

**“I who know no Hebrew”¹ –
On the Relationship between Language,
Identity, and Millenarian Expectations as
Exemplified by Oliger Paulli²**

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Abstract: As a “friend of the Jews,” the seventeenth-century Danish visionary Holger Paulli tried to convert the Jews to his “Jehovan Church.” His beliefs were based not only on the Bible but also on visions and revelations from his God “Jehova,” who spoke in many languages to him and miraculously made him understand Hebrew, although he had never studied it. One of the pillars of his ambition to found a new religion of true Jews and true Christians was a revealed translation of the Sayings of Jesus of Nazareth on the Cross. In Paulli’s understanding, his “Jehovans” would rule the world under the Messiah, who, although he was the returned Christ, was closer to the Jewish concept of the Messiah. Holger Paulli’s self-image was shaped by his role as God’s messenger and symbolized by a divine transformation of his name to “Oliger.” While he was never very successful in his attempts, Paulli was persecuted for his “love for the Jews.”

1. Introduction

Oliger Paulli (1644–1714) was a religious individual who played many roles and earned many names: Christian millenarist, unsuccessful religious entrepreneur, political protagonist, and early Zionist. These labels are forms of religious attribution and religious differentiation, scientific description and political agitation. He moved on the borders of the unutterable and often crossed beyond them. His beliefs were a hybrid of Jewish and Christian ideas saturated with cabbalistic and mystical thoughts. This hybrid alienated many of his fellow men, as did any deep and “friendly” interest in Judaism in the early modern period. Scholars dealing with Jewish topics in this period were often accused of being on the side of the Jews if they did not criticize them harshly. In his environment, Paulli was a stranger and was isolated and rejected. His public statements led to persecution, arrest, and forced exile. Below is an account of the life and the religious body of thought of Oliger Paulli. The act of verbalizing and publishing his religious ideas was a turning point in Paulli’s religious self-identification. Further, many of Paulli’s religious statements had the Hebrew language as their central theme. For his self-presentation as a messenger of God and for his reception as a

religious author, Paulli's understanding of Hebrew and the translation of biblical and ancient texts played an important role.

2. Life

Born in Copenhagen on 18 March 1644, Oliger Paulli was baptized as Holger (Zedler 1740, 1454). After growing up in a well-situated, respected, and educated family, he became an accountant with the Danish West India–Guinea Company (Paulli 1704a, 30). As an established merchant he gained considerable wealth, and from 1684 on he owned his own ship, which transported slaves, among other cargoes (von der Hardt 1702, 17; Nielsen 1892, 96–128). Johann Christoph Adelung, a historian and specialist in German studies, later cynically stated that Paulli had had “rare luck” and

[gained] a remarkable fortune so that he was thought to be the wealthiest merchant in Denmark. [...] If the acquisition of great wealth is evidence of much good sense, Pauli must certainly have had a lot of it; but all other circumstances reveal the contrary: the revelations and visions which he claimed never abandoned him, prompted him very naturally to perform many stupid tricks (Adelung 1787, 376).³

Paulli recounted his biography in many of his writings, including a detailed account of his life in the “Short Report to All the Powers of Europe” (Paulli 1704a). In this work, the author depicted himself as one chosen by God. He informed the reader that miracles had happened before his birth and during his childhood. To legitimate himself as the rightful messenger of God, he claimed to be a descendant of the biblical King David. He also asserted that one of his great-grandfathers was a converted Jew. His conduct was incomprehensible to his contemporaries, who could not understand why someone would want to belong to the marginalized Jews, subjected to discrimination. His opponents were led to declare him insane. However, he was aware of this negative reputation.

He was under the illusion that his great-grandfather, Hans Pauli, mayor of Schwerin, was a Jew of the house of David who converted to Christianity. He, as his great-grandson, had inherited the right to be the king and prophet of the Jews. On his mother's side, he believed, he was a Dane of the branch of Simran, son of Abraham and Ketura, the ancestor of the Cimbri [the Danish people, J. K.], and as such had legitimate authority. He claimed to be the promised king

of peace of Holy Scripture and King Solomon of Psalm 72 (Bolten 1791, 87).⁴

In his autobiography, Paulli described his path of enlightenment. In the year 1651, at the age of only seven years and without any knowledge of the Bible, he was “taken” by the “light.” Two years later, while he was studying the story of Sarai/Sarah and Abram/Abraham, the characters הרה appeared to him, which made him aware that the Jews should be restored to God. After his mother’s death when he was twelve, he concluded a contract with the Lord to be a pious child. As a sign of this agreement, his name was transformed in a wondrous way (Paulli 1704a, 16f.).

When I signed this childish treaty, which was something very new and unheard of since the creation of the world, I was directed to change my Christian name HOLGER into OLIGER, like Saulus to Paulus, Abram to אברהם, und Sara to סרה, Simon bar-jona in Simon Petrus הוצור Deut[eronomy] 32:4, Mt [Matthew] 16:18. And I heard a voice to my left outside of me that led me to date this writing anno 1657 instead of anno 1656.

Without my knowing it, my name Oliger became the Hebrew word עוליגר, which means my little child which is still suckling the breast, Oלי infantulus, lacteus, fetus, גר stranger.

