil*, Keila Grinberg, ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Record, 2005), 113-135; Sandra Neves SILVA, "Criptojudáismo e profetismo no Portugal de seiscentos: o caso de Manoel Bocarro Francês alias Jacob Rosales" *Estudos orientais*, VIII (2003):169-183; Natalia MUCHNIK, "Antonio Vieira y la diáspora sefardí en el siglo XVII", in *Antônio Vieira, Roma e o universalismo das monarquias portuguesa e espanhola*. Pedro Cardim and Gaetano Sabatini, ed. (Lisbon: CHAM, 2011), 97-120; Benjamin SCHMIDT, "The Hope of the Netherlands: Menasseh ben Israel and the Dutch Idea of America," in *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450 to 1800*, Paolo Bernardini and Norman Fiering ed. (Oxford and New York, 2001), 86-107; Richard POPKIN, "The rise and fall of the Jewish Indian Theory", in *Menasseh Ben Israel and his world* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 62ss.; Peter TOON, "The question of Jewish Immigration", in *Puritans, the Millennium and the future of Israel*, Peter Toon, ed. (Cambridge: James Clark, 2002 [1970]), 115-125; Ariel HESSAYON, "Jews and crypto-Jews in sixteenth and seventeenth century England", *Cromohs*, 16 (2011), URL: http://www.cromohs.unifi.it/16_2011/hessayon_jews.html; Richard POPKIN, "Hartlib, Dury and the Jews", in *Samuel Hartlib and universal reformation*, M. Greengrass et al., ed. (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), 125-6; Benjamin BRAUDE, "Les contes persans de Menasseh Ben Israël". *Annales*. 49.5 (1994):1107-1138; E.G.E. VAN DER WALL, "A Philo-Semitic Millenarian on the Reconciliation of Jews and Christians: Henry Jessey and his 'The Glory and Salvation of Jehudah and Israel'", in *Sceptics, millenarians and Jews*, David Katz and Jonathan. Israel, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 166-168.

tolerance tied to early modern millenarian beliefs.² Although sometimes the notion of a “Marrano theology” may seem appealing to explain these connections,³ I will avoid assuming any principle that could lead to an identitarian explanation or to the assumption of a receptive and accommodating essence that plastically embraces, adapts, and mixes different religions and cultures.⁴

For certain, there are many configurations by which these links could have been traced. The cases that I will discuss, in one way or another, were part of nets that had some of their roots in the Iberian messianism and its widespread and varied manifestations. Within the Iberian realms and its European and overseas dominions, for example, the contacts among different millenarianist or messianic traditions produced many prophetic social-political events: From the “Encobierito” upheaval in the “Germanías” to the long-lasting phenomenon of Sebastianism; From the utopian Franciscan Indigenous cities in New Spain to the “Santidades” of Jaguaripe in sixteenth-century Bahia. Most of the linkages and communications within Iberian millenarianism have already been traced by the historiography. Several authors have indeed pointed out the centrality of providentialism in the building of early modern empires and the conquest of the New World, or its role in the formation of Spanish, Portuguese, and

² Stuart Schwartz showed that if we can identify several everyday practices of tolerance in the early modern Iberian world yet it is difficult to talk about toleration in broader – and specially from a more official perspective– terms in the Seventeenth Century. Stuart B. SCHWARTZ, *All Can Be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World* (New York and London: Yale University Press, 2008).

³ Nachtan WACHTEL, “Théologies marranes : Une configuration millénariste”, in *Des Archives aux Terrains. Essais d'anthropologie historique* (Paris: Seuil/Gallimard, 2014), 465-505. See also Anita NOVINSKY, “Sebastianismo, Vieira e o messianismo judaico”.

⁴ I am following Adma MUHANA's position in her *Uriel da Costa e a nação portuguesa* (São Paulo: Humanitas, 2016)..

Iberian American cultures.⁵ Nevertheless, there is room for one's seeking for other possible communication vessels, particularly if one is looking for exchanges beyond the borders of the Iberian Empires. In this sense, the Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish community can be described as an intersection point or even a hub for the Catholic and Protestant millenarian expectations, in addition to the economic aspects of those entanglements, already highlighted by the historiography.⁶

What interests me to stress is how the seventeenth-century millenarian hopes translated into distinct political programs – sometimes even implying the elimination of the other; but, all the same, how they had the same eschatological principle, the principle of Hope,⁷ and shared more traceable links that one might initially assume.⁸ While I am emphasizing the existence of a common millenarian ground in the seventeenth-century

⁵ For a summary of Spanish, Portuguese and Iberian America millenarianisms, see: Alain MILHOU, "Panorama de la prophétie messianique en Espagne (1482-1614)", in *La prophétie comme arme de guerre des pouvoirs, XVe-XVIIe siècles*, ed. Augustin Redondo (Paris: Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2001); Teófanos EGIDIO, "Historiografía del Mesianismo en España", in *Política y Cultura en la Época Moderna (Cambios dinásticos, Milenarismos, Mesianismos y Utopías)*, Alfredo Alvar et al., ed. (Universidad de Alcalá, 2000), 461-474; Maria V. JORDÁN ARROYO, *Soñar la Historia. Riesgo, creatividad y religión en las profecías de Lucrecia de León* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 2007), chap. 3; Luís Filipe SILVÉRIO LIMA and Ana Paula TORRES MEGIANI, "An Introduction to the Messianisms and Millenarianisms of Early Modern Iberian America, Spain, and Portugal", in *Visions, prophecies, and divinations: early modern Messianism and Millenarianism in Iberian America, Spain and Portugal*, Luís Filipe Silvério Lima and Ana Paula Torres Megiani, ed. (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2016), 1-39; Luís Filipe SILVÉRIO LIMA, "Between the New and the Old World: Iberian Prophecies and Imperial Projects in the Colonisation of the Early Modern Spanish and Portuguese Americas", in *Prophecy and Eschatology in the Transatlantic World, 1550-1800*, Andrew Crome, ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2016), 33-64. For a critical perspective of messianism centrality in the Portuguese expansion, see: Francisco BETHENCOURT, "Le millénarisme : idéologie de l'impérialisme eurasiatique?", *AHSS*. 57:1 (2002), 189-194.

⁶ See, among others: Jonathan I. ISRAEL, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550-1750* (3rd ed., Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1998); Jonathan I. ISRAEL, ed., *Diasporas Within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews and the World Maritime Empires (1540-1740)* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Jessica ROITMAN, *The Same but Different? Inter-cultural Trade and the Sephardim, 1595-1640* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011).

⁷ For the concept of Hope as a human principle, see: Ernst BLOCH, *The principle of Hope*.

⁸ About these connections, see: Sanjay SUBRAHMANYAM, "Sixteenth-Century Millenarianism from the Tagus to the Ganges", in *Explorations in connected history: from the Tagus to the Ganges* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Serge GRUZINSKI, *Las cuatro partes del mundo* (México: FCE, 2010); Michele OLIVARI, "Milenarismo y política a fines del quinientos: notas sobre algunos complots y conjuras en la monarquía hispánica", in *En pos del tercer milenio*, Adeline Rucquoi et al., ed. (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad Salamanca, 1999); Matt GOLDISH, *The sabbatean prophets* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), chap. 1 a 2; Brandon MARRIOTT, *Transnational networks and cross-religious exchange in the seventeenth-century Mediterranean and Atlantic worlds: Sabbatai Sevi and the lost Tribes of Israel* (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, [2015]).

Europe and Americas, I am not claiming that this was merely only another manifestation of a pervasive apocalyptic language trans-historically shared by Jewish-Christian cultures and religions. On the contrary, I do want to address the historical specificity of these movements and their interactions for which that language had clearly been the first common tongue, but then it gained particular contours to deal with new situations. Eventually, seventeenth-century millenarianists had to actualize and mold the existent prophetic grammar in order to answer the problems faced by them.

I propose considering these prophetic bonds that have permeated millenarian projects as “horizons of expectations” thought from dynamic “spaces of experience” and vice-versa.⁹ These expectations and experiences needed to be molded to a changing world. They had to account, on the one hand, for the expansion of the then known world; and, on the other hand, for the division of the Western Christendom between Protestants and Catholics. They also had to grapple with converting large – and unheard of – population groups to the Christian faith. In the New World, there were the heathens to be Christianized. In the Old World, the Iberian Jewish population had been massively converted to Christianity (often against their will); and elsewhere in Europe, large numbers of practicing Christians had to be re-educated into the new forms of religious doctrines and practices, whether Catholic or Protestants, in what has been called “confessionalization” process.¹⁰

More specifically, I will focus on the mid-seventeenth-century circulation of Christian and Jewish millenarian proposals based on Fifth Monarchy ideas, i.e., the prophetic-political formulations derived from the interpretations of the Book of Daniel’s dreams. Steeped in a common biblical tradition, the formulators of these prophetic hopes had to deal with the various early modern models of monarchy, empire, and republic, and their jurisdictions upon peoples and nations. At the same time, it was necessary to insert the New World and the new peoples into the existing eschatological system. Several early modern religious and political groups

⁹ Reinhart KOSELLECK, “‘Space of Experience’ and ‘Horizon of Expectation’: Two Historical Categories”, in *Futures past: on the semantics of historical time* (New York: Columbia University Press, c2004), 255-275.

¹⁰ Ute LOTZ-HEUMANN, “The Concept of ‘Confessionalization’: a Historiographical Paradigm in Dispute”, *Memoria y Civilización*, 4, 2001, 93-114; Ute Lotz-Heumann “Confessionalization”, in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, Alexandra Bamji et al., ed. (Surrey, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2013); Federico PALOMO, *A Contra-Reforma em Portugal, 1540-1700* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2006).

and thinkers dealt with these questions. Due to the links connecting them and to the centrality of the “Jewish Question” and the Americas role, I will analyze three cases. The first is the supporters of the new Portuguese dynasty, the Braganza, who tried, with the end of the Iberian Union in 1640 and during the Restoration Wars (1640-1668), to sustain Portugal’s independence from Spain and to establish the new king John IV (and his descendants) as the legitimate and promised ruler of the Portuguese Empire. The second case is the messianic “New Jews”¹¹ from several places, but especially around the Amsterdam synagogue, where Rabbi Menasseh Ben Israel’s role is highlighted. The third is the English millenarians and Fifth-Monarchy Men, who had been active from the end of the Second Civil War (1649) to the beginning of Stuart Restoration (1661), and had connections with the Puritan and Independent communities of New England.

All these groups shared a common starting point: the dreams of the *Book of Daniel* about the Five Reigns of the world¹². The *Book of Daniel*’s dream visions – the statue dreamt by Nabucodonosor and interpreted by the prophet (Dn 2), and the vision of the four beasts seen by Daniel and

¹¹ “New Jews” is a term coined by Yosef Kaplan, and refers to individuals of Iberian Jewish communities who had (or their ancestors had) converted to Christianity, and then re-adopted Judaism. As explained by Kaplan: “The communities of Amsterdam, Leghorn, Hamburg, London, and small settlements which developed around them, and later also in Bayonne and Bordeaux, created an organizational network binding themselves together and allowing them to view themselves as part of a single socio-cultural entity. These communities were founded by former New Christians who had lived cut off from Jewish sources for many generations. Their Jewish education was shallow and the first Jewish community which they knew was generally the one which they themselves had created.” But they weren’t a homogeneous group, since: “One of the greatest threats to the integrity of the communities of these ‘New Jews’ was the presence of New Christians from among the *Nação* who, after leaving the countries of Iberia, preferred to equivocate and refused, for various reasons, to identify themselves unequivocally as Jews and to behave accordingly.” Yosef KAPLAN, “Wayward New Christians and Stubborn New Jews: The Shaping of a Jewish Identity”, *Jewish History*, Vol. 8, no. 1-2 (1994), 27. See also: Yosef KAPLAN, *Judios Nuevos en Amsterdam. Estudios sobre la historia social e intelectual del judaísmo sefardí en el siglo XVII* (Barcelona: Gedisa, 1996). Other expressions that will be used are the early modern terms “Gente de Nação” and “conversos”. More specifically for the Amsterdam community, another possible expression is “Portuguese Nation”. For a general view on the “Gente de Nação”, see: Miriam BODIAN, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1999).

¹² About Fifth Monarchy interpretations, see: Silvano PELOSO, “*Ut libri prophetici melius intelligantur, omnium temporum historia complectenda est: o Quinto Império do Antônio Vieira e o debate europeu nos séculos XVI e XVII*”, in *Vieira escritor*, Margarida Vieira Mendes et al., ed. (Lisbon: Cosmos, 1997), 182-4; Luís Filipe SILVÉRIO LIMA, *Império dos sonhos. Narrativas proféticas, Sebastianismo e Messianismo Brigantino* (São Paulo: Alameda, 2010), esp. chap. 5; Maria Ana VALDEZ, *Historical interpretations of the “fifth empire”* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

revealed by an angel (Dn 7) – narrated the sequence of earthly reigns and foretold a last reign: a stone that would destroy the multi-metal statue, in Nabucodonosor’s oneiric revelation; the Son of the Man who would defeat the beasts and the small horn, in Daniel’s dream. The millenarianist interpretation was that the last reign of which the dreams had spoken of would be on Earth. The Lutheran, Calvinist and Catholic more orthodox positions, by contrast, opposed those interpretations and the idea of an earthly final kingdom. Specially after the Münster episodes (ca. 1535), from the Protestant side, and after Trent, from Rome’s perspective, the mainstream doctrines reaffirmed Augustine’s reading under which the “last monarchy” of Christ would only happen in Heaven, and disavowed beliefs of an earthly millenarian kingdom. In spite of this official disapproval, examples of Christian fifth-monarchist interpretations were abundant, varying in degree, impact and effectiveness in the places where they occurred. More than mere delusional visions, some of these resulted in theoretical-ideological proposals and justifications for power, guiding concrete actions and political activism at times.¹³

In short, what I propose is to consider the relationships and circulations of ideas in the mid-seventeenth century among different hopes for the Fifth Monarchy’s coming, which developed out of divergent religious perspectives, and in local and regional contexts. More important than comparisons or the awareness of a generalized millenarianism, I intend to map the connections (even if they are subtle) among these movements and groups, to understand the role played by the “Jewish question”, and to discuss whether the New World was a crucial element in their hopes.

In order to do that, I will first address the relationships among some “conversos” and “New Jews” during the Portuguese Restoration, particularly Rabbi Menasseh Ben Israel, and Braganza millenarianists such as Father Antônio Vieira, Manuel Fernandes Vila Real, and others from the Marquis of Niza’s circle. Both sides were interested in weakening the Holy Office in order to bring together New Christians and “New Jews”,

¹³ For a broader discussion of millenarianism from the Middle Ages to Early Modern times, see, among others: Norman COHN, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (2nd revised edition: Oxford University Press, 1970); Marjorie REEVES, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (3rd edition, Notre Dame, USA: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994). A good summary of early modern messianism, addressing Jewish, Christian and Muslim prophetic beliefs, can be found in Matt GOLDISH, *The sabbatean prophets*, chap. 1, and in Alexandre Y. HARAN, *Le Lys et le Globe. Messianism Dynastique et Rêve Imperial en France à L’Aube des Temps Modernes* (Seyssel, France: Champ Vallon, 2000), chap. 2.

although for different reasons. They were also longing for the rise of a dynasty capable of facing the Spanish Monarchy and of changing the power balance amongst the Seaborn Empires – all events understood as signs of the coming of a Final Kingdom. Secondly, I will deal with the shift of Menasseh's hope from Portugal to Revolutionary and Cromwellian England, by highlighting the “philo-semitic”¹⁴ reception of the rabbi's works in London. I will also try to compare the different hopes towards the future and the New World, expressed in Menasseh's, Vieira's, and the Fifth Monarchy Men's writings, stressing some differences between the effects and circulation of millenarian and “philo-semitic” ideas in England and Portugal. Thirdly, I will discuss the anti-Fifth Monarchists discourses and controversies, and show circuits of common readings (and controversies) that seem to unite opposite sides of the debate. Finally, in a few concluding remarks, I will return to some of the issues about the prophetic expectations and the effect of the New World experience upon them.

Antônio Vieira, Braganza's Supporters, Menasseh Ben Israel: New Christians' and Jews' role in a New World of expectations

In 1686, at the end of his life, the Luso-Brazilian Jesuit Antônio Vieira wrote a letter known as the “Carta Apologética” (Apologetic Letter).¹⁵ Written in Salvador, Bahia, in the then State of Brazil, it was addressed to the Provincial of Andalusia, Jacomo Iquazafigo, as a response to the accusations made against Vieira that he was heretical and had defamed the Dominicans. All these allegations were derived from a letter against the Dominicans wrongfully attributed to Vieira, written in the 1660s, which indeed attacked the Dominicans and was full of heterodox statements. Later, this manuscript raised a reply from an Escoto Patavino, a pseudonym, in the 1680s.¹⁶ It was an attack on the Jesuits probably from a Dominican pen. Patavino's tract, as it seems, repeated arguments from the Inquisitorial

¹⁴ For the idea of “Philo-semitism” in the seventeenth century, although mostly referring to England, see: David KATZ, *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England, 1603-1655* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).

¹⁵ Antônio VIEIRA, “Carta apologética ao padre Jácome Iquazafigo”, in *Cartas*, J. Lúcio de Azevedo, comp. (São Paulo: Globo, 2009), 571-611. First printed, in censored versions, in *Todos sus sermones y obras diferentes que de su original Portuguès se han traducido em Castellano* (Madrid: 1734, 2nd ed. Barcelona: 1752), and in Portuguese in *Ecco das vozes saudosas* (Lisbon: 1757).

¹⁶ Enrique MARTÍNEZ, “Vieira em España: los monopantos y el esterotipo del jesuita demonizado”, in *Vieira escritor*, 205-216; Joaquín GIL, “La sinceridad de Fray Alonso de Santo Tomás, Obispo de Málaga, cuestionada por Antoine Arnaul”, *Baetica*, 28 (2006):419ss.

trial suffered by Vieira (1663-7), but also falsely asserted that Vieira had been condemned to death by burning at the stake and accused him of being a Judaizing New Christian.¹⁷ Those letters reverberated strongly in Spain, to the point that the Andalusian Provincial asked for explanations from the rector of the Jesuit College's in Bahia, where Vieira was. As soon as Vieira was aware of it, he wrote the "Carta Apologética" replying point by point. He started by denying his authorship of the 1660's attack against the Dominicans and emphasized that none of his proposals were against the Catholic faith or the Jesuit doctrine. To some extent Vieira used arguments present in his "Defesa ou Apologia da *Clavis*" and "Representação perante o Tribunal do Santo Ofício", manuscripts produced during the Inquisitorial trial, and later printed in his "Sermão de Ação de Graças pelo Nascimento do Príncipe D. João" (1688, 1690).¹⁸ For such a short text, the Apologetic letter abounds in references and authorities, arranged to demonstrate beyond any doubt that Vieira's Fifth Empire plan followed the Catholic doctrine. Furthermore, it was written after Vieira had consulted countless libraries, during his long stay in Rome, and had composed a considerable part of his prophetic work. The "Carta Apologética" therefore suffices as a good summary of the repertoire Vieira mobilized to build up his Fifth Empire theory; and, for having been composed at the end of the century, it can serve as a starting point as well as an overview (from the Catholic and Jesuit sides, at least) of the sources, debates and controversies around those themes.

Apparently echoing some of the Inquisitors' accusations, Escoto Patavinos' arguments against Vieira were partially based on the Jesuit's use of the *Trovas de Bandarra*, a set of well-known but controversial prophetic quatrains composed by sixteenth century Portuguese cobbler Gonçalo Annes Bandarra. Briefly repeating arguments present in his other writings, such as "Esperanças de Portugal" (1659), Vieira tried to prove that

¹⁷ I have been unable to read Escoto Patavino's letter, but it is possible to guess some of its arguments by reading not only the "Carta apologética" but also the *Respuesta monopantica*, an anonymous pamphlet written in Vieira's defense. In a passage of *Respuesta*, the author refers to the accusation of Vieira's being Jewish, and he replies to it by saying that this was impossible due to the rigorous Portuguese laws about "Purity of blood". [Juan Cortés Ossorio] *Respuesta monopantica, dirigida à Don Frisfris de la Borra...* [1686?], 5 [Available in Google Books].

¹⁸ Antônio VIEIRA, "Defesa do livro intitulado 'Quinto Império'", in *Obras escolhidas* (Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1952), v. VI; Antônio VIEIRA. *Representação perante o Tribunal do Santo Ofício*. Lisboa: IN/CM, 2008, 2v.; Antônio VIEIRA, "Sermão de Ação de Graças pelo Nascimento do Príncipe D. João, Primogenito de SS. Magestades, que Deos guarde", in *Palavra de deus empenhada e desempenhada* (Lisbon: Miguel Deslandes, 1690).

Bandarra was indeed a true prophet, and that he had prophesied the Fifth Empire's inevitable coming. With this objection addressed, Vieira then had to dispose of the rest of Patavino's attacks, showing not only that they were wrong but also that Vieira himself had been deliberately misinterpreted. Some of the controversies related to the notion that a final kingdom was arriving while others dealt more specifically with the problems of conversion of the world and the "Jewish question". Escoto Patavino apparently argued that there would be no basis for affirming that a Christian prince (the Desired or Hidden king) would come to find the Fifth and Last Empire which would have jurisdiction over all the globe, following which the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel would be rediscovered and all the Jews and heathens would be converted to Christian faith.¹⁹ In order to prove his arguments, Vieira quoted several biblical passages, Church Fathers, Divines, and innumerable prophecies.²⁰

More interestingly, he mobilized seventeenth-century authors who had discussed the theme of the Universal Monarchy as well as the discovery of the Lost Tribes in the Americas. Above all, Vieira quoted two of these authors: the Benedictine Friar Juan de Salazar, and the New Christian astrologer, physician, and mathematician Manoel Bocarro Francês, alias Jacob Rosales. In 1619, Salazar had written a treatise showing the Catholic grounds for the *Política de España* ("Politics of Spain"), with a chapter devoted to the Universal Monarchy headed by Spain and the Papacy, a necessary result of the Catholic Monarchy project designed by Charles V. In Salazar's view, in its quest to become the Final Kingdom on Earth, the Spanish Empire led by Phillip III would convert the heathens throughout the world as well as defeat the Ottomans, reconquer Jerusalem, expelling the Muslims and Jews, and purify Spain from the presence of the Judaizer and "Morisco" New Christians.²¹ In contrast to Salazar, Bocarro's *Anotações Astrológicas*, and his 1624 poem *Anacefaleosis da Monarquia Lusitana* foretold that the last Monarchy on Earth would indeed come out of the Iberian Peninsula, but instead of the Spanish crown, it would come from a Portuguese king from the House of Braganza – at the time, the most

¹⁹ For a general view about the Ten Lost Tribes history, see: Ben-Dor BENITE, *The Ten Lost Tribes*.

²⁰ About the importance of prophetic compendiums, see: João Carlos SERAFIM, "Eremitismo, profecia e poder: o caso do *Libellus* do 'pseudo-eremita' Telésfora de Cosenza". *Via Spiritus*, 9 (2002):61-82; Jennifer BRITNELL, Derek STUBBS, "The *Mirabilis Liber*: Its Compilation and Influence". *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 49 (1986):126-149.

²¹ Juan de SALAZAR, *Política Española* (Logroño: Por Diego Mares, 1619).

important noble house in Hapsburg Portugal.²² According to Bocarro's prophetic interpretation, the Duke of Braganza, D. Teodósio, would lead the Iberian kingdoms to the Fifth Monarchy, inverting the Dual Crowns regime, headed by Madrid since 1580. Teodósio would not only defeat all the enemies of Christendom and conquer the globe, but also – unlike Salazar's vision – he would welcome the Jewish people in the new and final kingdom. Both Salazar and Bocarro wrote of the Final Empire's imminent arrival and its foundations in the Iberian Peninsula, although the former defended the Castilian supremacy and the expulsion of the New Christians, and the latter foresaw the rise of a new Portuguese dynasty and the incorporation of the Jewish people. Nevertheless, and despite all the differences, Vieira used them equally as authorities for justifying the validity of his argument. What really mattered was the prophetic interpretation that announced the coming of a Fifth Monarchy from the Iberian Peninsula. However, the preacher was closer to Bocarro's version, and not only because of Portugal's election as the new chosen people, but also because Vieira saw an important role for the Jewish people in the final kingdom to come.

In the “Carta Apologética” when Vieira addressed the Jewish people's role in this last Empire, he mentioned that he had met some Jews from Amsterdam, in the 1640s, and that he had debated there with Rabbi Menasseh Ben Israel about the “Jewish sect” and their hopes for the last reign.²³ According to Vieira, these meetings had been important not only to fully understand the Jewish beliefs and hopes about the coming of the Messiah (which he of course considered erroneous), but, more importantly, to clarify his position that the Jews could and would be converted

²² Manuel Bocarro FRANCÊS, *Anacephaleosis da Monarchia Lusitana* (Lisbon: Antonio Álvares, 1624).

²³ However, the first editions of the letter, printed in Spain, did not bring the eleventh proposition, in which Vieira had mentioned his encounters with Menasseh. It is likely that this proposition had been censored in these editions. Antônio VIEIRA, *Todos sus sermones y obras diferentes que de su original Portuguêz se han traducido em Castellano*. About Vieira's meetings with Menasseh and the “Gente de Nação”, see: Antônio José SARAIVA, “Antônio Vieira, Menasseh ben Israel e o Quinto Império”, in *História e utopia* (Lisbon: ICALP, 1992), 75-107; Anita NOVINSKY, “Sebastianismo, Vieira e o messianismo judaico”, 73ss; Florence LÉVY, “La prophétie et le pouvoir politico-religieux au XVIIe siècle au Portugal et en Hollande: Vieira et Menasseh Ben Israel”; Adriana ROMEIRO, *Um visionário na corte de D. João IV* (Belo Horizonte: EdUFMG, 2001), 118-137; Valmir MURARO, *Padre Antônio Vieira. Retórica e Utopia* (Florianópolis: Insular, 2003), chap. 4; Nachman FALBEL, “Menasseh Ben Israel e o Brasil”, in *Judeus no Brasil: estudos e notas* (São Paulo: Humanitas, 2008), 121-133.

to Catholicism in the forthcoming event of the Last Empire and the return of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel.