Truly, I say, I am a proper stranger in Jewish things but nevertheless speak with them about the God Israel, so God is; only my master is strong within the weak and the prophecy is fulfilled in me Utzelman,⁵ Is[aiiah] 42:18,19,20 (Paulli 1704a, 18–19).⁶

The Hebrew letter He plays a crucial role in Paulli’s numerous reflections on the name of God and on the essence of God as true love. The letter He as part of the name of Holger/Oliger and the He of the name of God was intended to show the bond between Paulli and God (Paulli 1697, 110ff.). He describes the unspeakable name of God in his work “Triumph, Triumph” as a He surrounded by three Yods (Paulli 1697, 318), representing the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in the He of Abraham. The triune unity consists of light, love, and life (Paulli 1697, 527ff.). In his later works, Paulli dealt with further names of God. To redeem Israel, it was Paulli’s duty, he believed, to herald the ineffable name.

Paulli’s autobiographical narrative recounts how he listened to the preachings of believers of different denominations in various European cities. He thus gives himself the aura of a widely traveled expert in religious affairs and a pious believer (Paulli 1696, 211). Besides, in his writings he points insistently to his divine election and tries to create credibility by repeatedly mentioning his assumed lineage and historical descent from biblical heroes, as well as numerous miracles that

occurred in his presence. In 1658, for example, “his Jehova” saved him from drowning on the high seas when the leaking ship was miraculously repaired by a crash with a rock.

On a trade journey to Portugal in 1671, he received another divine message near Lisbon ordering him to preach the “gospel of Abraham” among the Jews and the Christians, even though he was not a scholar and knew no Hebrew (Paulli 1704a, 22ff.). With reference to his ignorance of the Hebrew language, he quoted Mark 16:17: “And these signs shall follow them that believe; In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues.” However, twenty more years passed before he proclaimed his message in public. In his later years, he did not tire of reaffirming his inability to speak Hebrew. It must be noted, however, that he probably enrolled to study theology and philosophy at the University of Copenhagen in 1671 and thus gained some knowledge of the language (Schoeps 1952, 55–56). The claim that he was unable to speak Hebrew, although he obviously used it, was certainly intended to legitimate his status as a divine messenger.

In 1675 Paulli married Elisabeth von Gendern. But he claimed that before this “worldly marriage,” God, his heavenly soul-bridegroom, had appeared to him “in the shape of a man Gen[esis] 32:24–30, Is[aiah] 54:3–4 brighter than the light of moon and sun, warm as blood and refreshing” (Paulli 1704a, 52).⁷ Paulli said that God had become his heavenly husband and he was to name Him “Jehoeva.”

At the moment of this holy vision, instead of my hip as with Jacob, the left side of my face was disfigured; also my eye began dropping tears from time to time, up to this day, which I take as a sign of love. Every tear reminds me: and Jesus weeps over Jerusalem. So do not weep over me, but rather over yourselves and your children, be gone then with Asab (Paulli 1704a, 54).⁸

During a stay in 1695 in Paris, which he had probably already visited in 1694 (Jantzen 1898, 567–568), the sense of mission became so strong that Paulli began to preach his gospel to a small circle of people. In the following year, his book *Noachs Duyve, of Goede Tyding uyt Canaan* (Noah’s dove, or good news from Canaan) was published anonymously. In it he explained that on 25 March 1695, the “eternal God Jehova face to face” appeared to an unnamed person in order to bring salvation to the Jews and to unite all sects in the true religion of Jehova. The adepts of this true religion were to be named “Jehovanen” (Jehovans) (Paulli 1696, 3). With this publication, Paulli wanted to reach a wider audience and to build a community. Paulli saw himself as a true servant of God who was preaching a gospel that had been revealed by Jesus Christ. His aim was not to be pleasing to humans, because the gospel he heralded was not human.

Remarkable in Paulli's first work are the changes in the narrative perspective. The omniscient narrator at the beginning is progressively replaced by a first-person narrator who is a "person to whom God appeared." At first, the book provides the reader with little information, but as the text progresses, additional biographical details reveal the visionary to be Olinger Paulli. Thus he documents his process of self-discovery as a religious author. The narrator, who initially keeps his distance from the story, increasingly identifies himself during the writing as the visionary himself. One receives the impression that the conversion of the author to visionary is completed by the very act of expressing thought in words, or rather in writing. For this reason, the act of verbalization is the culminating point in the process of religious identification.

Language was of enormous significance to Paulli, as is demonstrated by his peculiar habit of "substantiating" the importance of his religious messages and his dramatic visions by adopting a change or shift of meaning in Hebrew words and letters, such as his own name.⁹ His God Jehova spoke to him in Hebrew, and Hebrew characters were continually revealed to him. Thus language, especially Hebrew, was for Paulli not only a way to express himself but also a basic part of his religious message and – more crucially – a fundamental part of his identity as medium of a divine message (Paulli 1704b, Vorbericht 265). He understood himself as a friend of the Jewish people, because they could speak in the same language. "For the Jews I turned from *Lo Amy* [no friend, J. K.] to *Amy* [friend, J. K.], because I am able to talk with them in this holy truth [...]" (Paulli 1704b, Vorbericht 265).¹⁰