Let us leave Salazar aside for the time being, and pay some attention to Bocarro and particularly Menasseh. Bocarro and Menasseh were born in Portugal and came from New Christian families who quite probably never completely abandoned the Jewish faith. During the Iberian Union, members of both families were prosecuted by the Inquisition and some, like many other New Christians, ran away from Portugal due to the increasing persecution against crypto-Jews. Menasseh Ben Israel, also called by his Portuguese-Christian name Manuel Dias Soeiro, went as a child with his family to La Rochelle, France, and, after that, in the 1610's, to the Netherlands. In Amsterdam, he became a rabbi and in 1639 helped to find the town's Sephardic unified religious congregation named Talmud Torah, but usually referred to as "the Portuguese Synagogue", due to the origin of most of its members.²⁴ Bocarro, by comparison, grew up in Lisbon, went to medical school, and became a renowned physician in Portugal. In 1625, aware that his brother had denounced him as a Judaizer, he fled to Italy, escaping from both the Inquisition and the Hapsburg crown persecution because of the political implications of his writing, *Anacephaleosis*. There he adopted his ancestor's Jewish surname Rosales, starting his (re)conversion to Judaism. After spending a few years in Rome, he went briefly through Amsterdam (where he met Menasseh), and established his residence in Hamburg where he publicly assumed his Jewish origins under the name of Jacob Rosales. As a prominent member of the Hamburger Jewish community as well as a former Christian with connections to the Iberian Peninsula, he surprisingly managed to work as a commercial agent on behalf of Spain and the Hapsburgs in the 1640-50s, even after the Portuguese Restoration. Eventually his services were no longer required

²⁴ For Menasseh's biography, see: Cecil ROTH, *A life of Menasseh Ben Israel* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1934); For general aspects: Yosef KAPLAN et al. (ed.), *Menasseh Ben Israel and his World*.

while his reputation declined, and after another sojourn in Amsterdam he returned to Italy, more precisely to Livorno, where his sister lived.²⁵

From his contact with Menasseh, Bocarro wrote a laudatory poem dedicated to him, which was printed in Menasseh's work, *De Termino Vitae* (1639).²⁶ Menasseh, in his tract *Esperança de Israel* (1650), quoted a letter from Bocarro stating that there were white and blond people in the Americas, who were presumed Jews.²⁷ When writing to Cromwell in 1655 about how the Jewish nation could be profitable for the Christian states, Menasseh gave Bocarro as an example of someone who had been ennobled by the Hapsburg Emperor and had received the Honor of the Palatine Count in Hamburg because of his services in trade.²⁸ This exchange of favors, homage and quoting was common in the Early Modern circles of the Republic of Letters, but in Bocarro's case and especially, in Menasseh's, it gained wider significance because they were part of a larger network of correspondents (and readers) who were not only from Jewish religion or descent, but also Christians, Protestants and Catholics, many times mediated by these "New Jews".

Menasseh Ben Israel was respected, both by Protestants from different denominations and by Catholics (like Vieira), for his biblical knowledge and considered an authority regarding Jewish theological matters, especially about apocalypticism. Among the leaders of Talmud Torah synagogue community, however, Menasseh did not feel duly

²⁵ See: Jacqueline HERMANN, *No reino do desejado* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1998), 209-19; Sandra Neves SILVA, "Criptojudaísmo e profetismo no Portugal de seiscentos: o caso de Manoel Bocarro Francês *alias* Jacob Rosales"; Florbela FRADE and Sandra SILVA, "Medicina e política em dois físicos judeus portugueses de Hamburgo: Rodrigo de Castro e o *Medicus Politicus* (1614), e Manuel Bocarro Rosales e o *Status Astrologicus* (1644)" *Sefarad*, 71.1 (2011):51-94; Francisco Moreno CARVALHO, "O Brasil nas profecias de um judeu sebastianista: os "Aforismos" de Manoel Bocarro Francês/Jacob Rosales", in *Os judeus no Brasil: inquisição, imigração e identidade*, Keila Grinberg, ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Record, 2005), 113-135; Francisco Moreno CARVALHO, "Jacob Rosales/Manoel Bocarro Francês: judaísmo, sebastianismo, medicina e ciência na vida intelectual de um médico judeu português do século XVII", Ph.D Dissertation, University of São Paulo, 2011; Francisco Moreno CARVALHO, "A Portuguese Jewish Agent of the Philips and a Sebastianist: The Strange Case of Rosales/Manuel Bocarro", in *Visions, Divinations and Prophecies*, Megiani 161-178.

²⁶ Jacob ROSALES, "Panegyricus in laudem eximii, & praestantissimi Sapiens, nobilis, q. viri, Menasseh Ben Israel", in Menasseh Ben Israel, *De termino vitae: libri tres* (Amsterdam: Typis et sumptibus authoris, 1639). About Menasseh-Bocarro relationship, see: António José SARAIVA, "Bocarro-Rosales and the messianism of the Sixteenth Century", in *Menasseh Ben Israel and his world*, 241-242.

²⁷ Menasseh BEN ISRAEL. *Miqveh Israel, esto es, Esperança de Israel* (Amsterdam: Semvel Ben Israel Soeiro, 5410 [1650]), 36-7.

²⁸ In *Menasseh Ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell* (ed. Lucien Wolf) (London: Macmillan, 1901), LXXX, 89.

acknowledged in terms of positions and remuneration. As a result of this lack of prestige and monetary reward, he searched for other means of accumulating wealth, whether through overseas trade (in Dutch Brazil) or through a printing house, neither of which too much successful. This press was the one by which the majority of his texts were disseminated, many of them containing a prophetic tone. His books circulated widely, especially his *Conciliador*. With this work, the rabbi sought to reconcile the conflicting parts of the Scriptures using rabbinic as well as patristic authorities while trying to avoid any dispute or controversy between Jewish and Christian faiths. Printed in four volumes between 1632 and 1651, the *Conciliador* was written in Spanish and had Latin translations. In the “Epístola Dedicatória” of his second volume (1641), Menasseh made a very positive reference to the Portuguese Restoration, mentioning his Portuguese origin, and with vows that peace between Portugal and the Low Countries would be sealed with the Portuguese separation from the Castilian crown, and that the war in both Brazil and in the overseas territories would cease as well.²⁹ As one can see from his “Dedicatory Epistle”, Menasseh regarded with interest the progress of the Braganza Dynasty, in particular its effects in Brazil, – where he had family ties and business in Dutch Pernambuco, and even applied for a position as a rabbi in Recife’s newly inaugurated synagogue. More than that, he kept contact and correspondence with several Catholic Portuguese – New and Old Christians. Some of them, like Vieira, were on diplomatic missions attracting support for the new dynasty.

It is notable that Menasseh aroused great interest from people close to the circle of Vasco Luís da Gama. Count of Vidigueira and after 1646 First Marquis of Niza, Gama was one the strongest promoters of John IV of Braganza’s cause and towards that goal, stayed in France as Portuguese ambassador between 1642 and 1649. There, he tried to gain assistance and aid from the French court against Castile, but also created a network of supporters which sought to diminish the Inquisition’s power against the “conversos” and, thereby, to attract “New Jews” capital for the Braganza cause. Gama’s book dealer in Rome, the Portuguese Friar Vicente Nogueira, bought several Hebrew and Jewish religious books from Menasseh to the Marquis’ library in Paris. Self-exiled in Rome after being condemned by the Inquisition for sodomy, Nogueira commented upon the Jewish rituals and preachings he attended in Italy (although

²⁹ Menasseh BEN ISRAEL, *Conciliador o de la conveniencia de los lugares de la S. Escriptura* (Amsterdam: Nicolaus de Ravesteyn, 5041 [1641]).

sometimes with disdain), the Roman reactions to the news from Portugal and about the Lisbon Inquisition, and mentioned the rabbi in his letters to Gama several times. Far from being an unequivocal admirer of the Jewish people and lore,³⁰ Nogueira went beyond the simple book trade remarks in his correspondence with Menasseh, whom he called “o Principal de todos os rabinos” [“The foremost of all the rabbis”]. Nogueira also talked with the rabbi about the Portuguese New Christians’ and Jews’ situation and their possible role in the Restoration, as well as the negative impact of inquisitorial actions on the community of New Christian and New Jews merchants. Although the letters themselves have not survived, the Portuguese friar narrated this correspondence exchange and even transcribed part of it in a letter sent to Gama, the Marquis of Niza in 1648.³¹ According to Nogueira’s transcription, Menasseh had commented that Portugal was running the risk of losing everything by not accepting the Jews and allowing the Inquisition to persecute the New Christians.³² Below the transcription of Menasseh’s letter, Nogueira suggested to the Marquis that it should be read to the king, but if he “judge[d] the letter unworthy of the King’s ears” [“se V.A. julgar que não é digna a carta das orelhas de El-Rei”], that it be shown to Vieira instead – which seemed to have been done. If Vieira really read Menasseh’s letter, it might have added some points to his pleas to John IV. Throughout the 1640’s Vieira had written to the King pointing out the need to diminish the Inquisition’s powers (which he partially obtained in 1648) and even proposing that Portugal

³⁰ “Só com D. Quixote, e com o *Tesouro dos dinim* [by Menasseh], e ou cerimónias judaicas, me sucedeu finar-me de riso a primeira vez que os li”, in *Um diálogo epistolar: D. Vicente Nogueira e o Marquês de Niza (1615-1654)*, João Carlos Serafim, ed. (Porto: CITCEM/Afrontamento, 2011), 130.

³¹ Biblioteca da Ajuda. MS 51-X-16, f. 203-203v. Cf.: “De D. Vicente Nogueira para o Marquês de Niza, Roma, 11 de Maio de 1648”, in *Um diálogo epistolar: D. Vicente Nogueira e o Marquês de Niza (1615-1654)*, 173-4; *Cartas de D. Vicente Nogueira*, A.J. Lopes da Silva, ed. (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1929), 57.

³² “se bem vejo que aquele Reino que podia, dando-nos a liberdade da consciência, que o Papa nos dá em Roma, ser o mais opulento do mundo, se vai arruinando com suas próprias mãos, pois prossegue a Inquisição de tal sorte que hão preso de poucos dias a esta parte Duarte da Silva, com outras pessoas de qualidade” Biblioteca da Ajuda. MS 51-X-16, f. 203v. (the letter is transcribed and commented by Arlindo CORREA in: <http://www.arlindo-correia.com/200307.html>).

accept merchants from the “Gente de Nação” [People of Nation], as the Iberian Jews were called.³³

Another member of the Marquis’s circle was Manuel Fernandes de Vila Real, a Portuguese New Christian captain and merchant who carried out several diplomatic and business missions in France and in the Netherlands and published several texts defending the Restoration and John IV. In the attempt to gain the favor of the French court for the Portuguese cause, he published a panegyric to Cardinal Richelieu, but in it he also quite subtly criticized the inquisitorial procedures and argued that they shall be changed, in particular to stop the confiscation of New Christians’ possessions.³⁴ Published in Spanish in 1642, possibly in Paris, the book was quickly translated into French and Italian, and later German. Even if subtle, such an attack did not go unnoticed by the Inquisition. As soon as Vila Real returned to Portugal in April 1649, the Inquisition promptly started to build a case against him, and arrested him in October. One piece of evidence against him collected through the investigation was a Menasseh letter, one of the many that Vila Real and the rabbi had apparently exchanged between 1648 and 1649. Vila Real was writing a universal chronology, worried about the calculation of the age of the Earth and the end of the world, and Gama had suggested that Menasseh could help him out. Also, during his “contra-ditas” deposition, Vila Real declared that he had read Menasseh’s *Conciliador* (perhaps the volume containing references to John IV and the Restoration) and *Termino Vitae* (with Bocarro’s laudatory verses). By his testimony we also know of Vila Real’s intense debates with Vieira about the role of the Jews for the Portuguese monarchy and about the possible selling of Pernambuco to the Dutch (to which

³³ See: Ronaldo VAINFAS, *Jerusalém colonial* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2010), chap. V; Jonathan ISRAEL, “Dutch Sephardi Jewry, Millenarian Politics and the Struggle for Brazil, 1650-54”, in *Conflicts of Empire: Spain, the Low Countries and The Struggle For World Supremacy. 1585-1713* (London: Hambledon, 1997); Natalia MUCHNIK, “Antonio Vieira y la diáspora sefardí en el siglo XVII”, in *Antônio Vieira, Roma e o universalismo das monarquias portuguesa e espanhola*. Pedro Cardim and Gaetano Sabatini, ed. (Lisbon: CHAM, 2011), 97-120. For the term “Gente de nação”, see footnote 11.

³⁴ *El político christianissimo ò discursos políticos sobre algunas acciones de la vida del eminentísimo señor cardenal duque de Richelieu* (1642). Cf. *Epítome genealógico del eminentísimo cardenal duque de Richelieu y discursos políticos sobre algunas acciones de su vida* (1641). See: José RAMOS-COELHO, *Manuel Fernandes Vila Real e o seu processo na Inquisição de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Empresa do “Occidente”, 1894); António José SARAIVA, *The Marrano Factory: The Portuguese Inquisition and Its New Christians 1536-1765* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 86-95.

Vila Real claimed to oppose).³⁵ The process did not end well for Vila Real, principally due to his Jewish ancestry and the accusations of judaizing, and he was condemned to death, in 1652.

The contact with the “New Jews” united these House of Braganza supporters who also attentively observed the events of their times from an eschatological point of view – or at least, had openly promoted those interpretations. Vila Real counted the world’s time and age to foresee its end, consulting with the Amsterdam rabbi. Vieira preached political sermons based on prophecies in which he defended the new dynasty and the glorious destiny of the Portuguese kingdom, and he was likely to have debated with the same rabbi about the Fifth Empire, the Lost Tribes and the Jewish universal conversion. Gama, the Marquis of Niza, was interested in Menasseh’s works and Jewish lore, and bought books in Hebrew and about Jewish theology from the rabbi, through Nogueira’s intermediation. At the same time, he was a patron for the messianic interpretation of the Portuguese Restoration. Gama sponsored the printing of the Bandarra’s *Trovas* first complete edition, in 1644, with a prefatory letter and an afterword supporting an interpretation favorable to the new king’s role in Portugal’s glorious future predicted in those prophetic verses.³⁶

These advocates of John IV’s cause shared two fields of action, which should not be read separately, under a risk of creating anachronistic ruptures and false conundrums in historical agency. On the one hand, they argued for the need to restrict Inquisitorial action, while at the same time to attract the capital of the “Gente de Nação”³⁷ – and, for this reason, the necessity to establish and maintain contact with the Amsterdam Jews.

³⁵ “Declaração que faço eu Manuel Fernandes Villa Real, preso n’este carcere do santo officio” e “Contradictas”, in *Summario de varia historia*, J. Ribeiro Guimarães (s/l: Rolland & Semiond, 1875), v. 5, 90-119. In the same volume, Menasseh’s letter Ben Israel to Vilareal (p. 142-3). For the letter in English, see: E.N. ADLER, “A letter of Menasseh ben Israel” *Jewish Historical Society of England*, vol. V (1908):174-183.

³⁶ *Trovas de Bandarra...* (Nantes: por Guillermo de Munier, 1644). The author of the paratexts of 1644 *Trovas* edition was Manuel Homem, who also wrote a Portuguese Restoration millenarian defense entitled *Ressurreição de Portugal, morte fatal de Castela*. In *Ressurreição*, Homem commented upon the *Trovas*, and several prophecies, presages and astrological foresight, in which he indicated Portugal’s role as a universal monarchy. Both *Trovas* and *Ressurreição* were printed by the same publishing house in Nantes, by Guillaume Le Monnier, royal printer. The former edition was sponsored by Vasco Luís da Gama; and the latter, dedicated to him, still as Count of Vidigueira. [Manuel Homem], *Ressurreçam de Portugal, e morte fatal de Castella...* (Nantes: Por Guillermo de Monnier, [1645]). See also: José V. D. BESSELAAR, “As ‘Trovas’ do Bandarra”, *Revista ICALP*, 4 (1986).

³⁷ Antônio VIEIRA, “Proposta que se fez ao serenissimo rei D. João IV a favor da gente de nação” (1646), In *Obras escolhidas*, v. IV, 48-9. Cf. ISRAEL. “Dutch Sephardi Jewry”, 153.

On the other, they read the political and natural events through a providential key. The Portuguese Restoration itself was read and explained from this perspective, as were the events and the war in the Dutch Brazil and even the conquest of the Americas.³⁸ Capital and prophecy were two sides of the same coin,³⁹ and so the “philo-semitism” of these Brigantine supporters added both economic and political interests to the providential and imperial expectations, and vice-versa. The intensification of the war in Pernambuco and the resulting arrests of Jews in Brazil, some of them eventually prosecuted as New Christians by the Inquisition, did not facilitate the Portuguese millenarians’ negotiations with the “New Jews”, and, as their correspondence shows, were not seen as very positive signs for their objectives. As can be read in Menasseh’s letter to Vila Real or even in passages from some of the rabbi’s works, the threat of losing commerce in Brazil, together with the inquisitorial trials of the “Gente da Nação” contributed to a diminishing of the initial excitement with the Restoration as a meaningful event of the Hebrew final redemption.⁴⁰

In this environment in which overseas trade, imperial expansion, fight for independence, revolts and rebellions, religious disputes, Messianic prophecies and Fifth Monarchy projections would mix (and would reinforce each other), it becomes easier to understand how the possibility of the indigenous people descending from the Hebrews or of finding the Lost Tribes in America gained momentum in the writings of many Christians, as we will see.⁴¹ Menasseh played a central role in this debate. However, he was no longer looking at Brazil and Portugal with hope. Maybe disappointed at the unfolding of the Dutch-Portuguese war in Brazil, and at the intensification of Inquisitorial activities in Portugal, or, at last, when perhaps he realized that Braganza supporters’ promises of a safe harbor

³⁸ See: Luís REIS TORGAL, *Ideologia política e teoria do Estado na Restauração* (Coimbra: Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, 1981-1982), vol. 1, chap. 3; Eduardo D’OLIVEIRA FRANÇA, *Portugal na época da Restauração* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1997), pt. 3, chap. 1; Lauri TÄHTINEN, “The Intellectual Construction of the Fifth Empire: Legitimizing the Braganza Restoration,” *History of European Ideas*, 38:3 (2012), 413-425; Luís Filipe SILVÉRIO LIMA, “Between the New and the Old World: Iberian Prophecies and Imperial Projects in the Colonisation of the Early Modern Spanish and Portuguese Americas”, 46-54.

³⁹ Alcir PÉCORA, “Vieira, a inquisição e o capital”. *Topoi*, 1(1) (2000), 178-196. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1590/2237-101X001001005>.

⁴⁰ See: Nachman FALBEL, “Menasseh Ben Israel e o Brasil”; Vainfas, *Jerusalém colonial*, chap. 4-5.

⁴¹ For news circulation and prophetic interpretations about the Lost Ten Tribes being Amerindians, see: Florentino GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “La Autoridad de 4 Esdras y el Origen Judío de los Indios Americanos”, *Fortenatae*, 22 (2011), 41-54.

for Jews and New Christians in the restored Portugal were crumbling, he decided to turn towards England.

Menasseh Ben Israel's *Hope* and the shift of Millenarian expectations

In 1650, Menasseh Ben Israel printed in Amsterdam his *Esperança de Israel*, in Spanish and with a Latin edition, *Spes Israelis*⁴². There he commented upon the report from *converso* Antonio de Montesinos' (or Arão Levi)⁴³ about an encounter in the then Peruvian Amazon⁴⁴ with what Montesinos claimed to be one of the Ten Lost Tribes, that of Reuben⁴⁵. Menasseh had attended the 1644 session in which Montesinos presented his discovery of Reuben's tribe before the Talmud Torah synagogue. The novelty, if true, would have great implications for it would be an evident sign of the Messiah's kingdom, in which the Lost Tribes would be reunited. The news about the discovery circulated. However, it took on greater importance when it reached some Christians' ears, particularly those of the English millenarianists. In the midst of the English Revolution and filled with providential expectations, they were also in an uproar over the claims that some Protestant missionaries had allegedly found Jews from the Lost

⁴² For more details, see: Cecil ROTH, *A life...*, chap. IX-XI; Maria Ana T. VALDEZ, "The *Esperança de Israel*: A Mission to Cromwell", in *In the name of God: the Bible in the colonial discourse of empire*, Carly L Crouch and Jonathan Stökl, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 63-84; Henry Méchoulán; Gérard Nahon "Introduction", in Menasseh Ben Israel *The hope of Israel* (Oxford/New York: Published for the Littman Library by Oxford University Press, 1987).

⁴³ See: Jonathan SCHORSCH, *Atlantic World* (Boston: Brill, 2009), chap. 9; Ronnie Perelis, "These Indians Are Jews! Lost Tribes, Crypto-Jews, and Jewish Self-Fashioning in Antonio de Montezino's *Relation* of 1644", in *Atlantic diasporas: Jews, conversos, and crypto-Jews in the age of mercantilism, 1500-1800*, Richard L. Kagan; Philip D. Morgan, ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 195-211; Ronnie PERELIS, "Dialectics of Travel: Reading the Journey in Antonio de Montezinos's *Relación* (1644)", *Studies in American Jewish Literature*, 33, 1, (2014): 13-34.

⁴⁴ According to Grant Underwood, Montesinos went to what is today the Colombian part of Amazon Forest. Grant Underwood, "The *Hope of Israel* in Early Modern Ethnography/Eschatology", in *Hebrew and the Bible in America*, Shalom GOLDMAN, ed. (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1993), 92.

⁴⁵ Saraiva identified here an evidence that Montesinos had read Bandarra. The cobbler in his *Trovas* mentioned that people from the Tribe of Reuben would come with the Hidden King. However, as pointed out by Schorsch, this was a recurrent Jewish messianic topic. David Reubeni, for instance, claimed to descend from Reuben's Tribe. Even raising such demurs, Schorsch accepts Saraiva's hypothesis as plausible. António José SARAIVA, "António Vieira, Menasseh ben Israel e o Quinto Império"; Schorsch, *Atlantic World*, 420-6.

Tribes among indigenous people in North America or at very least suspected of their Jewish origin after the first contacts with them.⁴⁶

Impressed by this news, especially that coming from New England, the English Presbyterian minister Thomas Thorowgood wrote a text entitled *The Jewes of America* in which he defended the Jewish origin of the Native Americans and encouraged the “promoting and propagating [among the indigenous population] the Gospell of Iesus Christ in New-England”⁴⁷. He had gathered information from several New England ministers and missionaries, such as John Eliot and Roger Williams, with whom he had exchanged letters about the possible origins of Native American peoples and the progress of the Gospel⁴⁸. Besides New England sources, he was also influenced by the discussions and news about South America indigenous people and their conversion, which he had read through English and Latin versions of “accounts written by Spanish missionaries (...) particularly José de Acosta’s *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*; ... [and] travel narratives such as Jean de Léry’s *Histoire d’un voyage fait en la terre de Bresil*”.⁴⁹

As Thorowgood explained later in the 1661’s second part of *The Jewes of America*, his tract was initially planned to be published between 1648-1649, and would have been dedicated to Charles I. However, with the king’s imprisonment and eventual beheading, Thorowgood decided to hold the printing and not to publish “The Epistle Dedicatory” to the Stuart monarch.⁵⁰ In the meantime, he showed his manuscript to John

⁴⁶ See: Richard POPKIN, “The rise and fall of the Jewish Indian Theory”, in *Menasseh Ben Israel and his world*, 62ss.; Peter TOON, “The question of Jewish Immigration”, in *Puritans, the Millennium and the future of Israel*, Peter Toon, ed. (Cambridge: James Clark, 2002 [1970]), 115-125; David KATZ, *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England*; Grant UNDERWOOD, “The Hope of Israel in Early Modern Ethnography and Eschatology”; Ariel HESSAYON, ‘Gold Tried in the Fire’: *The prophet Theaurau John Tany and the English Revolution* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Ariel HESSAYON, “Jews and crypto-Jews in sixteenth and seventeenth century England”, *Cromohs*, 16 (2011), URL: http://www.cromohs.unifi.it/16_2011/hessayon_jews.html; Andrew CROME, “English National Identity and the Readmission of the Jews, 1650-1656.” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 66, 2 (2015): 280-301, Andrew CROME, “Politics and Eschatology: Reassessing the Appeal of the ‘Jewish Indian’ Theory in England and New England in the 1650s”, *Journal of Religious History*, 40 (2016): 326–346. doi: 10.1111/1467-9809.12301.

⁴⁷ Thomas THOROWGOOD, *Jewes in America* (London: Slater, 1650), n.p. (“The Epistle Dedicatory”).

⁴⁸ Thomas THOROWGOOD, *Jewes in America*, 3, 6, 79 (cf. 2nd Part of *Jews in America*, 1660).

⁴⁹ Richard W. COGLEY, “The Ancestry of the American Indians: Thomas Thorowgood’s *Jewes in America* (1650) and *Jews in America* (1660)”, *English Literary Renaissance*, 35, 2 (2005): 306-7.

⁵⁰ He would do it later, in the second part of his book. See 2nd part (3rd edition) of *Jews in America* (1660).

Dury, an Irenist preacher of Scottish origin, and asked him to write a foreword, perhaps to replace the former dedication. Dury, who circulated a lot between London and Amsterdam, had heard about Montesinos' report, and thrilled at the possible millenarian implications involved, wrote to Menasseh asking for further explanation. Part of this correspondence was translated and published in his preface to Thorowgood's book, eventually released in 1650. In this "Epistological Discourse", Dury also announced that Menasseh, encouraged by the correspondence, had decided to write a small tract dealing with the topic.⁵¹ Although in his own text Thorowgood did not analyze or even mention Montesino's case or Menasseh's possible interpretation,⁵² he – or the editors – attached to his book the first translation into English of Montesino's report as a proof of the possible Jewish origin of the Amerindians. The translation was based on a French version of the account sent by Menasseh to Dury in November 1649, after Dury's enthusiastic inquire, and aroused a great deal of interest (and controversy) among English readers – perhaps greater than Thorowgood's book itself.