In *Noachs Duyve*, a publication for which he disclosed his identity as author in his later works, he wrote about his uncertainty concerning the huge task God had assigned to him and his lack of academic learning, which made him ashamed to address his message to the Jews:

He was strongly convinced that Jehovah himself was the one who had called and commissioned him; he was also certain, however, that God the Lord would request of none something beyond his power and ability. Because he believed that he was not up to this commission, because he had not studied [at university, J. K.] and could not express himself in any language, either in written or oral form, he humbled himself in front of God the Lord and begged Him for assurance that the spoken words were [truly] given him as an answer (Paulli 1696, 369–370).¹¹

After this uncertainty as to whether he was the right person to receive divine revelation, God resolved all his doubts in several dreams. Paulli accepted his mission, even though this meant humiliation for him and his family, as well as the loss of his fortune. He claimed that he was fully aware of taking "cap and bells" and making a mockery of himself:

Yet my Jehova, see here I am. I offer myself wholeheartedly to you, the prosperity or ruin and the disgrace of my beloved children and my sad darling, esteemed turtledove, and mirror of the divine Love. All that is in my ownership I put in your hands to do with as the potter does with clay, according to your will and pleasure. And if it is to your liking to give me the fool's hat and to present me to the world as a great fool, Your holy will shall be done. Let only that happen which is to your honor, and I will this with cheerfulness in my heart and soul like the cheerful spirit I saw shining from the picture of St. Paul mentioned above, and it shines on my heart with the spirit of St. Ian flying high up in heaven (whom you also showed me), as he was dressed in a pink-colored robe. Let my work be fortunate so that I may give you the red and white roses, the bloody law and the holy gospel, uniting Jewry and Christianity in you, as a pure bride, oh bridegroom of our souls (Paulli 1696, 371).¹²

Accepting his divine mission, Paulli decided to abandon his regular life and left his wife and six children in Copenhagen.¹³ He went to Amsterdam, hoping to be able to follow his divine call, and in the following years he spent the remainder of his fortune on the publication of his religious writings. He became alienated from his former social milieu, because he accused his fellow merchants, as well as lawyers, judges, politicians, and public servants, of investing more in their worldly wealth than in their salvation. Paulli even admonished kings to fear the punishment of God if they failed to follow His will (Paulli 1696, 255ff).

3. Teachings

Paulli's first book presented the central elements of his thought, some of which he would later elaborate more fully and some of which would decline in importance. It is difficult to systemize his ideas because they varied over the years and his personal "mystical" language is sometimes hard to understand. Nevertheless, I will attempt a summary of his basic ideas.

Paulli's religious beliefs were fundamentally based on the Bible, to which he added the content of his revelations. For Paulli, religion was a matter of personal and direct relatedness to God. Hence, he rejected any theology or scholarship not produced by divine inspiration (Paulli 1696, 95ff.). Despite this reaction, he attempted to write in a scholarly, erudite language that was saturated with mystical phrases. Paulli filled many pages with speculations regarding numbers and Hebrew letters to support his claim of divine inspiration. Religious experience is central to Paulli's argumentation. In his understanding, it is the key to knowledge per se.

Paulli assumed that the Bible contains encrypted messages that he could decode by rearranging and adding words or letters, though the success of this undertaking, he argued, depended on being in a “divine cabbalistic light” (Paulli 1700a, 165ff.). Here Paulli used gematria, or hermeneutical techniques based on the analogy of letters and numbers in the Hebrew language and the belief that God gave every single letter of the Torah a meaning (Pritz 1996, 121–131; Scholem 2007, 425–427). According to the Talmud, the world was built with the aid of 22 letters.¹⁴ In addition, some mystics assumed that language and cosmic events were interdependent. They understood divine texts as keys making it possible to decode the course of the world and calculate the end of time. Language was seen not just as a symbolic means of expression but as part of the cosmos, and its usage could affect the world in positive or negative ways.¹⁵

In Paulli’s view, scholars of all religions were far from this “cabbalistic” insight. Despite their sincere quests for truth – he names Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Mennonites, Socinians, Arminians, Remonstrants, and “suchlike sects” (Paulli 1696, 268) – they had not achieved the true and only knowledge of God. For instance, the doctrine of the Trinity was a lie produced by theologians, he asserted, and was not based on the Bible. The “truth” about the nature of God and the Messiah consisted in their “Eenig Enigste Eenigheid” (united unified unity) (Paulli 1696, 21) in one person.

In Paulli’s view, the false teachings of the churches were due to wrong translation of the Bible and to the First Council of Nicaea (325 C. E.). In his later works, Paulli’s opinion manifests itself more and more in his critique of the translation of the Sayings of Jesus on the Cross, including the fourth saying, “Eli Eli lama sabachthani – My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?” (Matthew 27:46). Paulli suggested a different translation, in his understanding the only correct one, which God had revealed to him.¹⁶ According to Paulli, Jesus called out, “My God, my God, how you glorify me.”¹⁷ Paulli thus replaced the image of a Messiah on the cross abandoned by God with that of a victorious savior, despite crucifixion. In his view, the Messiah had already come and would come a second time to ascend the throne of his kingdom. These doctrines were the foundation of Paulli’s church.