However, Dury was not the only one who had written to Menasseh and *Jews of America* wasn't the first printed mention to the 'discovery' of the Lost Tribes in South America. Another millenarian, the Independent divine Nathaniel Homes, also sent letters at the same time asking about Montesinos's news. As he was aware of the conversion of indigenous populations in New England and the possibility of them being of Jewish origin, Homes was wondering about the further impact of the discovery of the Lost Tribes in the Americas on the coming of the Millennial kingdom. Other frequent English correspondent was John Sadler, who met Menasseh when visiting Amsterdam in the late 1640s. Afterwards, Menasseh referred him to Dury, saying that he could help in the matter of the dedication of his work to-come. Even before the translation's publication in Thorowgood's book, news about Montesino's report and about Menasseh's commentaries was already circulating in England and in New England, and raising commentaries and discussion. The 'pilgrim father' Edward Winslow, who returned to the Old World to support Parliamentary efforts, mentioned that 'a godly Minister' in London (probably Dury) discussed with Menasseh about the Lost Tribes in the Americas.⁵³

⁵¹ John DURY, "An Epistolicall Discourse..." to *Jewes in America*, by Thomas Thorowgood (London: Slater, 1650), cf. Popkin, "The rise and fall...", 67-8.

⁵² He would do it later, in the 1660 second part of his book.

⁵³ For a very precise account of the letter exchange about the Lost Tribes among Menasseh, Dury, Homes and other millenarians, see: Ariel HESSAYON, 'Gold tried in the Fire', 141-149.

Winslow wrote that in his dedication to the Parliament and Council of England of *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians of New England*, printed in 1649. Part of what later was known as Eliot Tracts, *The Glorious Progress* brought letters and accounts of North America about the success of the conversion of Indigenous populations by the Puritans from Massachusetts. Quoting the “great Dr. of the Jews” (Menasseh), Winslow was also reaffirming the signs that were in the Eliot Tracts about the Jewish origin of the ‘Indians’, and reassuring, at the same time, the importance of the Puritan efforts and mission in New England, and of the critical period of history that England was facing.⁵⁴

Upon observing such interest, Menasseh spent the final days of 1649 finishing his manuscript, having printed it in the following year. The Spanish version, *Esperança de Israel*, was dedicated to the “Parnassim” (trustees) of the Talmud Torah synagogue in Amsterdam, and the one in Latin, *Spes Israelis*, to the English Parliament and the State Council.⁵⁵ In both editions, the title was presented as a translation of the Hebrew expression “Miqveh Israel”, from Jeremiah 17:13: “O Lord, the hope of Israel, all that forsake thee shall be ashamed, and they that depart from me shall be written in the earth, because they have forsaken the Lord the fountaine of living waters.”⁵⁶ The rabbi did not proceed to an interpretation of the verse, but its meaning fitted the intended message: the true People of Israel should maintain their hope and trust (another meaning for *Miqveh*)⁵⁷ and those who had not waited for or trusted in God should be

⁵⁴ Edward WINSLOW, *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel* (1649) In: *The Eliot Tracts*, Michael Clark, ed. (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), 145.

⁵⁵ See, among others: ROTH, *A life of Menasseh...*, 183ss; Richard POPKIN, “Hartlib, Dury and the Jews”, in *Samuel Hartlib and universal reformation*, M. GREENGRASS et al., ed. (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), 125-6; Benjamin BRAUDE, “Les contes persans de Menasseh Ben Israël”. *Annales*. 49.5 (1994):1107-1138; Ana VALDEZ, “The Esperança de Israel: a Mission to Cromwell,” 63-84, Henry MÉCHOULAN; Gérard NAHON “Introduction”. There has been a great debate, since Kayserling, whether the Latin text was Menasseh’s (and if it was the first to be written) or whether it was a mere translation. Mechoulán and Nahon emphatically argued that *Spes Israelis* was derived from the Spanish original text, and insisted that it had not even been rendered into Latin by Menasseh, but by a Christian Latinist. Regardless of the translation authorship, what matters here is that the Latin version has been written for a Christian and Protestant audience, by all accounts sensitive to the “philo-semitic” arguments connected to the news about the Lost Tribes.

⁵⁶ King James Bible, (1611). In the Geneva Bible (1599): “O LORD, the hope of Israel, all that forsake thee shall be ashamed, [and] they that depart from me shall be written in the earth, because they have forsaken the LORD, the fountain of living waters.”

⁵⁷ Francisco Moreno reminded me that *Miqveh* could also be related to water (it may suggest a ritual bath), and this may mean a possible reference to the mythical river Sabbation, which the Lost Tribes would have crossed in their peregrination and eventual exile.

abandoned. But the exegetical interpretations and implications from the Amazon “Lost Tribe” discovery and its allegedly belonging to the Chosen People could vary considerably in a text aimed at both a Jewish audience in Amsterdam (the Jewish “Portuguese Nation”, who read Spanish) and a Christian audience (who read Latin, the English, and perhaps Dutch, Protestants).

As some scholars have pointed out, the two editions were two texts with different programs and goals which were mirrored in their addressees, the Jewish-Portuguese community leaders in Amsterdam, and the ruling institutions in Commonwealth England.⁵⁸ On the one hand, *Esperança* was to provide some relief for Iberian Jews’ messianic faith, once fed by the economic success of the “New Jews” mercantile networks, but now affected by the discouraging news coming from both Dutch Brazil and Lisbon. On the other hand, *Spes* was to explore English Protestants’ millenarianist fervor, as well as a broad “philo-semitic” climate in the Dutch and British Christian circles, in order to stimulate the debate about the official readmission of Jews in England. The differences were not limited to the dedications, but also appeared in textual and editorial choices. Omitted or added parts, modified references, examples closer to Christians or to Jews are some of the variations which indicate conscious and divergent solutions more than mere translation and version problems⁵⁹. Even Menasseh’s position toward the veracity of Montesinos’ report and the Hebrew origin of the Amerindians appears more emphatically in *Spes* than in *Esperança*. In the Spanish version, Menasseh stated that he considered seemingly verisimilar (“cosa mas verissimil”) Montesinos’ report about his discovery in the Amazon and accepted as most probable (“mas prouable”) the news of some amongst the Lost Tribes’ descendants being in the Americas. But he did not support the hypothesis (already contested by Jesuits, such as Acosta) that indigenous populations had their origins directly from the Hebrew Tribes. One of the Tribes could be in the Americas, but they most certainly would also inhabit other places in the globe, as the Rabbi had read in the writings by the Jesuit Matteo Ricci about

⁵⁸ Benjamin BRAUDE, “Les contes...”. Ana VALDEZ, “The Esperança de Israel: a Mission to Cromwell”. Braude’s article rejects Ismar Schorsch’s view, to whom Menasseh had neither political nor migratory motivations when he wrote the pamphlet: Ismar Schorsch, “From Messianism to Realpolitik: Menasseh Ben Israel and the Readmission of the Jews to England”. *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 45 (1978):187-208.

⁵⁹ As pointed out by Ana Valdez, there is still room for a more systematic comparison (or even a commented edition) among *Esperança/Spes* various versions. Ana VALDEZ, “The Esperança de Israel: a Mission to Cromwell”.

China. This reference is missing from the text addressed to the Protestants (who, one should notice, would regard the Jesuits as the epitome of Papism), and in the Latin version (as in Dury's preface to *Jews in America*) Menasseh's appraisal of Montesinos' report veracity was more positive and assertive at the conclusion.⁶⁰ Even the decision to translate *Miqveh* as *Esperança* and especially *Spes* (and then *Hope*) can be another hint of this move toward Protestant ears. The Vulgate Bible version brings "Expectatio Israhel Domine" instead of "Spes Israelis", more akin to the King James or Geneva versions, "O Lord, the hoope of Israel", since "Expectatio" should be translated more properly as "Expectation" than as "Hope", according to a sixteenth century English-Latin dictionary.⁶¹

Considering that the Latin version was a simpler edition, possibly a small circulation printing to be distributed and not sold, it is impressive to observe the interest it aroused. Besides Dury and Holmes, there is evidence that other readers were moved by the arguments in *Spes Israelis*. Among them was the Baptist preacher (and perhaps for a short-time, Fifth-Monarchist) Henry Jessey. The rabbi had sent him an autographed copy of *Spes Israelis*, motivated by their previous correspondence; and Jessey's copy has survived full of notes and comments showing not only that he read it, but also that he agreed with some aspects of it.⁶² Like many millenarianists at the time, Jessey made a connection between his interest in the Jews and the advent of the end of times. In the same year 1650, Jessey published a book entitled *The Glory and salvation of Jehuda and Israel* in which he defended the harmony between Jews and Christians as a sign of the imminence of Christ's earthly and visible reign. The 1653 Dutch translation of Jessey's book was dedicated to the Jewish nation and, in particular, to Menasseh Ben Israel. One year after reading *Spes Israelis*, Jessey wrote the preface to Fifth-Monarchist visionary Mary Cary's prophecies, in which he stated again his great expectation for the new and glori-

⁶⁰ Compare the different terms used to qualify Montesinos' report veracity in each version's conclusion: *Esperança de Israel* – "cosa mas probable" (p. 116); *Spes Israelis* – "ut verissimam" (p. 101); *Hope of Israel* – "as most true" (p. 160, of Méchoulán and Nahon edition). About differences between editions, namely the Spanish and English, see also: Menasseh BEN ISRAEL, *The hope of Israel*, Henry Méchoulán and Gérard Nahon, ed. (Portland: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004).

⁶¹ *Dictionarium Linguae Latinae et Anglicanae*, 1587: "Expectatio, Expectatio, f.g. verb. Expectation, desire of things looked for, longing, hope, feare of things to come". See LEME (Lexicons of Early Modern English) <http://leme.library.utoronto.ca>.

⁶² David KATZ, *Philo-semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England*, 11.

ous Jerusalem that would exist on Earth.⁶³ However, the greatest indicator of *Spes*' success is that it was soon translated into English and published in three editions between 1650 and 1652. Its editors were Hannah and Livewell Chapman, a couple who owned a small bookshop at a moment of ample profusion of pamphlets, treaties and printings about the end of times in England.⁶⁴ Chapman, a Fifth Monarchy Man himself, was later characterized as the bookseller of works about the Fifth Monarchy.⁶⁵

In short, what impelled Menasseh to produce this tract was, in great part, the English millenarians' interest in the theme. But its impact may well extend beyond England (or New England): some scholars have suggested that Vieira's letter, "Esperanças de Portugal", may be connected in some way with Menasseh's tract.⁶⁶ It is unclear whether the Jesuit had read the Rabbi's pamphlet, but in addition to the striking resemblance between the titles – "Esperanças de Portugal" (Hopes of Portugal) and *Esperança de Israel* – one can identify some convergent millenarian aspects among their arguments. Vieira wrote his letter in April 1659, a decade after the meeting with Menasseh, while the Jesuit was in a mission in the Amazon forest. It was addressed to the queen's confessor, the Bishop of Japan, to be read to the Portuguese Queen Regent, Luisa de Guzmán. In it, Vieira explained that the late John IV (deceased in 1656) must rise from the dead in order to fulfill all the future Portuguese greatness promised in several prophecies – Biblical, visions of saints, and above all, the *Trovas* of Bandarra. By interpreting Bandarra's verses, the Jesuit tried to prove the logical necessity of John IV's resurrection, since he was the Chosen

⁶³ E.G.E. VAN DER WALL, "A Philo-Semitic Millenarian on the Reconciliation of Jews and Christians: Henry Jessey and his 'The Glory and Salvation of Jehudah and Israel'", in *Sceptics, millenarians and Jews*, David Katz and Jonathan Israel, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 166-168.

⁶⁴ Mauren BELL, "Hannah Allen and the Development of a Puritan Publishing Business, 1646-51". *Publishing History*, 26 (1989):5-66; Verônica CALSONI LIMA, *Impresso para ser vendido na Crown em Pope's Head Alley: Hannah Allen, Livewell Chapman e a disseminação de panfletos radicais durante a Revolução Inglesa (1646-1665)*, M.A. Thesis, Unifesp, 2016, chap. 2, 3.

⁶⁵ Leona ROSTENBERG, *Literary, political, scientific, religious and legal publishing, printing and bookselling in England, 1551-1700* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1965), v. 1, 203-236; Bernard CAPP, *The Fifth-monarchy Men* (London: Faber and Faber, 2008[1972]), 106-7, 129, 245, *passim*; Bernard CAPP, "A door of hope Re-opened: The Fifth Monarchy, King Charles and King Jesus" *Journal of Religious History*, Vol.32, Issue 1 (2008), 16-30; Verônica CALSONI LIMA, *Impresso para ser vendido na Crown em Pope's Head Alley*.

⁶⁶ Antônio José SARAIVA "Antônio Vieira, Menasseh ben Israel...", 101; HERMANN, *No reino do desejado*, 237-8; NOVINSKY, "Sebastianismo, Vieira e o messianismo judaico", 73-77; Lúcia Helena COSTIGAN, "Judeus e Cristãos-novos nos escritos de letrados do Barroco espanhol e de Antônio Vieira e Menasseh Ben Israel", in *Diálogos da conversão* (Campinas: Ed.Unicamp, 2005), 141; Vainfas, *Jerusalém*, 325.

and Hidden King of the prophecies, elected by God himself to guide the Portuguese nation in its mission to bring all the world under Christ's faith and rule. This king would then find and reunite all the Lost Tribes of Israel, which would give him endless treasures, and the Jews would be finally converted to Christianity. Eventually the letter reached the Lisbon Inquisition, and in 1663 Vieira was summoned to explain his propositions under the suspicion of heresy and of judaizing. During a four-year-long trial, Vieira repeatedly replied and counter-argued that his letter had been merely an attempt to give "hopes" to a mourning widow, the queen, and that his Fifth Empire project was neither millenarianist nor Judaic, but on the contrary, was strictly consistent with the Catholic doctrine.⁶⁷

In addition to the suggestions based on similarities in the title between Vieira's letter and Menasseh's, António Saraiva has gone further, raising the hypothesis that the plural "Hopes" in Vieira's letter meant the Hope of both Portuguese and Jewish peoples, reunited in the Fifth Empire to come.⁶⁸ We do not have evidence that Vieira actually had access to Menasseh's *Esperança de Israel*; or even that this work had circulated in seventeenth century Portugal or Portuguese America. But we do know that Vieira was importing books with "words written in Hebrew", from the Netherlands in 1650's according to denouncements made against him to the Inquisition.⁶⁹ Inconclusive as that may be, it shows a continuous interest in the Jewish question, that perhaps helped him re-formulate his version of the meeting with Menasseh when convened by the Inquisition in the 1660s, or when years later in the "Carta Apologética", he had to reply to Escoto Patavino's accusations. However, if Menasseh's pamphlet had actually influenced Vieira's letter, it is ironic to think that the "Hopes of Portugal" could owe its origin to Protestant demands. Moreover, it is even more striking if we consider that Vieira's "Esperanças" was one of the pieces of evidence that started the inquisition trial against him. The inquisitors could not imagine or have any information about this possible "double" heresy, but they questioned Vieira about his contacts with

⁶⁷ Adma Fadul MUDANA (ed.), *Os autos do processo de Vieira na Inquisição* (2nd ed., São Paulo: Edusp, 2008). About the letter, see: José VAN DEN BESSELAAR, *António Vieira: profecia e polémica* (Rio de Janeiro: EdUERJ, 2002); Thomas COHEN, *The Fire of Tongues* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 122-133; Ana VALDEZ, *Historical interpretations of the 'Fifth Empire'*, 229-243.

⁶⁸ António José SARAIVA "António Vieira, Menasseh ben Israel...".

⁶⁹ ANTT- Inq. Lisboa, Promotor, livro 242, fls. 47-47v. I would like to thank António Vitor Ribeiro for recommending this source to me, and also for sharing with me his notes and an unpublished text about Vieira.

Amsterdam Jews⁷⁰. As he would do later in the “Carta Apologética”, he replied that he had only sought to convert Menasseh and as many Jewish people as possible and stated that he had shown the rabbi the errors in Jewish beliefs⁷¹.

The relationship with Menasseh had more serious consequences in the 1649-52 Inquisitorial trial of Vila Real. Added to his New Christian origin, among other accusations, Vila Real’s correspondence with Menasseh was one more piece of evidence that eventually condemned him to the fire. In other words, contact with the rabbi and his connection with Portuguese millenarian ideas (concrete evidence of letters and an admission of having read Menasseh’s works, for Vila Real; a possible relationship between the “Hopes”, for Vieira) culminated in two Brigantine supporters being condemned, one to be burnt and the other to silence. They were condemned by the same Inquisition against which they had struggled, among other reasons, to bring the “New Jews” back to Portugal. It was the same Inquisition whose actions had contributed to Menasseh having turned his eyes upon England as a chosen place for the Jewish community – instead of Restored Portugal. As the prophecies told that the Messiah would come when the Jews were in the last of lands, Menasseh had transferred his bets from what he named “finis terrae” – Portugal – to what he termed (in a doubtful etymology) the “angle of the Earth” (Angleterre/England).⁷²

Following the impact of *Hope of Israel* in London, Menasseh became known not only to English Millenarians and Irenists, but he gained attention from some Parliament members, as well as from the Council of State in a moment in which prophecy was also discussed in political fora. This was broadly helped by the sponsorship of Holmes and Dury, who were well connected with English political leaders. It was probably through their intervention that one possible objective inherent to Menasseh’s tract – the public readmission of Jews and their freedom of worship – reached Crom-

⁷⁰ See: Vanderlei MARINHO COSTA. “Apontamento para uma (longa) história das prescrições e proscições em torno da apocalíptica (judaico-)cristã: o caso do processo contra Antônio Vieira” *Revista de História*, 1.2 (2009):3-17; José Pedro PAIVA. “Vieira e a Inquisição: o processo e a segunda estadia em Roma”, in *Antônio Vieira, Roma e o universalismo...*, 121-143.

⁷¹ *Os autos do processo de Vieira na Inquisição*, 93-4. His statement repeated what was in general terms in “Carta apologética” and “Defesa” (171ss). This reinforces Muhana’s and Silva’s hypothesis about the relationship between Vieira’s prophetic project and his trial. Cf. Adma MUHANA, “Introdução” to *Os autos...*; Adma MUHANA, “O processo inquisitorial de Vieira: aspectos profético-argumentativos”, *Semear*, 2 (1997); Jacqueson SILVA, *Arquitetura do Quinto Império* (Phd. Diss., Unicamp, 2007).

⁷² H.P. SALOMON “Introdução” to *Tratado da verdade da lei de Moisés*, by Saul Levi Mortera (Coimbra: BGUC, 1988), LXXIX.

well's ears. Cromwell became Lord Protector in 1653 and was interested in admitting Menasseh for a hearing. The prospect of receiving well-connected Jewish leaders and discussing the possible Jewish settlement in England met both English providential and financial expectations regarding future and practical plans for the Republic maintenance and expansion. Moreover, this happened when Cromwell was molding an imperial strategy for the Commonwealth – and his Protectorate.⁷³ Although some authors have contested the imperial(ist) dimension of the Cromwellian Protectorate,⁷⁴ it seems to me that Cromwell's entertaining the notion of the Jewish readmission was part of a millenarianist milieu infused by imperial expectations as well as a more practical interest in the Dutch-Jewish merchant capital to secure English overseas trade. From this viewpoint, his intentions – at one time, financial, pragmatic, imperial and providential – would be not completely far from Vieira's and the Braganza supporters', to whom Jews and New Christians could mean simultaneously capital influx and messianic redemption within an imperial design.⁷⁵

In 1655, Menasseh finally succeeded in getting a visa to cross the channel and present his case, supported by the demands of a few other Portuguese Jews who were already in London. He wrote a letter addressed to Lord Protector explaining why it would be profitable to transform the British Isles and its colonies into a place where Jews could hold public worship and have synagogues, which had been prohibited since the thirteenth century. In spite of Cromwell's receptiveness and his friends' and his own efforts, Menasseh did not succeed in having a public hearing, but he had his petition analyzed by a noteworthy commission, in a meeting at Whitehall.⁷⁶ One of the participants was Henry Jessey, the attentive reader of *Spes*, and he wrote a report of what had happened in the conference,

⁷³ David ARMITAGE, "The Cromwellian Protectorate and the Languages of Empire", *The Historical Journal*, 35, 3 (1992): 531-555.

⁷⁴ Arthur H. WILLIAMSON, "An Empire to End Empire: The Dynamic of Early Modern British Expansion", *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68, 1-2 (2005): 246-251.

⁷⁵ I disagree with Williamson's opinion that "it is hard to imagine two more dissimilar figures than Oliver Cromwell and (...) Antonio Vieira" based exclusively on the assumption that Cromwell was anti-imperialistic and Vieira, imperialistic. Notwithstanding this strong remark, Williamson lists several aspects and viewpoints common to both trajectories and lives – their encounters with Menasseh, their philo-semitism, their plans for eliminating Inquisition, their economic and trade views etc. They seem to me more than enough to contradict or at least weaken Williamson's own statement, even more if one adds the connections showed in this article. Arthur H. WILLIAMSON, "An Empire to End Empire", 249-250.

⁷⁶ See: *Menasseh Ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell*.

which was published by Livewell Chapman in 1656.⁷⁷ Although the Whitehall conference did not reject the proposal, the result was not the one Menasseh anticipated because it did not reach a final verdict. There was no defeat, but there was no victory either. However, Menasseh's presence in London and, above all, the Whitehall debates injected new life into the debates on the Lost Tribes, as well as on the conversion of Jews and their role in history. And Menasseh and his pamphlet became recognized on these topics.

His fame endured after his death in 1657 and even after the Stuart Restoration. In 1661, a pamphlet called *Door of Hope* was printed as the manifesto for an unsuccessful Fifth-Monarchist uprising against Charles II led by cooper Thomas Venner. Not only did the title invoke the word Hope but it also quoted Menasseh's *Hope of Israel* as one of the works which supported its claim of the Millenarian Kingdom's coming, the Fifth Monarchy ruled by Christ and his Saints. The expression "Door of Hope" is a quotation from another prophetic book, Hosea (2:15),⁷⁸ through which the People of God would be helped by God to overcome any difficulty in their journey. The pamphlet implied the necessity of deliberate action to go through the doorway in order to reach the Kingdom of Christ.⁷⁹

However, neither was the reception of Menasseh's work always positive, nor all of his English readers accepted him as an authoritative source to quote, as the *Door of Hope's* anonymous author did. In particular,

⁷⁷ [Henry JESSEY], *A narrative of the late proceeds at White-Hall, concerning the Jews* (London: L. Chapman, 1656).

⁷⁸ King James Bible: "And I wil giue her, her vineyards from thence, and the valley of Achor for a doore of hope, and she shall sing there, as in the dayes of her youth, and as in the day when she came vp out of the land of Egypt."

⁷⁹ Years before, the expression had already been used by Oliver Cromwell while attacking the same Fifth Monarchy Men and the radical millenarian Saints members of parliament. In his first address as Lord Protector to a newly composed Parliament, in 1654, Cromwell stated that the "door of hope opened by God" to the English nation would unveil a time of prosperity and peace, after "so many changes and turnings which this nation hath labored under". The Lord Protector hoped that "the mistaken notion of the Fifth Monarchy" would be replaced by a reign of Christ "in our hearts by subduing those corruptions and lusts and evils that are there". Oliver Cromwell, *His Highnesse the Lord Protector's two speeches to the Parliament in the Painted Chamber the one on Monday the 4. of September; the other on Tuesday the 12. of September, 1654. Taken by one who stood very near him, and published to prevent mistakes* ([Leith]: Printed at London, and re-printed at Leith, 1654), 3, 7. Could the use of "Door of Hope" in Venner's uprising manifesto of 1661 be a late response to a traitor and tyrant from the past, Cromwell, and, therefore, an analogy with the new despot, Charles II, and even perhaps a reminder of what happens when one fights against the Saints? Maybe, but anyhow and more important it is that the use of the expression shows us common vocabulary – biblical, religious and political as well.

regarding the issue of the Jews' readmission in England, there was a huge controversy around the figure of the "Rabbi of Amsterdam". One of the most contentious antagonists who argued against Menasseh's proposals was William Prynne. In 1656, he published *Short Demurrer to the Jews long-discontinued Remitter into England*⁸⁰, in which he put himself against the return of Jews. Prynne was a Puritan lawyer, prolific polemist, and then a royalist pamphleteer, albeit he had formerly been on the Parliamentary side in the 1640s, mostly putting himself against the Laudian reform.⁸¹ He was neither a millenarian nor did he support the government of the Saints (as religious radicals called themselves), and the lawyer also disagreed with the hypothesis about the Lost Tribes or the Hebrew origin of the Native-Americans. On the Millenarian side, but yet royalist, one could also find some disagreement with Menasseh's works and especially the interpretations derived from them. The Welsh prophet Arise (or Rhys) Evans⁸² wrote that after reading and reflecting a lot upon *Hope of Israel*, he had the opportunity of talking to Menasseh in London. Evans had spoken of his prophetic visions, in which Charles II would come back to England, by divine hand and would guide the Lost Tribes to Jerusalem, defeating the Turkish Empire. The Jewish people would then recognize Christ as their Messiah and King, and Charles as Christ's viceroy, just as Joseph had been to the Pharaoh. Evans said that he had written down all his ideas and an account of his talks with Menasseh on paper in 1656, under the suggestive title of *Light for the Jews*, and had planned to have it printed immediately in English, at his own expenses. He would also have searched for a translator into Latin, so that the rabbi would be able to read his arguments and soften his "tough heart" to the truth. Despite his alleged intentions, the English text only appeared in 1664, during the third year of Charles II's reign, though with the year of 1656 listed as the printing year on the cover page.⁸³ It was a convenient signal that the *Light of the Jew* represented a fulfilled prophecy of the Restoration, and at same

⁸⁰ William PRYNNE, *A short demurrer to the Jewes long discontinued barred remitter into England...* (London: Edward Thomas, 1656); *The second part of a Short demurrer* (London: Edward Thomas, 1656).

⁸¹ For a portrait of this complex and multifaceted character, see: William M. LAMONT, *Marginal Prynne* (London: Routledge, 1963).

⁸² About Arise/Rhys Evans, see: "Evans, Arise (b. c.1607, d. in or after 1660)," Thomas N. Corns in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: OUP, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8975> (accessed January 6, 2016).

⁸³ Arise EVANS, *Light for the Jews; or, the means to convert them, in answer to a book ... called the Hope of Israel ... by Manasseh Ben Israel...* (London: 1664).

time proof of the imminent coming of the Fifth Monarchy – but under the Stuarts. The Latin translation, as far it is known, was never done.