Paulli believed that the “filthy churches” (Paulli 1704b, 311) praised only a “filthy God” (Paulli 1697, 67). With this statement he attacked the dogmas of both the Catholic Church and the Protestant churches. He especially attacked what he believed was the Catholic hagiolatry of the Virgin Mary, which he viewed as polytheism, and claimed that the Catholic Church had transformed Roman deities into saints. He accused the Protestants of having replaced the saints with “Mammon,” thus founding a religion of merchants (Paulli 1696, 268ff; Paulli 1697, 50 and

84ff.). Paulli also took a firm stand on the rituals of the churches, such as baptism:

[...] these main sects, including all so-called Pietists, Socinians, Quietists, Quakers, the so-called Millenarians and the Thousandmen in England, as well as Mohammed, etc., are complete pagans, outside the faith of the father of believers Abraham. In fact, they are less **Abrahams'** children through their baptism and gospel than the circumcised Jews at the time of JESUS (Paulli, 1704b, Vorbericht 5).¹⁸

Although Paulli felt attached to the Jewish religion, he also criticized it for not seeing the true God and still having the “veil of Moses” over it (Ex 34:29 ff.) (Paulli 1700a, 35ff.). He attempted to discuss his religious beliefs with Jews and hoped to win them to his religion. His opponents regarded Paulli’s “love of the Jews” with suspicion. People noticed that he would knock at the door of the synagogue and try to befriend them and thus regarded him as a “Judentzer” (Judaizer).

[...] Oliger Paulli often kissed the Jews of Amsterdam and said, you dear people, you are so fortunate. It seemed that because he wanted to become the king of the Jews he kissed the Jews, as Absalom did for the same reason, to steal their heart and to attract them [...] (Schudt 1717, 317).¹⁹

Oliger Paulli’s ambition was to unite all religions in the one true religion of Jehova, the Jehovan Church.²⁰ He therefore not only proselytized among Jews but also announced his religious message to Christians, Moslems, and “heathens.” The members of his church, the Jehovans, would become true Israelites through union with Jehova, after which they would celebrate the Lord’s Supper in the New Jerusalem (Paulli 1697, 155 ff.). The conversion of the Jews was especially important to Paulli, because he believed that the return of the Messiah depended upon it. Paulli believed that the Christian mission to the Jews had failed because the Christians had presented the wrong image of Christ to them: a Messiah abandoned by God was an unacceptable idea in Jewish eyes. Paulli was convinced that he could resolve this by teaching the “right” image of the Messiah, based on his divine inspirations.

Paulli’s salvation plan for the beginning of the reign of a thousand years envisioned big changes in the political landscape. For a start, the European monarchs would go to war against the Ottoman Empire and seize the Holy Land.²¹ After this, the converted Jews would return to Canaan and rule over all people, in the union of all “true Israelites” in the Jehovan Church, and build the Third Temple of Jerusalem before the return of the Messiah in 1720.²² In the eyes of Paulli, the European monarchs were important agents for the fulfillment of this plan, in partic-

ular the king of England and the dauphin of France. Paulli recognized William III of England (1650–1702) as the savior of the Israelites and believed he would be the first Jehovan king. Paulli therefore regarded it as his duty to convince these sovereigns to take on their divinely appointed tasks, and for this reason his writings have a distinct quality of appeal. Occasionally he published entreaties addressed directly to these sovereigns.²³

Paulli promised his readers a brighter future in which the marginalized of the present day would rule together with Paulli in the name of the Messiah. Even though Paulli wanted to involve the European rulers in the realization of his plans, his new and perfect future world was a counter-image of the present social order and as such was a striking criticism of contemporary society. Indeed, the idea of the world supremacy of the “true Israelites” had a revolutionary potential that was dangerous for the existing order. This is one reason why Paulli and his adherents were persecuted.

In addition, Paulli never tired of writing against the Christian hatred of Jews. He used sophisticated arguments and at the same time decried existing social evils (Paulli 1702). That did not prevent him from harshly criticizing the Jewish and Christian religions and trying to convert Jews to his religious views, a task he regarded as his holy mission. In that respect, he did not differ from his Christian contemporaries, with their eagerness to convert the Jews. Like his fellow Christians, he argued that Jews were circumcised “in the flesh” but not yet “in the heart” (Greisiger 2006).

Despite all his endeavors, Paulli failed to build a sizeable community of Jehovans. He held a few conventicles in Amsterdam and found a few like-minded persons. But his religious ideas were too radically different from the beliefs of the established churches, and Paulli remained a religious nonconformist throughout his life. His beliefs and nonconformist publications eventually landed him in Amsterdam’s prison. With the help of his influential family, however, he was released and was expelled from Amsterdam.²⁴ From there he went to Altona near Hamburg, where he stayed until 1704. He continued his literary activities and promoted his ideas in the Hamburg area, and although he managed to gain a small circle of friends, he was finally forced to leave the region, and his adherents were persecuted. Paulli returned to Copenhagen, where he was closely watched by the authorities. At the king’s behest, he was not allowed to meet any Jew or any pietistic group and was forbidden to publish (Schwarz Lausten 2000, 80–82). He died in his native city in 1714 and, although the church tried to prevent it, was buried in a consecrated churchyard (Nielsen 1882, 102).

Oliger Paulli understood himself as the mouthpiece of God,²⁵ who wanted to found a religious community, the Jehovan Church. He thought it was his vocation to announce his message publicly. The importance

of the aspect of public proclamation should not be underestimated. Without making himself heard, he had no chance of building a religious group. Paulli expressed his beliefs publicly but found very few who were willing to listen. According to Paulli's self-image, he was the spearhead of a small religious elite that would form the leadership of the Messianic empire. Only the Jehovans would be permitted to live in the New Jerusalem. This elitist self-image was expressed in self-designations such as "true Israelite," "true Christian," and "true Jew." These designations contain the ideas of purity and impurity, truth and falseness: others are not the children of God, are not pious, have the wrong belief, and are members of the wrong religion. Those who are not pure, who do not follow the right faith, and who do not practice the right rituals will be discriminated against and segregated.²⁶ Here we find a voluntary and conscious separation from society.²⁷ But society also distinguished itself by regarding religious nonconformists like Paulli as a danger to the established order and by accusing them of lies and deception or mocking them. Paulli was labelled an "archdeceiver," a "false Messiah," just like Sabbatai Zevi, who was mockingly referred to as "King of Jews" or "madman." But these social stigmas and sanctions strengthened Paulli's self-image as a godly messenger whose life path was characterized by prosecution and martyrdom.

4. Conclusion

Oliger Paulli was a member of a pluralistic society, a pluralism negated by its authorities. Paulli was different and strange. He was not easily classifiable and did not fit into any specific religious or political camp. He was generally regarded as a "Judentzer." He understood himself to be a descendant and friend of the Jews and positioned himself in the Jewish tradition. Nevertheless, he did not regard himself a regular Jew but rather as a "Jehovan." His concept of the Messiah increasingly resembled Jewish ideas of the Messiah, but without setting aside the Christian belief in Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah. His idea was that of a global church that would unify all religions, a church in which Jews, Christians, pagans, and Moslems would praise and worship only one God. The source of his ideas was his divine inspirations, which were regarded by those around him as the excesses of a madman. Although his translation of the Sayings of Jesus on the Cross was seriously discussed,²⁸ his opponents nevertheless doubted his sanity. Their strategy marginalized and discredited Paulli and prevented him from having any influence. At the same time, the social stigma strengthened Paulli's perception of himself as an instrument of God exposed to all adversities. The reactions of the outside world consolidated his self-image as well as his adherents' solidarity, for the process of inclusion and exclusion is

always mutual.²⁹ In the case of Oliger Paulli, the Hebrew language was a very important marker in the dialectic of identification and attribution. The Hebrew language – symbol of an idealized Jewish religion – was strongly intertwined with his self-image, even extending to his name change. For this reason, Hebrew was the chosen medium of Paulli's self-staging and self-perception.

Endnotes

- 1 "Ich/ der ich kein Hebräisch verstehe/ wenn Menschen mit Menschen/ es seyn Juden oder Christen mit einander reden/ auch nicht erkenne ihre Schrifftten oder vermag eine Zeile zu lesen/ jedoch zu folge Esa. 42. v.18. Höret ihr Tauben/ und schauet her ihr Blumen/ daß ihr sehet" (Oliger Paulli: [...] *Irrendes* [...] *Wieder zurecht gebracht* [...], O.O. 1704C, 3.)
- 2 I would like to thank Alexander van der Haven for his valuable comments and his generous help in translating this article into English.
- 3 "[gewann] einen außerordentlichen Reichtum, so daß man ihn für den reichsten Kaufmann in Dännemark hielt. [...] Ist die Erwerbung eines großen Vermögens ein Beweis vielen Verstandes, so müßte Pauli dessen gewiß sehr viel gehabt haben; allein aus allen Umständen erhellet das Gegentheil, indem die Offenbahrungen und Gesichte ihn, seinem eigenen Vorgeben nach, nicht verließen und ihn denn ganz natürlich zu manchem dummen Streich veranlaßten." Adelong reports that Paulli lost his fortune before he left for Paris. Paulli, in contrast, stated that he deliberately gave up his property in France. To aid understanding, the quotations are translated into modern English.
- 4 "Er gerieth daselbst auf den Wahn, daß da sein Aeltervater Hans Pauli, Bürgermeister zu Schwerin, ein aus dem Geschlechte Davids entsprossener Jude gewesen wäre und die christliche Religion angenommen hätte, er dessen Urenkel, ein Erbrecht hätte, der Juden König und Prophet zu seyn. Auch von mütterlicher Seite glaubte er, als ein von Abrahams und Keturá Sohn, Simram, dem Stammvater der Cimbrer, entsprossener Däne dazu Gerechtes zu besitzen. So behauptete er denn, wie er der in der heiligen Schrift verheißene Friedens-Fürst und der im 72sten Psalm beschriebene König Salomo wäre."
- 5 Paulli deduced this self-designation from the Hebrew Uz El, the power of God. See Walter Rustmeier, "Oliger Pauli oder der Plan einer Apostolischen Gemeinde zur Vereinigung der Juden und Christen in Altona," *Schriften des Vereins für Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchengeschichte. 2. Reihe (Beiträge und Mitteilungen)*, 19 (1963): 69–87, 78.
- 6 "Bey Unterschreibung dieses kindlichen Verbundes/ welches was überneues ist/ und wohl nicht gehört/ so lang die Welt gestanden/ wurde ich so dirigiret/ daß ich meinen Tauf-Nahmen HOLGER veränderte in OLIGER, wie jener Saulus in Paulus, Abram in אברהם, und Sara' in סרה, Simon bar-jona in Simon Petrus הַצֹּרֵר Deut. 32. 4. Matt. 16. 18. Und hörte eine Stimme zu meiner Lincken ausser mir/ die mich hieß/ diese Schrifft zu datiren Anno 1657. anstatt ich sonst hatte schreiben müssen Anno 1656.
Mein Name Oliger wurde damahls mir unwissend ins Hebräische Wort עוליג'ר das ist/ mein klein Kind/ das noch saugte/ עולי Infantulus, Lacteus, Foetus, רג, Fremdling.
Ich sage fürwar/ ein rechter Fremdling in den Jüdischen Dingen/ umb mit ihnen von dem Gott Israel/ so Gott ist/ zu reden; Allein mein Principal ist in den Schwachen mächtig/ und ist die Propheceyung an mir Utzelman erfüllet/ Jes. 42. 18. 19. 20."