Against the Fifth Monarchy and the “Jesuit” connections: from the end of the world to the angle of the Earth, and back again

Both Arise Evans and William Prynne raised controversial issues against the Fifth Monarchists too. More than that, they attacked some millenarian authors published by the *Esperança/Spes* English translation’s editor, Fifth-Monarchy-Men Livewell Chapman.⁸⁴ Evans contested *A Brief Description of Fifth Monarchy*, a pamphlet written in 1653 by William Aspinwall, one of the Fifth Monarchists who produced the largest number of texts, most of which published and marketed by Chapman.⁸⁵ *A Brief Description* shows the foundations of what the Fifth Monarchy would look like, indicating that it was the kingdom prophesied in the dreams from the Book of Daniel, and which would occur on Earth with Christ himself as Absolute Monarch. The kingdom would be administered by the chosen ones, the Saints, as viceroys, who would first prepare the ground for the coming of Jesus. His government and administration, established in diverse “offices” containing degrees and hierarchies, would be based on the divine “supreme authority”, a unique and sovereign power, and they would follow both the biblical law and Jesus’s teachings, the true Legislative Power. Aspinwall’s proposal of a “Legislative Power” based on Christ came from English America, specifically from Boston, from sermons and writings by the Puritan religious leader John Cotton. Aspinwall had lived in New England between 1630 and 1652, and there he read Cotton’s work and heard him preach.⁸⁶ At the same time, some of the newly-founded New England communities experimented with new organizational arrangements, partly inspired by biblical teachings, especially

⁸⁴ Prynne would even accuse Chapman in 1659 of printing apocryphal texts under his name. William Prynne, *The new cheaters forgeries, detected, disclaimed; by Will. Prynne Esq; a bencher of Lincolns Inne* (London: Printed for Edward Thomas at the Adam and Eve in Little Brittain, 1659).

⁸⁵ William ASPINWALL *A brief description of the Fifth Monarchy* (London: Livewell Chapman, 1653).

⁸⁶ J. F. MACLEAR, ‘New England and the Fifth Monarchy’, *William and Mary Quarterly*, 32 (1975), 223–60; Stephen Lee Robbins. *Manifold Afflictions: the life and writings of William Aspinwall, 1605-1662* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Oklahoma State University, 1988); Verônica CALSONI LIMA. “A cronologia das bestas e o cumprimento das profecias: o conhecimento histórico nas obras pentamonaquistas de William Aspinwall (1653-1657)”. *Vozes, Pretérito & Devir*, 3, (2014): 75-93.

from the Hebrew Judges, and Aspinwall was involved in some of these experiments of building new political-religious social systems.⁸⁷ Driven by Cotton's work and by his own colonial experience, Aspinwall transferred Cotton's legislative plan to the Fifth Monarchist expectations.⁸⁸ It thus comes as no surprise to find mention in *Brief Description* – albeit brief ones – of the overseas colonies and the importance of converting other nations and particularly Jews to Christianity. Aspinwall affirmed that the Saints would organize expeditions to conquer all parts of the world, defeating their enemies and converting all nations, and the godly among the Jews would adopt the Christian faith when the Fifth Monarchy arrived. For Aspinwall, this moment was imminent, and had started with the judgment against and decapitation of Charles I, the “small horn” of Daniel's vision.⁸⁹

Arise Evans, who attributed a Messianic role to the Stuarts, obviously could not agree with Aspinwall's understanding of the Fifth Monarchy. In 1653, Evans declared that Charles II would be Christ's viceroy in the Ultimate Monarchy. Using arguments similar to the ones he wrote later in his 1656/1654 response to Menasseh, Evans stated that the executive power derived from Jesus' legislative power would be given to the royals thus maintaining the principle of the divine right of kings.⁹⁰ Championing the Stuart's and Church of England's cause, Evans apparently had no sponsor or patron during the Commonwealth and Protectorate years. He most probably supported his own editions and, as stated in the imprints, ordered them directly from the printers. It was a different situation from Aspinwall's, who was linked to the emerging Fifth Monarchists group, and actually had their own bookseller/editor, Livewell Chapman.

Chapman was one of those responsible for disseminating and spreading the millenarian debates through printed texts during the turbulent years of 1650's. He and his wife, Hanna, belonged to a group of booksellers and printers that published the pamphlets that fed the millenarian and

⁸⁷ Jeffrey JUE, *Heaven upon Earth* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2006), chap. 9.

⁸⁸ See, for example: John COTTON, *An abstract of laws and government ... collected and digested ... by John Cotton ...; and now published after his death by William Aspinwall* (London: Livewell Chapman, 1655).

⁸⁹ William ASPINWALL, *A brief description...*

⁹⁰ Arise EVANS, *The bloody vision of John Farly interpreted by Arise Evans (...) Also a refutation of a Pamphlet, lately publish by one Aspinwall, called a Brief discription of the fifth Monarchy* (London: 1653).

radical debates from the streets to the Parliament.⁹¹ Unlike Portugal and its possessions, 1640's and 1650's England (and partially New England) had a more favorable environment for controversies through printed texts. In the case of the millenarianist supporters of the Braganza dynasty, or any other form of prophetism in the Portuguese domains, the spreading of prophetic ideas in the written culture was made mainly through means of manuscripts or by a few printed texts published abroad. In the English case, by contrast, the written debate was carried out through pamphlets and books printed in London. The weakening of prior-restraint – almost nonexistent, in practical terms, during the revolutionary years – was in itself a great advantage for the use of printed media in mid-seventeenth century England.⁹² Different from that, during the seventeenth century the Portuguese censorship system became more complex, censoring stages multiplied, and a work could require as many as four prior authorizations in order to be printed. Besides censorship, authors of texts about sensitive subjects in terms of orthodoxy could end up in the court of Inquisition – all the same if the texts were written and printed abroad, as in the case of Vila Real. During Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate and the increasing persecutions and imprisonments of many millenarian radicals, Livewell Chapman among them,⁹³ the written debate kept flowing through the printing and book-selling houses. Cromwell's death in 1658, the brief ascent of his son Richard, as Lord Protector, and the reestablishment of the Commonwealth in 1659 gave still more impetus to the discussions. The diverse models of sovereignty and government that had been discussed and experienced during those turbulent years of experimenting were again put under avid review and passionate discussion.

1659 was consequently a year of intense editorial production. Among more than fifty titles edited by Chapman, he published *Mr. Pryn's Good*

⁹¹ Maureen BELL, "Hannah Allen and the Development of a Puritan Publishing Business, 1646-51"; Verônica Calsoni Lima, *Impresso para ser vendido na Crown em Pope's Head Alley*, chap. 2, 3 and 4.

⁹² The strength of printed matter is not only based on literacy (more widespread, as we known, in Protestant regions, and in England); we should remember that in both England and Portugal (as well as in their overseas domains), oral communication, especially through sermons, was still paramount. Many of these individuals were first known and admired for their oratorical capacity, rather than their writings. For a general view about these questions, see: Fernando BOUZA, *Corre manuscrito. Una historia cultural del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2001); N. H. KEEBLE (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Writing of the English Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

⁹³ See: Bernard CAPP, *The Fifth-monarchy Men*; Verônica CALSONI LIMA, *Impresso para ser vendido na Crown em Pope's Head Alley*, chap. 4.

Old Cause,⁹⁴ by John Rogers, his former fellow inmate and once a radical Fifth Monarchy Man. It was partially a response to the criticism made by Puritan Divine Richard Baxter to the Fifth Monarchy Men's actions during the Protectorate, but was primarily a reply to William Prynne's suggestion that the execution of Charles I had been a Papist coup and not a divine sign of the beginning of the Saints' Republic.⁹⁵ Prynne counter-replied with *The Re-Publicans and other Spurious Good Old Cause*,⁹⁶ to which Rogers wrote another rejoinder, *Diapoliteia*,⁹⁷ also published by Chapman. In *Diapoliteia*, Rogers vehemently refuted Prynne's conclusion that the Commonwealth and its "Free State" were the result of a plot by Papists and Jesuits.⁹⁸ Rogers not only attacked Prynne's remarks about republican government, but also turned his ammunition against Baxter (once more) and James Harrington, the author of *Oceana* (1656) – also edited by Chapman. The polemic between Rogers and Prynne kept going throughout the year 1659.⁹⁹

According to Prynne's critical vision of the Commonwealth, the republican regime weakened England with the end of the monarchy, and, therefore, would more easily yield to a Spanish guided Catholic Supremacy. To him, the so-called "Free State" was characterized by a proliferation of sects and tiny groups that battled against one another over power and destroyed the government and religious unity, something that could never occur under an absolute monarchy, such as the Stuarts'. Prynne sought to combat the sectarians, such as Quakers and Fifth Monarchy Men, because he believed, as others at his time, that their Commonwealth projects were new renditions of Jesuit, "Papist" attempts and plots designed to divide

⁹⁴ John ROGERS, *Mr. Pryn's good old cause stated and stunted 10 years ago...* (London: Chapman, 1659).

⁹⁵ See: Jaime Fernando dos SANTOS Jr., *John Rogers e a disputa pela Commonwealth: Debates e polémicas com James Harrington, William Prynne e Richard Baxter na Segunda República inglesa* (M.A. Thesis, Unifesp, 2014).

⁹⁶ William PRYNNE, *The re-publicans and others spurious good old cause...* ([London]: 1659).

⁹⁷ John ROGERS, *Diapoliteia. A Christian concertation with Mr. Prin, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Harrington, for the true cause of the Commonwealth...* (London: Livewell Chapman, 1659).

⁹⁸ John ROGERS, *Diapoliteia*, 4. That idea was neither exclusively of Prynne nor was he the first to defend it. The Puritan Baxter, also contested by Rogers, saw in the sectarianism (of the Quakers, for instance) a sign of a Papist plot too. Actually, the link among sectarianism, non-conformism, independentism and 'papism' was a common-place in seventeenth-century England and even in the Protestant countries. One example is the vivid pamphlet *The plot of Jesuits* (London: Spark, 1653) and even the story of the edition and translation of Campanella's messianic works in Protestant parts of Europe.

⁹⁹ William PRYNNE, *A brief necessary vindication of the old and new secluded Members...* (London: Edward Thomas, 1659).

England. He tried to demonstrate this in his reading of *De Monarchia Hispanica*,¹⁰⁰ by Tommaso Campanella, whom Prynne called the “Second Machiavelli”.¹⁰¹ Campanella was not a Jesuit, but rather a Dominican, and even less a Machiavellian – indeed, quite the opposite. But for Prynne, as for many Englishmen and women, calling someone a Jesuit was an insult synonymous with both Papist and Machiavellian. He wrote a preface to Campanella’s text, *De Monarchia Hispanica*, in a 1660 English translation, stating that readers could now, with the Dominican’s treatise in their hands, prove the veracity of his arguments¹⁰². Based also on Daniel, Campanella’s *Monarchy* was one of so many Catholic works which postulated that absolute sovereignty would only be fulfilled with the universal subjection of the world to Rome and the Catholic Monarchies.¹⁰³ In Revolutionary England, as before in other Protestant countries, his proposal was taken as a secret counsel to the Spanish kings by an influential man of cloth – thus ignoring that Campanella had spent almost three decades imprisoned in Hapsburg Naples in the vice-regal and Inquisition jails for rebellion and heresy. His proposal of a Universal Monarchy, guided by the Spanish kings and coordinated by Rome, was understood by his English readers as a plan to be executed in the 1650s, even though it had been written between 1595 and 1600. Most interestingly, Prynne saw in Campanella’s work a substantial overlap with the Fifth Monarchists’ projects. According to him, that proximity indicated not only the reading of the Friar’s work by the sectarian and millenarian Saints, but also that they had followed Campanella’s advice about ruining England, as it had occurred from 1647 on. Therefore, to Prynne, the English Civil Wars and the end of royalty would have been the results of the Fifth Monarchy Men and other sectarian projects, but having a Catholic root in Campanella and his “Jesuit Plot”.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ William PRYNNE, *A true and perfect narrative of what was acted...* (London: 1659), 18-9.

¹⁰¹ In 1648, Prynne had already used the term but for Cromwell and his supporters: *The Machiavilian Cromwellist and Hypocritical perfidious New Statist...* (London: 1648).

¹⁰² Tommaso CAMPANELLA, *Thomas Campanella an Italian friar and second Machiavel* (London: Philemon Stephens, [1660]). Campanella’s text had already been published in 1653, and had aroused some repercussion as corroboration that there was really a Jesuit conspiracy to convert the island into Catholicism. See: *The plot of Jesuits*.

¹⁰³ See: John M. HEADLEY, *Tommaso Campanella and the Transformation of the World* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1997), chap. 5; John MARINO, “An anti-campanellan vision of the Spanish Monarchy and the crisis of 1595”, in *A Renaissance of conflicts: visions and revisions of law and society in Italy and Spain* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2004); António VASCONCELOS DE SALDANHA, “Da ideia de ‘Império’ na obra do Padre António Vieira S.J.”, in *Celebrazioni Colombiane. Ricerche giuridiche e politiche. Materiali I/2* (Roma, [1997?]).

¹⁰⁴ William PRYNNE, “Premonitory Epistle” to *Thomas Campanella...*; see: *The plot of Jesuits*.