- 7 A mystical marriage with the Divine Virgin (Sophia) or Jesus is a common image in Christian cabbalistic circles. It is comparable to the cabbalistic idea of union with the Shekinah.
- 8 "Bey dieser heiligen Erscheinung/ an statt Jacob die Hüffte verrücket ward/ so wurd verrücket die linke Seite meines Angesichtes/ auch daß das Aug dann und wann triefend ward/ wie solches biß auf diese Stunde an Tage lieget/ welches ich aber für ein Zeichen der Liebe achte/ umb bey jeden Thränen-Fall mich zu erinnern: Und JESus weinet über Jerusalem. item Weinet nicht über mich/ sondern über euch selbst/ und über eure Kinder/ hinweg denn mit Asab."
- 9 In one of his apologies, Paulli insinuated that he deduced these transformations from biblical examples (Paulli 1704d). Paulli postulated that according to the historic genesis of the Hebrew language, God would have spoken paradisiac Hebrew in paradise but communicated with Adam and Eve on earth. The language of God was hidden untill the revelation of Moses. The (simple) Hebrew language was born just after the Tower of Babel. Although the confusion of tongues was a punishment by God, it would not be everlasting. This was shown by using of four letter for God's name, which continued to be used in many languages (Paulli 1696, 656ff.). It is also interesting that God appears to have spoken High German to Paulli, just as he later stated God spoke High German to Adam and Eve before the fall from grace (Paulli 1697, 335).
- 10 "Bey denen Jüden aber ich geworden aus Lo Amy ihr Amy, und zwar/ weil ich mit ihnen vermag zu reden in dieser heiligen Wahrheit [...]"
- 11 "Doch zich wederom voorstellende, dat hy seekerlijk overtuigt was, dat het JEHOVAH zelver was die hier riep, en hem dese commissie gaf; daar en boven versekert zynde dat Godt de HEERE, van geen mensch yets begeert boven zyn krachten en vermogen, ende dat deze Commissie hem niet en paste, als een Perzoon die niet gestudeert heest, en zich in geen van alle taalen die hy kan, noch by geschrift noch mondeling kan exprimeren; zo verootmoedigde hy zich voor Godt de Heere, en badt om een nader antwoordt, om geconfirmeert te werden en zeker te gaan: dat de geseide woorden hem tot een antwoordt waren gegeven."
- 12 "Doch myn JEHOVAH siet hier ben ik, ik offer my geheel en al aan u op, de welvaart of ruine en schande van myn lieve kinderen en bedroefde Liesfte myn waarde Turtelduyve, en myn Spiegel der Goddelijke Liefde, en al wat in myn vermogen is, stell ick in uwe handen, om met my te doen als den Pottebacker met het leem, na u wil en welgevallen; En is het u behaaglijk my een Naaren kappe op te setten, om voor de wereld als een grooten Narre te passeren, uwen heiligen willen geschiede; alleenlijk dat sulks mooge geschieden tot uwer eere en in vrolijkheit myns herten, en geest my maar dien vreugdigen Geest die ik uit ,t voorgemelde Portrait van S. Paulus heb sien uitblinken, en bestraalt myn herte met den Geest van den heemel hoog vliegende St. Ian, den welken gy my ook hebt laten sien, ende gelijk hy gekleet was in een roosen couleurede Rok, zo laat mynen arbeid zo gelukkig zyn,

dat ik de Roode en Witte roosen, de bloedige Wet en het Euangelium onzer heiligmakinge, het loodendom en het Christendom in u vereenigt, u mag toevoegen als een reine Bruid, ô Bruidigom onzer Zielen!"