Prynne's reasoning, by which all his adversaries were at the same time Machiavellian, radical, Puritan and Catholic sectarians, does not serve as a very basis for supposing that the Fifth Monarchists had actually read Campanella. However, it indicates some interesting aspects within that debate. On the one hand, it reveals not only the existence of an Anti-Fifth Monarchist discourse, but also a common negative perception of any Millenarian hope. On the other hand, Prynne's writings indicate the reception in England of texts generated in the Iberian sphere of influence,¹⁰⁵ and point out the importance and broader reception of Campanella's treaty in the seventeenth-century political culture.

Heading in the opposite direction, *De Monarchia Hispanica* undergirded another work, the *Política Española* by Juan de Salazar,¹⁰⁶ the one quoted by Antonio Vieira in his "Carta apologética". Salazar, as it seems, knew Campanella and had access to his work, in manuscript form. He used Campanella's arguments (without quoting) to create a Universal Monarchy project from the Iberian crown,¹⁰⁷ involving the two "chosen peoples" (Portuguese and Spanish) and their overseas empires. Salazar anchored his millenarian proposal on the very foundation of Iberian monarchies and their expansion throughout the world, and on an Anti-Machiavellian and Christian "Reason of State". He had written the work in Rome, under the impact of the battle against the Ottomans and wishing for the continuation of the Reconquest war spirit. Consequently, he defended Christian purity of blood and the expulsion of New Christians, Jews and Moors from the Hispanic territories as main goals of the Final and Universal Monarchy.

¹⁰⁵ Another example, Prynne had also read Duarte Nunes Leão and the sebastianist friar José Teixeira. William PRYNNE. *The fourth part of The soveraigne pœwver of parliaments and kingdomes* (London: Michael Sparke, 1643), 57-8. About the reception of Iberian texts in the English world, see: Jorge CAÑIZARES-ESGUERRA, *Puritan Conquistadors. Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2006), esp. chap. 2 and 4; Geoffrey PARKER, "The Place of Tudor England in the Messianic Vision of Philip II of Spain: The Prothero Lecture". *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 167-221. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3679344>.

¹⁰⁶ Juan de SALAZAR. *Política Española* (Logroño: Por Diego Mares, 1619). See also: Jesús Lada, "'La política española' de Fray Juan de Salazar". *Berceo*, 58-61 (1961). About Vieira's reading: Antônio VASCONCELOS DE SALDANHA. "A dimensão política dos escritos messiânicos do Padre Antônio Vieira", in *Vieira escritor*, 258, 267-8, 273; Leonel Ribeiro SANTOS, "Nacionalismo messiânico e milenarismo universalista: Vieira e a crise de consciência histórica do Barroco", in *Estudos*, Isabel Almeida et al., ed. (Lisbon: FLUL, 2007), 588-9.

¹⁰⁷ Henry MÉCHOULAN, "Juan de Salazar, Lecteur de *La Monarchie Espagnole* de T. Campanella dans *La Politique Espagnole*", *Ethno-psychologie* (March 1973): 103-12; Mireille HADAS-LEBEL and Henry MÉCHOULAN, "Introduction", in *La pierre glorieuse de Nabuchodonosor, ou, la fin de l'histoire au XVIIe siècle*, Menasseh ben Israel (Paris: Vrin, 2007), 35-9; Martim de ALBUQUERQUE, *Campanella e Portugal* (Lisboa: Aletheia, 2009), 50.

I now return to Vieira, who read and avidly used Salazar as one of the foundations for his Fifth Empire ideas. When Vieira was on trial, he quoted Salazar's work to justify a Portuguese Universal Monarchy.¹⁰⁸ In 1686 "Carta Apologética", besides the biblical books and Bandarra, Salazar's *Política Española* appears as the most quoted work, followed closely by Bocarro's texts. Bocarro, the New Christian doctor and astrologer of Portuguese origin, exiled in Hamburg, and Salazar, the Spanish Dominican, Old Christian and defender of the Inquisition, working in South Italy, both serving the Habsburg crown. Both of them were thinking about the imperial dimension, the conquest of the world, and an ultimate (Iberian-headed) kingdom on earth. Both, despite their differences in origin, residence, and whom they supported, were used by Vieira to construct his arguments and defend the construction of his Portuguese Fifth Empire. They are circuits which seem to close here, albeit more as a result of an intended effect of verisimilitude. In a more interesting and richer fashion, these circuits show that, in the seventeenth century, millenarianist expectations and the American, European, Jewish, and Christian experiences arranged themselves in combinations that were at times unexpected and even paradoxical.

Conclusion: The New World, Global Conversion, Absolute Power, and the experiences and expectations about the Fifth Monarchy

These combinations gravitated around a wider discussion about forms of power. If the hypothesis of leading classical scholars such as Charles Tilly – and even, in some way, Braudel – are correct, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed a clash between structures and diverse institutions of political organization, namely the republics, empires and states.¹⁰⁹ The brief mapping of seventeenth century millenarianists prompted to ask these questions in the face of the institutional crises and rearrangements in European monarchies. However, they looked toward a horizon of expectations in which sovereignty would eventually be established. It would be, *de facto* and *de jure*, absolute. The temporal republics and governments would always be a provisional reflection of

¹⁰⁸ See Antônio VIEIRA. *Representação perante o Tribunal do Santo Ofício* (Lisbon: IN/CM, 2008), vol. II, 35, 67, 157, 163, 191 passim.

¹⁰⁹ See: Charles TILLY, *Coercion, capital, and European states, AD 990-1990* (Cambridge, Mass., USA: B. Blackwell, 1990); Fernand BRAUDEL, *El Mediterráneo y el mundo mediterráneo en la época de Felipe II* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1995), t. II, chap. IV.

the absolute sovereignty of the Universal Monarchy. The most radical millenarianists, such as the English Fifth Monarchists, considered all monarchies (and churches) to be distorted and perverted images, and, consequently, diabolical and tyrannical institutions to be purged in order to prepare the ground for the rule of the Saints and Christ. Others, such as the Braganza millenarianists, molded the hopes of constructing an earthly kingdom of Christ around the figure of a king (or a dynasty). All of them had the idea of a chosen nation and specific spaces fated to be the head of this new empire, which would fulfill Daniel's prophecy. From a European-centered perspective, these spaces and nations would define the vantage point from which all parts of the world would be re-organized in the final act of world history. Let's recall some of the core characters and stages for these seventeenth century millenarian plots and their desired and expected endings.

First, we have to consider the points of contact between those worlds, usually harbors and commercial cities, and in particular Amsterdam. There are several hypotheses and studies that try to explain the role of seventeenth century Amsterdam in the reception and diffusion of religious ideas. It is enough to recognize that in Amsterdam, although within legal limits and an evident and clear hierarchy fiercely defended by the Calvinist Reformed Church, Protestants from various denominations coexisted, "New Jews" were allowed to express their faith, and, on a smaller scale, even Catholics were tolerated (as long as they were discreet).¹¹⁰ Amsterdam therefore functioned as a convergent hub of millenarian ideas, and, even more importantly, the arrival of news about the signs that would announce the end of the world. Although the Dutch harbor was an exchange point where one could find out about novelties from every corner (and from every religion), I was not able to verify at this point of the research if Amsterdam served as a communications link between Iberian Catholic and Northern Protestant expectations, that is, if it contributed to more direct interactions between Portuguese millenarians and English Fifth Monarchists.

However, it is important to highlight one specific agent and its centrality to the prophetic links, even if, as far as I can tell, it was more a vortex than a spreading point through which different parts became connected. I am referring to the role of the "New Jews" and New Christians of Por-

¹¹⁰ R. Po-Chia HSIA and Henk VAN NIEROP (ed.), *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

tuguese origin as intermediaries between the two sides of Christendom, Catholic and Protestant. Manoel Bocarro Francês (alias Jacob Rosales) and Menasseh Ben Israel (alias Manuel Dias Soeiro) exemplify this. The fact that they had known both sides of the confessional world (Catholic, by formation; Protestant, by acquaintanceship) gave Bocarro and Menasseh easier path access to negotiate with both types of Christians. Menasseh, in particular, was the Jewish contact for both Braganza Catholics and English Puritan and Independent Millenarians. He discussed, corresponded and wrote for both sides, interested in and welcoming the “New Jews”. Although “philo-semitic” positions were not generalized in the seventeenth century Christian world (on the contrary),¹¹¹ a judeo-centric perspective was the mortar of these relationships, moved both by Messianic hope and commercial and monetary interests for Christian republics support. In this sense, the Jews (in particular, the ones of New Christian origin) developed a role that would go beyond mediation.

Secondly, for the Christian millenarians, a key question was what to do with the Jewish role in God’s design. More than that, which Jews are involved in it? On the one hand, if news about the Lost Tribes in the Americas was true, it would demand urgency to the debates over the destiny of the Jewish populations in Europe and the Near East. Should they also be converted? Or just the ones from the Lost Tribes coming from the New World? On the other hand, there was still a certain level of esteem for the first “chosen people”, especially among English Puritans, Independents and Non-Conformists, and recognition that the eschatological tradition (with the exception of the Book of Revelations) was rooted primarily in the Old Testament. The Jewish question was thus rather essential for the Fifth Monarchy’s coming, and knowing what to do with the “Gente de Nação” proved to be an important issue. The topic of universal conversion was also under discussion: in the Last Kingdom, would the final redemption of humankind be promoted more by the destruction of God’s enemies or by the missionary task of reclaiming the major part of them to the true faith?

¹¹¹ Noah H. Rosenbloom pointed out the limits of the Dutch Reformed acceptance and tolerance towards Jewish reflected upon in his article about Menasseh’s *Conciliador*. Noah H. ROSENBLOOM, “Discreet Theological Polemics in Menasseh ben Israel’s ‘Conciliador’”, *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, Vol. 58 (1992), 143-5. For the Catholic world, see, among others: Bruno FEITLER, “O catolicismo como ideal: produção literária antijudaica no mundo português da Idade Moderna”. *Novos estudos CEBRAP*, 72 (2005).

Last but not least, the conquest of America presented challenges to the eschatological and biblical schemes to explain the world. Where could this new land and these new peoples be put in the divine plan? How could they be included in the existing explanations of humanity's development following the Flood? What is their origin and what is the role for the end times? The news about the conversion of Americas' indigenous peoples (from North to South), about the disputes for territory (as in Dutch Brazil), and about the origin of the indigenous peoples (and the possible presence of Hebrew tribes) attracted the attention of Christian (and Jewish) millenarians. It was not only a theoretical role of America, though. Several of the individuals discussed here had, in varied degrees, concrete contacts and, many times, long sojourns in the New World. Beyond Montesinos, Vieira was raised and studied in Brazil and was a missionary in Maranhão; Aspinwall migrated to New England and had contact with Cotton's ideas there; Menasseh kept business in Pernambuco through his relatives. These living experiences increased the growing perception that the Americas were an important piece – essential in some cases – in the game of European powers' balance and maintenance. In short, while the Americas (or rather, the New World) was not the place where Fifth Monarchy's head would be installed – that was still located in the Old World –,¹¹² their “discovery” re-dimensioned the apocalyptic proposals. It transformed the view of the Universal and Ultimate Reign, by enlarging the idea of domain over the whole Earth and of all peoples. That implied rethinking the (absolute) sovereign models. At the same time, this global amplification also meant bigger disputes and battles with the necessary increase of expenses, for which the capital of “Gente de Nação” would present itself as a bountiful and necessary source for the overseas empires.

Summarizing and adapting Koselleck's categories, one can view the role of Jews and the Americas (and their peoples) in sixteenth-century prophecy through the key of expectation and experience. On the one hand, living in the midst of this overseas experience of imperial disputes, the “New Jews” served as mediators, contacts, interlocutors and even repositories of information, and thought their situation facing a world

¹¹² There were, nevertheless, individuals that defended that the Fifth Monarchy would be in the Americas, such as Friar Francisco de La Cruz, in sixteenth-century Peru, and Pedro Rates Hanequim, in eighteenth-century Brazil. For a discussion of both cases, see: Nachtan WACHTEL, “Théologies marranes: Une configuration millénariste”; Luís Filipe Silvério LIMA, “Between the New and the Old World”.

in change.¹¹³ It had a counterpart in the action of some Christians who realized the need to host the New Christians and Jews (especially the “Portuguese Jews”) in their states, and, as a result, to enter political-religious disputes and debates, sometimes with dreadful consequences for them. These experiences were articulated in discussions about the importance of Jews at the end of times, and to what extent the news about the Lost Tribes implied a re-framing of their hopes. On the other hand, the Americas constituted a “space of experience”, not only as a source of news, but also as a concrete place in which living experiences and contacts had implications for the known Christian (and Old) world. If the New World did not necessarily become the chosen or prophesied site for fulfillment of the ultimate divine plan, it modified the “horizons of expectation” of seventeenth-century millenarian discourse. Then, the former historical perception based on longing for a spiritual and Heavenly reign on Earth was enlarged to add an active hope by which humankind should act – politically, religiously, and economically – to speed up the coming of the Fifth Monarchy.

¹¹³ Brandon MARRIOTT, *Transnational networks and cross-religious exchange in the seventeenth-century Mediterranean and Atlantic worlds*, “Introduction”.

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