- 13 The *Historisch-litterarische Handbuch berühmter und denkwürdiger Personen* reports, however, that Paulli traveled with his wife and children (Hirsching 1805, 189).
- 14 "Die Zahl und der Buchstabe bilden eine mystische Einheit, die Sprache als Laut- und Schriftsystem dient als wesenhaftes Symbol der Begriffe und zugleich der allen Dingen zugrundeliegenden Zahlenverhältnisse; alles zusammen ergibt eine Wirklichkeit höherer Art" (Horodezky 1931, 174; Dero-van 2007, 424–425).
- 15 "Kabbalists believe that the Tora is the most powerful tool we possess for uncovering the hidden presence of God" (Ariel 2006, 17). In agreement with cabbalistic ideas, Hebrew letters are the expression of the divine perfection. God could be reached through the Hebrew letters of the Torah. Cabbalists look behind the text and hear the voice of God in it. Calculations and speculations are contrary to the Talmudic opinion that it is impossible to calculate the coming of the Messiah because there will be no announcement of his coming (Scholem 1959, 206–207; Stemberger 1991, 624).
- 16 Paulli referred to a translation of the New Testament by Carel Catz (1701). There it says: "En omtrent het negende uur a riep Jesus met groote stem, enzeide, ELI ELI LAMA SABACHTANI; Dat is: mijn God, mijn God, hoe hebt gy my zo zeer verheerlikt" (Matthew 27:46). Paulli mentioned that Catz was also persecuted: "O Ihr Mennonisten, fliehet aus Amsterdam/ wo die Predigers euren Bruder Carel Kats haben in die Boje setzen lassen/ weil er/ nachdem er mit mir bekannt geworden/ in sein Neues Testament absolut gesetzt: Eli, Eli, lamma Sabachthani, das ist/ Mein GOtt/ mein GOtt/ wie sehr verheerlichst du mich und begehret Freyheit vom König von Pruessen/ daß ihr möget predigen mit den Juden einen Sabachthanischen Sohn Davids, [...]" (Paulli 1704a, 99).
- 17 In later works Paulli wrote "us" and by doing so pointed to the divine union of the Messiah and God. This "us" was revealed, too.
- 18 "Daher von sich selbst folget/ daß diese Haut=Secten/ sammt allen so genannten Pietisten/ Socinianern/ Quietisten/ Quäckern/ & c. auch die sogenannte Chiliasten und in Engeland Thousandmen, so wohl als Mahomed, & c. sind die Fülle der Heyden/ das ist/ außerhalb dem Vater der Gläubigen Abraham, Glauben. Ja sind noch weniger durch ihre Tauffe und Euangelium Abrahams Kinder/ als jene beschnittene Juden zu JESU Zeiten."
- 19 "[...] Oliger Pauli habe zu Amsterdam oft die Juden geküst und gesagt/ Ihr lieben Leuth/ wie seyd ihr so glücklich; Es scheineth/ weil er der Juden König werden will/ daß er die Juden/ wie Absalon auß gleicher Absicht thate/ küsset/ umb ihr Hertz zu stehlen und an sich zu ziehen [...]."
- 20 While confessions like Lutheranism and Calvinism were named after worldly persons, the Jehovan Church was in Paulli's view to be named after God alone.

- 21 According to Paulli, God's army consisted of ten empires represented by ten men speaking ten languages: Hungary, Portugal, Poland, Spain, Denmark, France, Sweden, Germany, Russia, and England (Paulli 1704b, 17).
- 22 The first version of this road to salvation is found in Paulli 1696, 451ff.; Paulli 1700c.
- 23 In *Manna* Paulli listed all the monarchs to whom he had sent a tract (Paulli 1704, 254ff.).
- 24 Jakob Henrik Paulli von Rosenschild (1637–1704) was one of his brothers. As a diplomat in the royal service, he was ennobled.
- 25 "Sehet ihr nun/ daß ich Uzel Man zur Großmachung des Nahmens יהוהלל bin geruffen/ als einer/ der in Norden oder Mitternacht gebohren/ dessen Nation der Zimbern herstammend aus Orient oder Morgen/ vom Vater Abraham/ in der Linie von seinem Sohn Zimram, Genes. 25. v. 2. um zu verkündigen an Zion [...]" (Paulli 170b, 318).
- 26 Bellebaum 1991, 28–29.
- 27 Bohn 2002/03, 145. Hartmut Lehmann described this process as exemplified by pietistic communities in the early modern period: "Diejenigen, die sich im Zuge der Entwicklung der pietistischen Bewegung von der 'Welt' absonderten, wollten exemplarische Christen sein. Auf diese Weise erhofften sie, am Tag des Jüngsten Gerichts von Gott mit dem ewigen Leben belohnt zu werden. Sie wussten, dass die Prämie, die sie durch treuen Glauben und einen gottwohlgefälligen Lebenswandel sich verdienen wollten, in dieser Welt, das heißt in der Zeit ihres eigenen Lebens bis zum Tode nicht ausbezahlt wurde. Sie waren aber davon überzeugt, dass Gott diese Prämie sorgfältig registrierte und ihnen zu gegebener Zeit zuerkennen würde" (Lehmann 2004, 496).
- 28 See N. N. [Neubauer] 1705; Leiding 1701; Petersen 1701; Unschuldige Nachrichten 1704, 716.
- 29 Sociologist Andreas Pettenkofer (2010, 193) characterized this as a "dynamic of mutual distinction."

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- [Neubauer, Christian?]. 1705. *Die Wahre Erfüllung Des Spruchs, in Apoc. 12,12 [...] So an anjetzo wahrhaftig in der übermäßigen und Verwunderungswürdigen Verführung des Satans sich bezeuget, hauptsächlich in Oliger Pauli, und dessen adhaerenten [...] und vielen andern mehr. Welche Schrifften von rechtschaffenen Christen nicht anderster angesehen werden können, als daß sie zur höchsten Verkleinerung, ja gantzer Vertilgung der Ehre unsers Heylandes JESU CHRISTI gerichtet seyn, um die Menschen zu ver-*

- führen, daß sie mit den Juden einen andern Meßiam glauben, suchen, und hoffen sollen, wofür Gottes Geist einen jeden Christen bewahren wolle. N.p. Nielsen, Oluf. 1892. "Kjøbenhavn under Kong Frederik den Fjerde (1699–1730)," vol. 1, Jøderne. In *Kjøbenhavns Historie og Beskrivelse*, ed. Oluf Nielsen. Copenhagen: Gads Forlag. 96–128.
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- . 1697. *Triumph Triumph [...] Triumph In den Afgehouwen Steen zonder Handen.* ש Dat is: האלהים in des zelfs H.H.H. DRIEVULDIGH EENIGHEIT, tot bekeeringe van de JODEN sijn Volk ontdeckt, In de PERSOON hares MESSIÆ, Ende alzo יחיה ISRAELS אליוחם, אלוחם EEN, Die ons maark als Kinderen Abrahams, Syne Geheiligde JEHOVANEN. [...] Daar en tegen worden alle andere RELIGIEN nul en van geender waarden verklaart. Amsterdam.

- 1700a. *Moses Neemt de Decke af waer door De JODEN tot TRIOMPH sien, Israels [...] Messias [...] JEHOVAH den GODT der HEBREEN. Alle hedendaegsche Christenen daer en tegen, datse betovert zyn door hare overgesette Bybels, waer in se eenen valschen Jesu volgen, Matth. 24. vers 23, tot 28. Die daer aen, t Kruys, contrarie Ps. 37. 28. Ps. 116. 15. 16. 17. Hebr. 12. 2. Philipp. 2. 8, tot 11, soude geroepen hebben Mijn Godt/ mijn Godt/ waerom hebt ghy my verlaeten?* bekend gemaect door אליגר פיעלי [Oliger Paulli]. Amsterdam: Johannes Smets.
- 1700b. *SAUL En sijn Wapen-Knecht, Dat is, Alle Antimilinairen, en Vyanden der Joden, Vallen in haer eygen Swaerden; Wijlen zy 1500. Jaer lang gepredikt hebben Eenen van de Papen gefingeerden JESUM, die als het ALTAER der LIEFDE soude geroepen hebben, Mijn God, Mijn God, waerom hebt ghy my verlaeten, In plaets hy in Triomph als den MESSIAS, in Israels Lofgesang Ps. 22. v. 4, 5, 6. Heest roepen moeten Mijn God/ Mijn God/ hoe Verheerlijkt ghy my. Want hy doen Stervende, in het Leven inging tot vervulling van Deut. 32. v. 39, 40. [...].* Amsterdam: Johannes Smets.
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- 1704a. *Kurtzer Bericht/ An alle Puyancen von Europa, In deren Gebiet Juden sind/ wo jetzt von Oliger Paulli geredet wird/ Betreffend seinen Beruff/ Daß er/ wie in seinen vielfältigen Schrifften bezeuget wird/ von JEHOVA GOTT der Hebräer begnadiget sey/ umb an die Juden zu schreiben/ Apoc. 3. 20. Siehe Ich stehe an der Thür rc. dargegen an die ieszigen Christen/ v. 1. Ich weiß deine Wercke/ daß du den Nahmen hast/ daß du lebest und bist todt. Dienende Zur Vereinigung der Juden und Christen/ Jes. 2. 2-5. 56. 8. 60. 1-5. Apoc. 7.3-9.* N. p.
- 1704b. [...] *Manna das ist, So die itzige Jüden, das Würmlein Jacobs/ der Saame Abrahams/ [...] fragen: Ey! Was ist Das? So finden sie die Antwort im Zacharia cap. 2. v. 6 - 13. Sintemahl der todt-gewesene und durchstochene Messias [...] ist erwachet in seinem Heilig, Heilig, [...] Eloi, Eloi lamma Sabachthani, Zur Vernichtung Aller sothanen falschen Christen-Religionen/ welche die Jüden 1600. Jahr gehasset/ weil sie sich nicht mit ihnen einverleiben wollen in ihrem verlassen-gepredigten JESU.* N. p.
- 1704c. [...] *Irrendes [...] Wieder zurecht gebracht [...].* N. p.
- 1704d. [...] *Es werde Licht, Das ist Kurtze Entblössung Der unter dem Nahmen des Hn. M. Leydings Heraus gekommenen vermeynten Beweis-Gründe/ Daß die Worte Christi Eli Eli Lama Sabachthani Vom H. Geiste selbstn Durch [...] Mein GOTT/ Mein GOTT/ warumb hastu mich verlassen/ übersetzt seyn/ Worinnen dem günstigen Leser zu urtheilen vorgelegt wird/ ob nicht solche Vermeynte Gründe Von dem Autore sehr*

- unbedachtsam/ Ja GOTTES Lästerlich Verfasset sind; Zu Vertheidigung der ehemaligen herausgekommenen Schrifft dargelegt Von Oligier Paulli. N. p.
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